3 Vols

THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

FREDERIC THOMAS BLANCHARD
ENDOWMENT FUND

J. R. Shaw.
Arrowe Park.

3 Vols

MEMOIRS

OF THE

DUKE OF SULLY.

MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The Hiſtory of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH, And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The Tryal of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of HENRY the GREAT.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand; R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall; and W. SHROPSHIRE, in New-Bond-Street.

MDCCLXI.

DC
122.9
S9A3E
1761
V.1

To the High, Puiſſant, and Moſt Noble PRINCE

THOMAS HOLLES-PELHAM,

Duke of NEWCASTLE, Marquis and Earl of CLARE,

Viſcount HAUGHTON, and Baron PELHAM of Laughton,

AND BARONET,

One of His Majeſty's Privy-Council, Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum for the Counties of Middleſex, Weſtminſter, and Nottingham; Steward, Keeper, and Guardian of the Foreſt of Sherwood, and Park of Folewood, in the County of Nottingham; One of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe, Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of His Majeſty's Treaſury, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, LL. D. and F.R.S.

MY LORD,

AUTHORS are often unfortunate in the choice of their Patrons: and Works are devoted, with great ſolemnity, to the uſe of thoſe who cannot uſe them, and the pleaſure of thoſe whom they cannot pleaſe.

THAT

THAT I have avoided this impropriety, in dedicating to your GRACE theſe MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF SULLY, a whole Nation, whoſe affairs you have ſo long and ſo happily directed, will bear me witneſs: But then, I can claim no praiſe from my own diſcernment; becauſe I only echo the Voice of the People, and addreſs myſelf, where that leads me.

THOUGH my ſex and manner of life makes me a ſtranger to public affairs; I yet diſcover of myſelf, that the Hiſtory I have tranſlated, is not only intereſting but important: and that the original author of it was not only well verſed in all the prime operations of government, but that he ſaved a Nation, by bringing method and order into every branch of her revenues, and adminiſtring the whole with the moſt accurate economy.

A BOOK, thus filled with political wiſdom, could be fitly offered only to Him, who lays out his whole time and attention, in labours of the ſame tendency; and for the ſervice of a more free, and therefore a nobler People.

THAT

DEDICATION.

THAT PROVIDENCE may co-operate with your endeavours; and that your GRACE may ſteer not only ſafely, but triumphantly, through every difficulty of the preſent conjuncture, are wiſhes ſo natural to all true Britons, that they cannot be thought improper even from a woman, and in this public manner. She is, with the profoundeſt Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your GRACE's moſt Obedient,

London, Sept. 5, 1755.

and moſt Humble Servant,

CHARLOTTE LENNOX.

PREFACE

TO THE

FRENCH EDITION.

AS in the judgment of good critics and lovers of literature, THE MEMOIRS OF SULLY have been always ranked amongſt our beſt books, I have no need to enter here into a diſquiſition which will be of little uſe to thoſe who are acquainted with the work.

To give thoſe an idea of this performance who have never read it, it will be ſufficient to tell them, that it contains a hiſtory of whatever has paſſed from the peace in 1570, to the firſt year of Lewis XIII. during a ſpace of forty years, which is a time that has ſupplied the moſt copious ſubjects to the hiſtorians of France; and that it treats of the reign, or, to ſpeak more properly, almoſt of the whole life, of Henry the Great. They preſuppoſe, indeed, ſome knowledge of the foregoing commotions, which are only occaſionally mentioned; but it diſplays all the ſucceeding events with the utmoſt particularity. The events are equally numerous and diverſified; wars, foreign and civil; intereſts of ſtate and religion; maſter-ſtrokes of policy; unexpected diſcoveries; ſtruggles of ambition; ſtratagems

of policy; embaſſies and negotiations; are all to be found in this book; and all this is far from the whole.

The Memoirs of Sully take their value, perhaps their greateſt value, from the innumerable recitals of a private kind, which ſcarcely belongs to the province of hiſtory; this is the particular advantage of memoirs, they admit all ſubjects, however numerous, and all incidents however various, which one can deſire to inſert; and they are not ſubject to the burthen impoſed upon hiſtory, of continuing the narrative through dry generalities, with which even the writer finds himſelf diſguſted.

To obtain a compleat knowledge of any prince, it is neceſſary that the picture of his private life be ſet to view, together with his public conduct; he muſt be ſhown with his courtiers and domeſtics, in thoſe moments when he is little obſerved: his character muſt be fixed by his letters and converſation; the paſſions are better diſplayed by a ſingle word, related as it was ſpoke, than by all the art which a hiſtorian can uſe. This idea of memoirs is quite anſwered by thoſe of Sully; ſo that no man, till he has peruſed them, can have a juſt conception of Henry IV. They repreſent to us that great prince, in his good as well as his bad fortune; now as a private man, now as a king, as a warrior, or as a politician; and to come ſtill lower, as a huſband, father, or friend; and all told in ſo affecting a manner, that the reader cannot refrain from taking part in the moſt minute and indifferent incident of his life: at moſt, I can only except ſome military recitals, which occur perhaps too often at the beginning of the work, and a ſmall number of other paſſages leſs pleaſing; though, on the

the other hand, theſe recitals are always connected with the public affairs, and diverſified, like the reſt, with the part which was borne in them by the duke of Sully.

He is as the ſecond actor, and this double action makes no breach in the unity of intereſt, becauſe this miniſter ſays almoſt nothing of himſelf, which has not ſome relation to public affairs, or the perſon of his maſter. The reader will, doubtleſs, be pleaſed to know what judgment was formed of theſe Memoirs when they firſt appeared in the world, and I ſhall give him information from the author of an old diſcourſe, to be found among the MSS. * of the king's library: "One of the moſt beautiful pictures of human "prudence and fidelity, ſays he, is to be found in the ac- "count left to the public, in two volumes, by the duke of "Sully, of the nature of the advice he had given, and the "ſervices he had done, to his king and benefactor, as well "for his particular and perſonal honour, as for the proſpe- "rity of his kingdom. And, in truth, the fortune of Henry "the Great, and the virtue of his prime miniſter, are two "things which appear alternately, or, more properly, go "hand in hand. The miniſter, in this work, ſerves and "obliges the king, in all the ways that a king can receive "ſervice or obligation from a ſubject, with his hand, his "courage, his ſword, and even with his blood, or actions "of bravery and adventure, but particularly in his council "and cabinet, with the greateſt underſtanding, and moſt "quick-ſighted policy, the moſt pure diſintereſtedneſs, and "untainted ſincerity, that has ever been known to hiſto- "rians, either of our own or other countries."

* Vol. 9590.

It is natural, in the reign of a prince like Henry IV. to look for great generals, deep politicians, and ſkilful miniſters; but we are ſurprized to find in one man, the warrior, the politician, the wiſe manager of buſineſs, the ſteady and unbending friend, as well as the cloſe confidant and darling of his maſter. But what is yet more uncommon, is to ſee in a work where the actions of two ſuch extraordinary perſons are collected after their deaths, a great king forced to make a conqueſt of his own kingdom, engaged with a miniſter, in his way, not leſs great, in contriving means to make his undertakings ſucceſsful; labouring afterwards, in concert with him, to make his kingdom not only peaceable but flouriſhing, regulating the revenue, laying the foundation of trade, methodizing the government, and, in ſhort, recovering every part of the eſtabliſhment from confuſion.

In this work therefore are comprized two lives united together, and illuſtrating and adorning one another, the lives of a king and a miniſter, his confidant nearly of the ſame age, carried on from the infancy of both to the death of the king, and to the retreat of the miniſter.

We may add, that theſe Memoirs of Sully are yet further valuable, by maxims of excellent morality, by politics derived from truth; by an infinite number of views, ſchemes, and regulations, of almoſt every kind, with which they are filled. The duke of Sully is ſaid, by one of his cotemporaries, to have been the only man that ever diſcovered the means of uniting two things, which our fathers not only could not join together, but conſidered in their

their own nature inconſiſtent, the increaſe of the king's revenue, and the relief of the people. He that would have an idea of a good ſubject and an incorruptible miniſter, muſt look for it in this picture, where he will ſee œconomy in its full luſtre, and policy in all its practice; the art of uſing and of gaining power; the ſcience of reigning as a man, and of reigning as a king; the fineſt inſtructions and moſt forceable examples of morality are here exhauſted, and the whole ſupported and adorned by a knowledge of every thing, from the higheſt arts to the mechanic occupations.

However high this praiſe may ſeem, I do not find that the ſevereſt critics depart much from it; one need only conſult the abbot Le-Labourcur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, vol. II. book ii. p. 687. father Le-Long, and a multitude of modern writers; for who is there that does not cite the Memoirs of Sully as the firſt political treatiſe that has ſhewn us the real power of this kingdom, and in which are contained the ſeeds of whatever has been done by Richelieu, Mazarine, and Colbert; and in which is opened the beſt ſchool of the art of government?

I will now quit this conſideration for another, which I neither can nor ought to conceal; the pleaſure which ſo valuable a book affords, is attended with a degree of fatigue which makes this ornament of libraries uſeleſs to the greater part of readers.

This is to be imputed to want of method, and defects of ſtyle; the ſubjects lie here in great confuſion; thoſe who

who have ranged them propoſe to entertain us with particular recitals of military, political, and domeſtic affairs; but they neither know how to keep them apart, nor to join them properly: a fact is cleared up, or a narrative continued, at the diſtance, ſometimes, of an hundred pages; from the beginning of the firſt volume, one muſt often jump to the end of the ſecond: the letters of Henry, which ought to be regularly inſerted in the ſtory, are bundled up together and put by themſelves, or introduced where they only break the thread of the diſcourſe, to which very often they have no relation: the maxims of law and government are driven off to a diſtant part, where it is often difficult to meet with them; they have the appearance of an independent note, and one might have known, that the compilers were mere men of buſineſs, though they had not told it.

As to the diction, it is not going too far to ſay, that it has every fault which diction can admit; it is too much diffuſed, obſcured frequently by the enormous protraction of the ſentences, and frequently by the impropriety of the words, which are ſometimes creeping and low, and ſometimes ſwelled with ridiculous magnificence.

These two general reflections on the Memoirs of Sully, one ſhould have imagined might have put it into the thoughts of ſome of our beſt writers, to make that book agreeable, which is ſo intereſting and uſeful; the other, becauſe what they have good ariſes from the ſubject, and what is wrong conſiſts only in the form in which they are ſhewn. It is allowed on all hands, that this muſt be excepted from the number of thoſe old books, which cannot be

be altered without being ſpoiled; but the danger of giving offence to the nicety of critics, has hitherto driven away all thoughts of ſuch an undertaking: and I confeſs that I could never have engaged in it, had I not been urged on by that fondneſs for the original, which brings the paſſions as well as the genius into a work, and makes us blind to all the obſtacles that may oppoſe us; for, to accommodate ſuch a work as this to the preſent taſte, a man muſt preſerve at once the fidelity of a tranſlator, and the liberty of a compoſer: he muſt carefully preſerve the ſenſe of his author, tho' he muſt abridge, tranſpoſe, and methodiſe his work.

An emendation, merely grammatical, which ſhould reach no farther than to change thoſe expreſſions, which are confeſſedly bad, and to retrench thoſe that are apparently ſuperfluous, would have been ſhort of the reformation which the ſtyle requires; and, if nothing had been attempted but to bring the ſcattered parts of the ſtory together, and methodiſe thoſe things that are out of order, to free the book from the inconvenience of confuſion, even this muſt have ended in the deſtruction of the text. I have tried every method that I could invent to avoid the neceſſity of taking the work wholly to pieces, and moulding it anew: but I ſaw, at laſt, that no other way would anſwer my intention: I was convinced that a ſtyle ſo faulty as that of theſe Memoirs, was far from deſerving to be treated with the ſame reſpect as that of Comines, Montagne, and Amyot: that the mere general alterations, which are confeſſedly neceſſary, would change it ſo much from its preſent ſtate, that to make it yet more different, was no great matter: and that theſe alterations, producing a neceſſity

of

of connections and tranſitions which would naturally be of a different caſt of language from the reſt, many patches of new ſtyle appearing in theſe pages of antiquity, would have been a diſagreeable and diſſimular mixture: and that the original muſt not only be cleared from a great number of odd expreſſions, but of unnatural and unuſual ideas, which appears in the ridiculous ſingularity in the very title, Oeconomies Royales, & Servitudes Loyales: that ſuch liberties as I have taken was neceſſary, in order to arrive at a juſt chronology and arrangement of matter: and that this liberty was conſiſtent enough with the obligation of preſerving the ſenſe of the original, and ſuffering the Memoirs of Sully to loſe nothing by being put into a new language.

In the firſt place, I found it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to change this ſtated language of ſecretaries, who know nothing but to praiſe and flatter. What can be more tedious than to ſee them, at every line, addreſſing their maſter to put him in mind of ſomething that has already happened, and to confeſs that he underſtands the buſineſs better than themſelves? This perpetual addreſs made the book little more than a long dedication; and yet this could not have been corrected without giving the work a new form.

I must add, that the hiſtorical narrative, which allows only the third perſon to be uſed, could not take place here, as I immediately found, when I endeavoured to apply it: for the Memoirs of Sully, as I have already ſaid, inſtead of one principal actor, preſent us with two, whoſe parts conſtantly intermingled in the recital, or who almoſt always make their appearance together, either talking between

tween themſelves or with other perſons. The pronouns he and him, which in other hiſtories ſupply ſo conveniently the place of proper names, muſt, in a book like this, have been applied ſometimes to one, ſometimes to another, which would have produced an obſcurity not to have been avoided, but by repetitions and circumlocutions equally inconvenient. If to rid our hands of this difficulty, which will be generally perceived, this book had been entituled, Memoirs to contribute to a Hiſtory of Henry IV. and the relation had been contracted to the actions of that prince, this had at once cut off half the Memoirs, and perhaps that half which can leaſt be ſpared; for the life and actions of Henry the Great are every where to be found; but thoſe of the duke of Sully can be read no where elſe: and it had been ſtill leſs proper to have mentioned only the action of the miniſter.

THERE remained therefore only one ſcheme to purſue, that of making Sully tell his own ſtory. I yielded with leſs reluctance to this neceſſity, as I found it likely to be the ſource of new pleaſure; for nothing is more proper to throw over a work thoſe intereſting paſſages, which put the heart into emotion, than to introduce the principal actor in a complicated affair, entertaining you with an account of the part which he acted; and what an actor would he appear if one could attain to make him ſpeak as ſuch a miniſter, ſo favoured by his maſter, and ſo reſpected by all the ranks of the community, might be ſuppoſed to ſpeak at the preſent time.

THIS ſingle motive might prevail upon the public to grant me the indulgence which I require, for the only real

liberty I have taken, if it ſhould be found that I have, in other reſpects, diſcharged the duty which this licence made indiſpenſible; but, as I cannot aſſume ſo much to myſelf, I ſhall found my defence upon a matter of fact; which is, that, in reality, the duke of Sully himſelf is the true author of the Memoirs which bear his name; ſince the original pieces are his own, and his ſecretaries did nothing more than ſtitch them together. This is eaſily perceived in ſeveral places, where the pen of the miniſter being withheld, either by promiſe of ſecrecy or ſome conſideration equally ſtrong, you ſee the reader's expectation diſappointed with regard to facts of which the ſecretaries themſelves had apparently not the leaſt knowledge. This is therefore no robbery, but an honeſt reſtitution, which I make to their maſter of his own works. In atteſtation of this, I can produce all our writers, who ſhew evidently when they quote the Memoirs of Sully, that they conſider them as the work of that great man, and depend upon his authority. The ſingle doubt of Vittorio Siri * is of no weight againſt ſo much evidence.

This critical diſquiſition I do not think of ſufficient importance or amuſement, to require that I ſhould tranſcribe whole pages to eſtabliſh this truth, by exhibiting the words of Henry, Sully, or the ſecretaries themſelves: he that thinks it worth his while, may conſult the places marked in the margin †. I ſhall here offer only a conjecture, which I ſubmit to the diſcernment of my reader.

* Mem. Rec Vol. I. p. 29. † Epît. des 1, & 3 Tom. Tom. II. p. 407, 409, 410, 434, 435, 440, 448. Tom. III. p. 82, 83, 294, 385, &c. Tom. II. p. 440.

THE Memoirs of Sully were formed firſt upon the obſervations which M. de Roſny began, from his earlieſt youth, to make upon the events of his times, as well thoſe that related to the public as thoſe that affected his maſter and himſelf. To theſe were added, in the next place, the obſervations which he ſet down at the entreaty of his prince, who ſoon began to diſtinguiſh a man of his character. M. de Roſny had plainly no intention to write a connected narrative, much leſs a formal hiſtory, but only a collection of pieces upon ſeveral events of his time, which he improved with his own reflections on government *. The term Journal, which is ſometimes uſed, is not to be taken in the ſtricteſt ſenſe: accounts conſiſting of pieces thus independent, were not things abſolutely new in his time. It is not unlikely that he conſidered himſelf as collecting materials for more regular memoirs, which he afterwards thought fit to communicate to the public, under the name of his ſecretaries, rather than his own.

THESE regiſters †, of which there has been already mention, were put into the hands of four of his ſecretaries, two of whom compoſed at firſt the two former volumes, ſuch as they now appear, the two other ſecretaries, who were taken into the ſervice of Sully at the time of his retreat, were buſy, at the ſame time, upon the firſt of his two following volumes, which compriſes a ſpace of five years, from 1605 to the death of Henry IV. and imagining their labour incomplete, unleſs they ſhould produce

* Tom. II. p. 448. Tom. III. p. 83, 385.
† Epît. Limn du Tom. III. Tom. II. p. 410.

two volumes as well as their fellows, they fell to tumbling over all their maſter's papers, and at laſt attained their purpoſe. But notice muſt be taken, that they are not to be believed too eaſily with reſpect to the place where theſe Memoirs are ſaid to be printed; for they had an intereſt in impoſing upon the public, by making it be believed that theſe Memoirs were not printed in France *. Guy-Patin, father Le-Long, the abbe Lenglet, and ſeveral others, are confident that the two firſt volumes were printed at the caſtle of Sully; and for the two laſt, it is a known fact that their firſt appearance was in an edition printed at Paris 1662, by the care of the abbe Le-Laboureur.

In the Memoirs of Mademoiſelle mention is made of letters, and a great number of other original pieces, which the count de Bethune kept with great care, and ſhewed as a curioſity to thoſe that came to ſee him. Of theſe, part, at leaſt, may be thought the minutes of the duke of Sully. But, ſince none of theſe pieces are found in the vaſt collection of manuſcripts preſented by the count de Bethune, in 1664, to the late king, we may conclude that, after the publication of theſe Memoirs, thoſe minutes were deſtroyed as of no farther uſe: but, for my part, I make ſo little reckoning of the works of the compilers, that I could wiſh to have only the originals as they had them; for what they have given us of their own makes no eſſential addition, nor has any conſequence but that of concealing the true work of Sully, which, in many places, cannot be diſtinguiſhed or diſintangled from theirs; for they did not content themſelves with ranging their pieces according to

* Epît. Limin, ib.

the

the order of time, which was the beſt thing they were capable of doing.

I KNOW not whether there is not even room to ſuſpect them of having ſuppreſſed ſome pieces of conſiderable importance. One may ſafely charge them, at leaſt, with having deſtroyed The Treatiſe of War, The Marechal de Camp, The Inſtructions Military and Political, and ſome other works of the duke of Sully, which have certainly been once in exiſtence. They have been ſought to no purpoſe in the cloſet of the preſent duke of Sully *, notwithſtanding the pains which he, who is ſo well known for his love of literature and antiquities, has taken to recover monuments which contribute ſo much to the honour of his family. He has little more than ſome accounts and memoirs relating to the different employments of Maximilian duke of Sully, of which the ſubſtance is found in this book. The only manuſcripts that raiſe much curioſity, are the original copy of the firſt volume of the Memoirs of Sully, from which the impreſſion was certainly taken; and the two laſt volumes of a kind of heroic romance, of which the two firſt have been loſt. Theſe adventures, or allegorical hiſtories of that age, are entituled, Gelaſtide, ou les Illuſtres princeſſes pucelles du puiſſant Empire de la grande Sclaramane Doloſophomorie, les Sclarazones diamantées, Percy de Rubicelle & Pyrope; titles as ſingular as thoſe of the Memoirs of Sully, and which ſhew that they are drawn up by the ſame hand.

IT is poſſible that the loſs of theſe originals is imputed to Sully himſelf, ſince his ſecretaries acted not only

* Louis-Pierre-Maximilian de Bethune.

under

under his orders, but under his own eyes *. In that caſe we ſhall be forced to confeſs, that a little vanity, from which this miniſter was not free, kept him from ſuffering his Memoirs to appear in his own name: he perceived that he could not forbear to give himſelf the honour of the brighteſt part of the reign of Henry IV. and, not caring either to praiſe himſelf or to loſe the praiſe he had deſerved, he determined to have that ſaid by others which he could not modeſtly ſay himſelf.

He is charged with another fault proceeding equally from vanity, but which, if we examine it well, may appear very innocent; it is the freedom with which he acts and ſpeaks. Let us hear, on this head, our ancient diſſertator. "This ſtiff and haughty humour, ſays he, which ſo often "obliges his prince to ſpeak firſt, and to open himſelf to "him, if it had been ſoftened and made more eaſy, would "have been perhaps more perfect, and more deſerving of "imitation; but, if the original was as it is repreſented, "and nature had formed it of this caſt, it ought not to "be flattered or diſguiſed: if this gravity and general cir-"cumſpection, which his enemies mention as a reproach "to his memory, was the very quality which gave ſo much "value to his miniſtry and his credit, we ought not to re-"gret it in him as a blot, or condemn it as a defect." And indeed, if a miniſter is of known honeſty, and unſuſpected of any bad deſign, why ſhould he, in ſpeaking to his maſter, or tranſacting with him, recede from the privilege of following the ſevere dictates of truth? Without this liberty the condition of private men would be much

* Tom. III. p. 83 and 294.

happier than that of princes; but we may ſufficiently prove, that Sully deſerves no reproach of this kind, by obſerving that he never received any from his maſter, who not only allowed, but loved and praiſed his freedom of ſpeech. Whatever may be ſaid, for inſtance, of the famous promiſe of marriage which Sully tore in pieces in the hands of Henry, I ſee nothing in that affair which does not deſerve admiration, and there is no fear that it ſhall be drawn into precedent.

The neceſſity of being beforehand with the reader, for my own ſake, has given occaſion to theſe two remarks. I have conſidered it as indecent in Sully to relate all that happened of this kind with Henry IV. and as to perſonal commendations, I cut off what was uttered by ſecretaries, and could never have been ſaid by him, and keep all that he has ſaid, or ſuffered others to ſay to him, that was for his own honour, or for that of the family of Bethune. In like manner I let all ſtand which the ſame vanity, joined with his religious prejudices, diſpoſed him to advance with relation to the greateſt families; ſuch as the houſe of Auſtria, among others, or concerning private prrſons, to whom he has not always done juſtice; ſuch as the dukes de Nevers and de Epernon, meſſieurs de Villeroi, Jeannin, and the cardinal de Oſſat, and others, amongſt the roman catholics; and the dukes de Rohan, de Bouillon, and de La-Trémouille, Du-Pleſſis Mornay; and, to conclude, with reſpect to a ſociety deſerving eſteem, for purity of manners, and the ſervice it has done the public, by the education of youth, and the advancement of polite literature.

If I ſtop at this head, it is only to ſhew how much I deteſt every ſpecies of prejudice; for otherwiſe I know well enough that I ſhall never be called to account about it: it was my duty to preſerve the ground-work of the original inviolate; and as the original, which I am far from ſuppoſing that my work will put out of the world, muſt always remain in its true ſtate, it would appear againſt me, if I ſhould dare to alter it, and furniſh an accuſation againſt me of diſhoneſty and flattery: all that I have been able to do, and I proteſt I have done it only out of regard to juſtice, is to ſhew my diſlike by frequent corrections, from which alone the public is to judge of my real ſentiments.

It appears indeed to me, that a ſingle word is ſufficient to put an end to the greateſt part of the imputation thrown upon the jeſuits and other good catholics by the duke of Sully: we muſt conſider that they acted upon one principle, and he judged of their actions upon another. It may be added, that in the circumſtances of thoſe things, during the tranſaction, it was difficult to paſs a right judgement upon the meaſures of the different parties: at preſent, ſince time has given new light to their cauſes, motives, and means, we, who are neither carried away by the heat of action, nor overpowered by fear, hope, or deſire, have, with reſpect to the ſubject on which we are treating, two opinions almoſt oppoſite; we deteſt the league, and have great reaſon to deteſt it; but, on the other hand, we judge, and not without probability, that, if the league had not been, France was in danger of ſuffering the greateſt of all evils, the loſs of the true religion. If Villeroi, D'Oſſat,

D'Oſſat, and others, ſtand in need of defence, it is on this principle, That they muſt be defended.

A MOTIVE of the ſame kind determined me likewiſe to write notes upon paſſages where Sully ſpeaks unfavourably of the Spaniards, the Engliſh, and other kingdoms in our neighbourhood. I am as far from applauding his prejudices as eſpouſing his quarrels. To ſee nothing in other nations worthy of praiſe, is to be blind; to ſee it, and not own it, is to be weak.

ANOTHER article, which appears to me of yet greater importance than all theſe, is, the liberty with which the author ſometimes diſcovers his particular principles, with reſpect to the very ſubſtance of religion. It is natural to imagine, that a man full of knowledge, of reflection, and of good qualities, muſt have been very dangerous when he was led to ſpeak of the reformed religion, which it is known that the duke of Sully always remained a firm adherent to. Such was my notion of the matter; but the firſt peruſal of his Memoirs altered my opinion. I will quote, upon this occaſion, for the laſt time, the writer whoſe teſtimony I have ſo often made uſe of, to ſhew that theſe Memoirs cannot make, at this time, theſe impreſſions which they were unable to make when they were new. "It is not, ſays "the author, upon account of his religious opinions, that "he is to be conſidered as a model, or as an original; we "are to look into theſe Memoirs for a general, a grand-"maſter of the ordnance, a ſuperintendant of the finan-"ces, and a miniſter of an univerſal genius, concurring "in all the ſchemes of his prince; but you are not here to "expect a picture of a chriſtian, and much leſs of a ca-

" tholic.---Theſe books," ſays the ſame writer, in another place, " do not ſhew him properly pious or religious, " becauſe they do not ſhew him a catholic."

THE author might have added another reaſon of yet greater force, which is, that when Sully repreſents himſelf either as a reformed, or catholic, that man, whoſe reaſonings upon almoſt every other ſubject is ſolid and concluſive, appears ſo wretched as a divine, that the mere compariſon of his writings with themſelves is ſufficient to confute him; beſides, how many confeſſions are drawn from him by the force of truth? how much does he ſay againſt the mad determination of ſome proteſtant ſynods, againſt the intrigues and bad deſigns of the chief of that party; againſt the mutinous and ſeditious temper of the whole body? It is ſomething ſo ſingular, to ſee the duke of Sully by turns a Calviniſt, and an enemy to Calviniſts, that I thought it neceſſary to preſerve whatever he has ſaid on the ſubject of religion, leſt what I had ſuppreſſed had been thought of more importance than it really is. But I thought it neceſſary to be likewiſe liberal of my notes, in oppoſition to thoſe paſſages, and perhaps under the notion, that I could never be careful enough of weak minds, I may, without thinking of it, have ſhewn ſome regard to my firſt ſcruples.

THE notes have been conſiderably multiplied by another conſideration. As I was deſirous to make this work more clear and compleat, I have ſhewn the ſame regard to things of mere entertainment as for thoſe of neceſſity. I could not prevail upon myſelf to ſkip over a fact obſcure or but ſlightly touched, without clearing it up and explaining it.

In one place, therefore, you will find a paſſage of pure amuſement producing another of the ſame kind; in another place, a perſon of note is mentioned only by his name, and I have thought it neceſſary to add his chriſtian or ſurname, his dignities or employments, and ſometimes the year of his birth or his death. There are notes likewiſe, in which I have endeavoured to rectify falſe calculations and miſtaken dates, and to adjuſt the valuation of coins; and on all theſe occaſions, I have endeavoured to copy only from our beſt writers, and to draw immediately from the fountain-head; thus the Memoirs of the League, d'Etoile and de Nevers; les Chronologies Novennaire et Septennaire of Cayet, and the Mercure François; meſſieurs de Thou, Péréfixe, Matthieu, Davila, Le-Grain, D'Aubigné; the manuſcripts of the king's library, the Letters of the cardinal D'Oſſat *, &c. are my vouchers for facts; and for all the reſt, my credit depends upon the books which have furniſhed the aſſiſtance that I happened to want. I have commonly contented myſelf with giving their words upon the ſubject before me, without entering into any diſquiſitions, except when contrariety of opinions ſeemed to require it. But notwithſtanding this precaution, the margin of the five or ſix firſt books are ſomewhat crouded; nor was it in my power to do otherwiſe, the firſt years of Henry IV. affording a prodigious number of facts of every ſort, which Sully has only hinted at, or mentioned very ſlightly.

To theſe might very properly have been added, notes upon politics, war, the finances, government, and naval affairs; and I could not, but in compliance with my inclina-

* For theſe letters I conſulted the old folio edition, as alſo the old edition of L'Etoile's Memoirs.

tion, ſcatter a few upon the laſt books particularly, of which the ſubject made them often uſeful, and ſometimes abſolutely neceſſary.

As to maxims and reflections, the only uſe that could properly have been made of them, was to ſcatter them here and there in the places where they have relation. With reſpect to another part of this work, I have taken a contrary method; I have brought together all that was ſaid in different places upon the great and famous deſign of Henry IV. which ſeems often to break the narration in an unpleaſant manner; and finding no place where a recital of ſo many particulars could be inſerted, I made a book of it by itſelf. I may be ſuſpected, upon theſe laſt heads, of having made great additions to my original; but let the reader ſuſpend his judgment till he has read it from beginning to end. I am well aware, that the neceſſity of arranging theſe materials in a different order, has given this work a kind of original air, which diſtinguiſhes it from common tranſlations, without giving the rank of a work of invention. There are many other places where it will be ſeen, that if I had thought myſelf entitled to an abſolute authority over my original, I ſhould often have given it another caſt. As to references, it was not poſſible to put them all in the margin, and they would have only tired the reader.

The letters, which are ſcattered here and there, I could only have made uſeful, by caſting them into a narrative, and joining them with the facts to which they relate: by this means, I have contrived to diverſify my hiſtory, and have made the letters more uſeful than they were before.

It

It is common for thoſe who write on things talked of by them before, to mention them imperfectly; theſe omiſſions I commonly ſupplied with a note, when the matter is ſuch as can be diſcovered, or deſerves explanation; for of this prodigious number of letters, either of the king's or Sully's, the greater part only contains particulars of ſmall importance: all theſe I conſider as uſeleſs, and retrench them either wholly or in part; and I take the ſame courſe with the recitals that are too long, with trifling remarks, with diffuſe memorials and regulations of the finances, drawn out in particularities: but when I find letters, converſations, or other pieces, truly original, I copy them faithfully, except when I meet with a word that would offend the ear, I change it to another: this I intend for the gratification of thoſe readers who would complain, if in theſe ancient Memoirs, the perſonages that are introduced ſhould talk always like men of our own time, and judge of the pleaſure they muſt receive from the ſingularity of the ancient language, by that which it gives to myſelf.

I HAVE followed the uſual method, of dividing an hiſtorical work into books, rather than into chapters; there are here thirty books, reckoning the account of Henry's great project for one of them. Some were of opinion, that this project, having never been executed, might have been omitted; but it ſeemed to me to make ſo conſiderable a part of Sully's Memoirs, that the public were likely to be offended with its ſuppreſſion.

I THOUGHT it not for my purpoſe to proceed farther than the retreat of Sully, in which I have ventured to differ from my original: but beſides, that, according to my ſcheme,

ſcheme, I ſaw no uſe to be made of the pieces which had no relation either to Sully or Henry IV. I thought, judging of theſe pieces critically, that they did not deſerve much attention from mankind. I find nothing in the fourth volume which can truly be called the work of the duke of Sully, more than what he ſays of the new court, of the council, and of himſelf, to his departure from Paris; together with the regulations that he had formed for different purpoſes, and the evidence he gives of the great deſign of Henry IV. As to the furious invective againſt Villeroi, and the other pieces belonging to the reign of Lewis XIII. and, in a word, whatever is contained in the two hundred laſt pages of the fourth volume. the whole is apparently of another hand; ſo immethodical, ſo unconnected, and at the ſame time ſo trifling and ſo dull, that I could look upon it only as a thing compiled by one of his ſecretaries, without judgment, and for this only purpoſe, as themſelves confeſs, that the laſt volume might be as large as the former *; all this is to be ranked with the panegyrics, ſonnets, and other pieces, both in French and Latin; which the reader, if ſuch things happen to pleaſe him, may look for in the original.

As we cannot learn from theſe Memoirs what became of the duke of Sully from his retreat to his death, and as the reader may be curious about him, I have given him a Supplement. Nothing of the lives of great men ſhould be loſt or neglected; this Supplement is more full and intereſting than I at firſt could promiſe myſelf, by means of the information with which the duke of Sully has been pleaſed to ſupply me.

* Epit. Limin. du Tom III.

I MAKE

I MAKE uſe, as I have already ſaid, of the edition in folio; it is properly in four volumes, though in ſome libraries it is bound in two: the firſt and ſecond of theſe volumes, printed at Amſterdam, that is to ſay, at Sully, without the date of the year or the printer, for that which appears at its head is counterfeit: this is commonly called the green-lettered edition, on account of its VVV, and its front-piece coloured with green. The third and fourth volumes, printed at Paris by permiſſion, by Auguſtin Courbé, in 1662. this edition is incorrect, but ſome of the others are mutilated, which is worſe. I ſhall here enumerate the ſubſequent editions; the two firſt volumes were reprinted at Rouen, 1649. in two volumes in folio; in a ſmaller letter, at Amſterdam, 1654, in four volumes 12°. At Paris, 1664, by Courbé, in two volumes in folio. The third and fourth volumes were reprinted at Paris, 1663, in eight volumes 12°; and at the ſame time at Rouen, in ſeven volumes, 12°. The laſt edition is that of Trevoux, in 1725, in twelve volumes 12°.

WHAT I have here to add is to aſſure the public, that I reſpect it too much to expoſe myſelf to its cenſure, by any faults that labour and attention could enable me to avoid; and as for any others, as they may ſerve, if not to correct my work, at leaſt to mend my ſelf for the future, I am ſo far from endeavouring to obviate them, that I entreat the world not to ſpare them; they ſhall never find me claiming the indulgence naturally due to the firſt attempt, nor do I plead my ſituation in excuſe; though my ſituation was ſo little propitious to this kind of labour, that I ſhould have ſeen myſelf obliged to throw it up, had I not

not been assisted by persons whose generosity was equal to their zeal for the advancement of learning. This confession is due to truth. I should likewise be guilty of extreme ingratitude, if I omitted to make it known, that a man of character, who had been intimately acquainted with the two late dukes of Sully, not only gave me the first notion of this work, but assisted me likewise to form the plan, and promoted the execution by all the means which his friendship or generosity could dictate.

A SUM-

A

SUMMARY

OF THE

BOOKS contained in the FIRST VOLUME.

SUMMARY OF THE FIRST BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1570 to 1580. State of affairs in the council of France, and thoſe of the calviniſts, at the peace of 1570. Roſny's extraction, and anecdotes of the houſe of Bethune. Some account of the birth, education, and early years, of the prince of Navarre. Idea of the government under Henry II. Francis II. and during the firſt years of the reign of Charles IX. Artifice of queen Catherine of Medicis to ruin the huguenots. Roſny engages himſelf in the ſervice of the king of Navarre, and follows him to Paris. Death of the queen of Navarre. The wounding of admiral Coligny, and other cauſes of ſuſpicion, which the court gave to the proteſtants. Profound diſſimulation of Charles IX. Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; a particular relation of this event. Obſervations and reflections upon it. The conduct of Charles IX. and admiral Coligny. In what manner the king of Navarre and Roſny eſcaped being maſſacred. Education of Roſny. The calviniſts reſume courage, and retrieve their affairs. Flight of the prince of Condé. Impriſonment of the princes. The inſurrection of Shrove-Tueſday. Death of Charles IX. His character. Henry III. returns to France, and declares war againſt the huguenots. Flight of Monſieur and the king of Navarre. The queen-mother deceives them by the peace called the Peace of Monſieur. The war is renewed. Military rencounters, and taking of cities. Roſny's firſt exploits in arms.

The peace of 1577. Conferences between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. More military expeditions. Taking of Cahors, &c. Faults committed by Roſny.

SUMMARY of the SECOND BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1580 to the year 1587. Affairs of Flanders. The United Provinces offer their crown to Monſieur: he goes to Holland; Roſny attends him. The taking of Château-Cambreſis, &c. Monſieur ſurpriſes the citadel of Cambrai: he goes to England; returns to France; is hated by the Dutch and the proteſtants on account of the treachery attempted by him at Antwerp; diſconcerted by the prince of Orange. Roſny diſſatisfied with Monſieur, who, finding all his ſchemes blaſted, returns to France. Roſny returns likewiſe, after having viſited the city of Bethune. Spain makes offers to the king of Navarre. Roſny ſent to the court of France by the king of Navarre: he viſits Monſieur. Death of that prince. Roſny's ſecond journey to Paris, and negotiation there: his marriage. Domeſtic employments. Origin, formation, and progreſs, of the League. Henry III. joins the League againſt the king of Navarre. Diviſions in the calviniſt party; the views of its chiefs. Roſny is again ſent to Paris by the king of Navarre, to obſerve the motions of the League. An attempt upon Angers; fails. A dangerous journey taken by Roſny. The prince of Condé in extream peril. The king of Navarre in great perplexities. Military expeditions. Roſny negotiates an alliance between the two kings. The taking of Talmont, Fontenay, &c. Roſny goes to viſit and aſſiſt his wife during the calamity of the plague. Fruitleſs interviews between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. A ſeries of military expeditions. Roſny defeats one of the enemies ſquadrons. Other ſucceſſes of the calviniſts; a declared perſecution againſt them. Madame de Roſny in great danger. Roſny's ſecret journey to Paris. The duke of Joyeuſe leads an army into Poitou, and is beat by the king of Navarre at Coutras; a particular account of this battle.

SUMMARY of the THIRD BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1587 to the year 1590. Errors committed by the king of Navarre and the proteſtants, after the battle of Coutras. Secret deſigns of the prince of Condé, the count of Soiſſons, and the viſcount Turenne. Death of the prince of Condé; obſervations

obſervations upon his death. The battle of the Barricades, and the conſequences; reflections upon this event. The duke and cardinal of Guiſe aſſaſſinated; reflections and obſervations on this occaſion. Death of Catherine de Medicis. The puſillanimity of Henry III. with reſpect to the League. Roſny negotiates a treaty of alliance between the two kings; the diſguſt he receives upon this occaſion. Interview of the two kings. The duke of Maïenne ſits down before Tours; military exploits on both ſides. Battle of Foſſeuſe, at which Roſny is preſent. Death of madame de Roſny. Military ſucceſſes of the two kings. Siege of Paris. Death of Henry III. particulars of this aſſaſſination. Henry IV. aſks counſel of Roſny; the perplexing ſituation of this prince. The diſpoſitions of the ſeveral officers in the royaliſt army with reſpect to him. Roſny ſurpriſes Meulan. Military expeditions. A particular account of the battle of Arques, at which Roſny was preſent. Skirmiſhes at Pollet. Henry IV. often in danger. An attempt upon Paris. Rencounters and ſieges of different places. Digreſſions upon thoſe Memoirs. Siege of Meulan. A Spaniſh army in France. Roſny defends Paſſi. The battle of Ivry; particulars of this battle. Roſny often in great danger; is wounded in ſeveral places; he is carried by his own orders to Roſny: Henry IV's affectionate behaviour to him there.

SUMMARY of the FOURTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1590 to 1592. A mutiny in Henry's army after the battle of Ivry; diſſipations of the finances, and other cauſes of the little advantages he derived from it. Cities taken. Attempts on others; diſappointed. The taking of the ſuburbs of Paris; the ſiege of this city; particulars relating to this ſiege; the cauſes which obliged Henry to raiſe it. The prince of Parma leads an army thither; his encampment, and other military details. An error committed by Henry: he obliges the Prince of Parma to retire. The ſiege of Chartres. An adventure wherein Roſny is in danger of being killed: he retires to Roſny in diſcontent. Succeſs of Henry IV's arms. The taking of Corbie, Noyon, &c. An enterpriſe upon Mante. The duke of Montpenſier's expeditions in Normandy. Preparations for the ſiege of Rouen; errors committed at this ſiege. Mutual animoſities between the ſoldiers and officers of Henry's army. Attacks, aſſaults, and other particulars of this ſiege. The prince of Parma comes again with an army into France. The inſolence of the council of ſixteen. Henry advances to meet the prince of Parma. An enterpriſe boldly ſeconded by the duke of Nevers. The battle of

Aumale; particulars of this battle, and obſervations upon it. Henry raiſes the ſiege of Rouen: marches, encampments, rencounters, and battles, betwixt him and the prince of Parma, in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Obſervations upon theſe battles. A glorious exploit of the prince of Parma at the paſſage of the Seine. Henry's army refuſes to purſue him; the cauſes of this refuſal; and reflections upon it.

SUMMARY of the FIFTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1592---1593. A ſuccinct account of the ſtate of affairs in the provinces of France during the years 1591 and 1592. Intrigues carried on by the count of Soiſſons: his character. An abridgment of the duke of Epernon's hiſtory: his diſobedience; his character. Several parties formed in the ſouthern provinces of France: a ſhort account of what paſſed there. The ſiege of Villemur. The ſiege of Epernai, where marſhal Biron is ſlain: his eulogium. Death of the prince of Parma. Roſny marries again, and retires in diſcontent. The cauſe of it. He intercepts the memoirs of the negotiations between Spain and the League. A detail and examen of thoſe papers. A third party formed in France: the perſons who compoſe it; and their views. Henry follows Roſny's advice. The wiſe and cautious conduct obſerved by them both. Converſations betwixt them, wherein Roſny prevails upon him to change his religion. Henry ſounds the proteſtants upon this reſolution. Roſny's conference with Bellozane, the two Durets, and Du-Perron. Conditions offered by the League to Henry; with what deſign; rejected. The meeting of the ſtates of Paris. A project of the prince of Parma's badly executed. Diſunion of the catholic chiefs in theſe ſtates: their intrigues and artifices to ſupplant each other. The parliament of Paris publiſhes an arret. The zeal of its members for the honour of the crown. The truce. The great wiſdom and ability of Henry in profiting of the diſſenſions among the chiefs of the League. Conduct of Villeroi and Jeannin. Roſny gives the king very prudent advice. The ſiege of Dreux; taken by Roſny's means. Henry removes all obſtacles to his converſion. Particulars relating to his abjuration.

SUMMARY of the SIXTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1592---1594. Conduct of Henry with regard to the Pope, Spain, the League, and the huguenots, after his abjuration. Another truce. Artifices of Spain. Barriere's attempt

tempt upon the life of Henry. The jeſuits accuſed and cleared of this crime. Roſny begins a negotiation with admiral Villars, to diſengage him from the party of the League. Feſcamp ſurpriſed by a very extraordinary method. A diſpute raiſed about this fort. Several cities ſurrender to Henry. Roſny's journey to Rouen: a detail of his negotiations with Villars. The character of that governor. Roſny is employed by Henry to effect a reconciliation betwixt the duke of Montpenſier and the count of Soiſſons, and to break off the marriage of the laſter with the princeſs Catherine. He viſits the ducheſs of Aumale at Anet. A farther account of his negotiations with Villars, Médavy, and others. The treaty with Villars, after many obſtacles, concluded. Henry is received into Paris. Circumſtances relating to this reduction. Several inſtances of the generoſity and clemency of this prince. An accommodation with Villeroi. Roſny's third journey to Rouen. Villars ſends away the deputies of Spain and the League. The ceremony with which Rouen was ſurrendered to the king. The conditions upon which Roſny conſents to receive any gratuities. Villars comes to court. An inſtance of Henry's generoſity. Lyons ſubmits to the king, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the duke de Nemours to the contrary. Poitiers, Cambrai, and other cities do the ſame. The taking of La-Capelle by the Spaniards. The ſiege of Laon commences. The affairs which oblige Roſny to return to Paris: his converſation with the cardinal of Bourbon: he ſupports the jeſuits in their proceſs with the univerſity and curates of Paris: he returns to the ſiege of Paris. A farther account of the ſiege. Henry's indefatigable labours there. A great convoy of Spaniards defeated by Biron. Roſny preſent at this rencounter. The king diſpleaſed with Biron. The Spaniards endeavour in vain to throw ſupplies into Laon.

SUMMARY OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1594 to the year 1596. Henry diſſatisfied with the duke of Bouillon; and why. The motives for Roſny's journey to Sedan: his converſation with Bouillon: in which he penetrates into his deſigns, and diſcovers his real character. The taking of Laon. Military expeditions in different parts of the kingdom, betwixt the king's party and that of the League. Deſigns of the duke of Maïenne upon Burgundy. Death of the cardinal of Bourbon. Death of the ſuperintendant D'O: his character. Character of the ducheſs of Guiſe. The duke of Guiſe makes a treaty with the king. Roſny's apology for this treaty. Services performed by the duke

of

of Guiſe for his majeſty. Character of Sancy. The ſtory of Alibouſt. Changes made in the council of the finances. Maxims and reflections relating to the finances. Henry declares war againſt Spain, contrary to Roſny's opinion: he is wounded by John Châtel: particulars of this horrid attempt; and the baniſhment of the jeſuits. The motives which determine Henry to march into Burgundy. Roſny quarrels with the council of the finances. Deſertion of the count of Soiſſons. Roſny inſulted by the count's officers. A campaign in Picardy. The French defeated at Dourlens. Death of admiral Villars. Campaign in Burgundy glorious for Henry IV. Battle of Fontaine-Françoiſe. Conditions upon which the Pope gives abſolution to Henry. The conduct of Cardinal D'Oſſat examined. Henry goes to Picardy. Loſſes ſuſtained there by France. The duke of Montpenſier reveals to the king the plots of the chief noblemen of the kingdom. Bouillon is ſent to London. Jealouſy and hatred of the council of finances againſt Roſny.

SUMMARY OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1596---1597. Siege of La-Fére. The king taken ill. Military enterprizes: ſome executed; others blaſted. Death of the duke of Nemours, and of the duke of Nevers. Embezzlement of the finances. Roſny goes to Henry at Amiens: his adventure with an aſtrologer. Madame de Liancourt in great danger. Roſny's journey to Rouen: he is deputed to the princeſs to prevail upon her to eſpouſe the duke of Montpenſier: the treatment he receives from her: in danger of being diſgraced upon this occaſion: recovers the favour of the princeſs. Succeſs of the king's arms in different provinces. Oppoſition made by the financiers to Roſny's being appointed one of the council of finances. Henry's irreſolution upon this head, who at laſt places him in the council. The duke of Mayenne concludes a treaty with the king, and comes to his majeſty at Monceaux. Roſny goes to viſit the generalities: calumnies of his enemies upon this occaſion: his journey of great uſe to the king. Roſny's diſputes with Sancy: he diſcovers the artifices and frauds of the council of finances. The aſſembly des notables held at Rouen. Reflections upon the ſtates of the kingdom. Good counſel given by Sully to the king. The reſult of this aſſembly. The council of reaſon eſtabliſhed, and afterwards ſuppreſſed. Roſny's labours in the finances.

SUM-

SUMMARY of the NINTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1597—1598. Diverſions at court. The Spaniards ſurpriſe Amiens. Roſny contrives the means of retaking this place: he is put at the head of the council of finances in the king's abſence: his labours in the finances, and diſputes with the council. The ſiege of Amiens, all the neceſſaries for which are ſupplied by Roſny. The proteſtants mutiny again, during this ſiege: their deſigns. Death of St. Luc. Henry promiſes Roſny the poſt of grand-maſter of the ordnance; but gives it to D'Eſtrées. Roſny made governor of Mante. The Spaniards attempt in vain to ſuccour Amiens. It is taken. An account of Henry's letters upon different ſubjects. Enterpriſes after the ſiege of Amiens: ſome fail, others are executed. Negotiations for a peace. Henry IV. goes into Brittany. Cabals of the calviniſts to obtain a favourable edict. Henry gives audience to the Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors, who cannot prevail upon him to continue the war. Edict of Nantz. Henry's converſation with the duke of Bouillon. A ſingular converſation between Henry IV, and Roſny, upon the diſſolution of his marriage, and his paſſion for the ducheſs of Beaufort. Henry returns to Paris: goes to Picardy. Concluſion and ceremonies of the peace of Vervins.

SUMMARY of the TENTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1598---1599. Part of the troops diſbanded. Ordinances upon grain; the wearing of ſwords; and other regulations upon the finances, the police, public works, &c. Queſtion of the true or falſe Don Sebaſtian. Conferences held at Boulogne between Spain and England, but without effect. The ducheſs of Beaufort labours with her partizans to be declared queen. The firmneſs and reſolution with which ſhe is oppoſed by Roſny: he quarrels with her: they are reconciled by Henry. A converſation betwixt this prince and his miſtreſs upon that ſubject. Henry's ſickneſs. Reception of the legat at St. Germain. Labours of Roſny in the finances. Qualities neceſſary for a ſtateſman. Roſny gives an account of his wealth; his character; his manner of living, &c. The deplorable condition to which France was reduced by the wars. Sums expended for the treaties made with the League. Arrets which were publiſhed. Roſny has a diſpute with the duke of Epernon: labours with

with Henry to rectify the abuſes in the finances. The abilities of this prince for government. Singular tranſactions. Expoſition, examen, and artifice of the laſt will of Philip II. The archduchefs comes to Marſeilles. Oppoſition of the clergy of France to the marriage of the princeſs Catherine with the duke of Bar; cardinal D'Oſſat's conduct upon this occaſion: a conference held between the catholics and proteſtants for the converſion of this princeſs, but without ſucceſs: Henry orders the marriage to be ſolemnized by the archbiſhop of Rouen: humorous converſation upon this ſubject. The clergy and parliament oppoſe the regiſtration of the edict of Nantz; alterations made in it; aſſembly of the proteſtants; artifices of the duke of Bouillon upon this occaſion: the edict regiſtrated. The affair of Martha Broſſier. Gratuities and employments given by Henry to Roſny. The ſtrange deaths of the conſtable's wife, and of the ducheſs of Beaufort: Henry's grief for the loſs of the ducheſs: Roſny comforts him.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK I.

THEY flattered themſelves at the court of Charles IX. that the miſeries which befel the proteſtants under the preceding reigns, would at laſt oblige them either to ſubmit to the king's will, or to leave the kingdom. The death of the prince of Condé *, their leader, the loſs of two great battles, the utter diſperſion of their ſoldiers, and the little probability of their being able to re-animate the feeble remainder of their troops, diſcouraged by a long train of miſfortunes, all contributed to perſuade them, that the moment of their ruin approached †. A courage ſuperior to all events, ſupported them in 1570.

Jarnac and Moncontour.

* Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, brother of Antony king of Navarre, and ſon of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome. He was taken priſoner at the battle of Jarnac, in the year 1569, and murdered by a piſtol-ſhot in the back part of his head, by the baron de Montefiquiou. This gentleman being captain of the guards to the duke of Anjou, that prince was accuſed of having commanded him to aſſaſſinate the prince of Condé.

† The reader muſt not forget, that it is a proteſtant who ſpeaks in theſe memoirs: the condition in which religion and politics are at preſent in France, leaves no room to apprehend any bad conſequences to either from what Monſieur de Sully can ſay in favour of the pretended reformed religion. One may even, from the author's own words in ſeveral places, draw very ſtrong arguments for the unity of religion in a kingdom, and

 circumſtances

1570. circumſtances ſo diſtreſsful: they recalled their ſoldiers, who were ſcattered throughout the provinces; and who now began to draw together from Burgundy, Bourbon, and Berry. La Charité was named for the place of their general rendezvous; Vezelai, and ſome other towns, ſtill holding out for them in that neighbourhood. They had even the boldneſs to promiſe themſelves, they ſhould ſpread the alarm as far as Paris, as ſoon as they were reinforced by ſome conſiderable ſupplies of horſe and foot, that they expected from Germany.

THIS news gave great uneaſineſs to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis; but ſhe flattered herſelf, that it would not be difficult to hinder their junction, and afterwards to diſperſe the troops, which ſhe ſuppoſed would be by that means thrown into a conſternation. For this purpoſe ſhe ordered a powerful army to march. Strozzy*, La Chatre, Tavannes, La Valette, and all the general officers in France, were deſirous of ſerving in it; and the marechal de Coſſé†, who was to have the ſupreme command, ſuffered himſelf to be intoxicated with the glory he ſhould acquire, by extirpating even the laſt huguenot ſoldier, and bringing the chiefs of the party bound hand and foot to the queen-mother: but he was ſoon undeceived: the proteſtant army received him with great intrepidity; they were always the firſt to offer battle; in the ſkirmiſhes, which were frequent, the advantage was wholly on their ſide; and they even carried away a kind of victory at the encounter of Arnai-le-duc†. So much obſtinacy convinced the queen-mother, that to

Arms de Coſſe lord of Gonnor, who died in 1582.

the advantage the catholic religion has over the proteſtant. See what is ſaid on this ſubject in the preface to this work.

* Philip Strozzy, lord of Epernay, ſon of Peter Strozzy, marechal of France. Claude de la Chatre, afterwards marechal of France. John de Nogaret, father of the duke d'Epernon. Gaſpard de Saulx de Tavannes, who was alſo marechal of France; he had been page to Francis I. and was at that time one of the counſellors and confidents of Catherine de Medicis. His character may be known by the following traits, which I ſhall copy from the author of the Henriade in his notes, p. 34. "In the night of St. Bartholomew," ſays he, "he ran through "the ſtreets of Paris, crying, Let blood, "let blood; bleeding is as good in the "month of Auguſt as in May. His ſon, "who has written his memoirs, relates, "that his father being upon his death-"bed, made a general confeſſion of the "ſins of his life; after which his confeſ-"ſor ſaying to him, with an air of aſto-"niſhment, Why! you ſpeak not a word "of St. Bartholomew. I look upon that, "replied the marechal, as a meritorious "action, which ought to atone for all "the ſins I have ever committed.

† It was expected from appearances, that the marechal de Coſſé would beat the hugenot army, or at leaſt prevent it from ruin

ruin the proteſtant party it would be neceſſary to have recourſe to other meaſures than war. Treachery ſeemed to her the ſecureſt; and, in order to gain time to prepare for it, ſhe liſtened favourably to propoſals for an accommodation, that a peace was concluded when it was leaſt expected, and upon conditions very advantageous for the huguenots. This was the peace ‖ of 1570. After which, during the ſpace of two years, each party taſted the ſweets of a repoſe, that had been equally deſired by both. 1570.

My father ‡ retired to his houſe at Roſny, and employed himſelf in ſettling his domeſtic affairs. As it is the hiſtory of my own life, jointly with that of the prince whom I ſerved, that will make the ſubject of theſe memoirs, 'tis neceſſary that I ſhould give ſome account of my family and perſon. By ſatisfying the curioſity of the public in theſe particulars, I muſt intreat, that neither vanity nor affectation be imputed to me, ſince a ſtrict regard to truth is my only inducement for relating whatever may appear advantageous for me, either here, or in the ſucceeding parts of theſe Memoirs.

approaching Paris: neither the one nor the other be performed; on the contrary, he was obliged to retreat, after a very ſmart encounter, and from thenceforward contented himſelf with watching the motions of the enemy. In this engagement the calviniſts were commanded by the prince of Navarre and the prince of Condé his couſin-german, the one ſixteen, the other ſeventeen years of age, and by the admiral de Coligny. Peter Matthieu, the hiſtorian, relates theſe words of Henry IV. after he had aſcended the throne: ſpeaking of this encounter at Arnai-le-duc, "My firſt exploits in arms, ſaid "this prince, were at Arnai-le-duc, where "the queſtion was, whether I ſhould "fight or retire. I had no retreat nearer "than forty miles from thence, and if I "ſtaid, I muſt certainly be at the mer-"cy of the country people. By fight-"ing, I ran the riſk of being taken or "ſlain, for I had no cannon, and the "king's forces had; and a gentleman "was killed not ten paces diſtant from "me with a cannon ſhot: but recom-"mending the events of this day to "God, it pleaſed him to make it fa-"vourable and happy." Vol. I. book v. p. 327. In this ſame year the huguenots gained the battle of Lugon, and took Marennes, the iſle of Oleron, Brouage, Xaintes, &c.

‖ By this treaty of peace, many privileges, of which they had been deprived, were reſtored to them, the number of their churches were augmented, and four cities were given them for ſecurity, La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité. This peace was ſigned the 11th of Auguſt, and was called the ſame ill-ſounded peace, becauſe it was proclaimed in the name of the king, by Biron, who was lame, and by N. de Meſmes, lord of Malaiſize, which in French ſignifies ill founded.

‡ Francis de Bethune, Baron de Roſny, who died in the year 1575. His firſt wife was Charlotte Dauvet, daughter of Robert Dauvet, Lord de Rieux, preſident of the chamber of accounts, and of Anne Baſſomnet; by whom he had children, whoſe names will be mentioned hereafter. His ſecond wife was Marguerite de Louvigny, who brought him no iſſue.

1570. MAXIMILIAN is my baptiſmal name, and Bethune that of my family *, which derives its origin, by the houſe of Coucy, from the ancient houſe of Auſtria: we muſt not, however, confound it with that which is at preſent in poſſeſſion of the empire of Germany, and the two Spains. This laſt is deſcended only from the counts of Habſbourg and Quibourg †, private gentlemen, who three hundred years ſince were in the pay of the cities of Straſbourg, Baſi, and Zurich, and who would have thought themſelves highly honoured by being ſtewards of the houſhold to ſuch a prince as the king of France; ſince Raoul, chief of this ſecond houſe of Auſtria, held a like employment under Ottocar king of Bohemia.

* Theſe particulars relating to the houſe of Bethune, are drawn from the body of the ancient memoirs of Sully, and the pieces joined to them; but it will be ſafeſt to rely on the beſt modern genealogiſts, whoſe opinions we ſhall mention hereafter.

† It was long believed, that the houſe of Auſtria was deſcended from the counts of Habſbourgh, or Thierſtein. The writings of the abbey de Mure, or Muri, in Switzerland, careleſly conſulted by Theodore Godefroy, and upon his word adopted by the beſt criticks, and even by father Le Long, have given riſe to this error; but by theſe writings better examined, by the charters of the monaſtery of St. Trutpert, and other acts, it appears, that this houſe is originally from Briſgaw, that it is deſcended from the ancient counts of Alſace, and goes back, by Luitfrid, Rampert, Otpert, &c. counts of Habſbourgh and landgraves of Alſace, not only to Gontran the rich, count of Altembourgh, who lived in the beginning of the tenth century, but even to Adelric or Ethic the firſt, called duke of Germany, eighteenth anceſtor of Raoul or Rodolph the firſt, to the middle of the ſeventh century. This ſeems to be ſufficiently well eſtabliſhed by the new work in Latin of father Marquard Hergott, a benedictin, printed at Vienna 1737, in three volumes, folio, entitled, The diplomatic genealogy of the auguſt houſe of Habſbourgh, &c. See alſo the learned and judicious extract of this work, inſerted in the Journal des Sçavans, March, April, and June, 1740. Beſides this general error, our Memoirs ſeem to have fallen into two other particular ones. It is certain, we ought not to confound this ſecond houſe of Auſtria with that which had the poſſeſſion of Auſtria, &c. till the year 1248, that Frederick the laſt of it died, and which drew its origin from the ancient dukes of Suabia; but we want proofs of the houſe of Bethune's being allied to that of Suabia, or the firſt houſe of Auſtria, tho' it was to the ſecond, by the houſe of Coucy. The duke of Sully probably gave credit to the ancient fable, that derives the houſe of Auſtria from Sigebert, ſon of Theodebert, king of Auſtraſia, and has applied it not to the ſecond houſe of Auſtria, but to the firſt, although the one is no more true than the other. He has reaſon for ſaying afterwards, that Raoul or Rodolph, count of Habſbourgh, and the firſt of this houſe that was emperor, had been ſteward of the houſhold to Ottocar, king of Bohemia; and that Albert his ſon, elected emperor likewiſe, was the firſt of his houſe who took the title of duke of Auſtria, which happened in 1274, when Rodolph gained the dutchies of Auſtria, Stiria, Carniola, &c. from Ottocar his rival; but he ought at the ſame time to have done more juſtice than he has to the antiquity of this houſe.

It

It is from the ſon of this Raoul, that the new ſtock of Auſtria properly begins, for he took the name of Auſtria inſtead of his own. 1570.

THE houſe of Bethune (which has given its name to a city of Flanders, and from whence iſſued the counts that anciently governed that province) boaſts of one Robert de Bethune *, protector of the church of Arras, whoſe father and grandfather, bearing alſo the name of Robert, were declared protectors of the province of Artois. One of theſe two Roberts de Bethune ſignalized himſelf in France, by the taking of La-Roche-vandais, a fortreſs upon the confines of Auvergne, where the rebel Emerigot Marcel had retired; and the other in the wars of Sicily, by killing with his own hand the tyrant Mainfroy, in the preſence of two armies; a ſervice which Charles of Anjou, the rival of Mainfroy, did not reward too highly, by giving him his daughter Catherine to wife. They mention a fourth, Robert de Bethune, who gained a naval battle over the infidels in the Mediterranean. In the church, a James de Bethune, biſhop of Cambray, at the time of the Croiſade of the Albigeois; and a John de Bethune, abbot of Anchin near Valenciennes, who died in the year 1250, with the reputation of great ſanctity, and whoſe bones are revered as thoſe of a martyr. The hiſtory of the Croiſades has not forgot thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves at the taking of Jeruſalem, by being the firſt that mounted the breach. Antony and Coëſne de Bethune †, emulating the glory of their anceſtors, were alſo the firſt that fixed the ſtandard upon the walls of Conſtantinople, when Baldwin, count of Flanders, won this capital from Alexis Comnenus; and Coëſne obtained the government of it.

WHOEVER has ſuch domeſtic examples as theſe, cannot recall them too often to his memory to animate himſelf to follow them.

* Du Cheſne ſeems to be much of the ſame opinion. He proves, that Robert, called Faiſſeus, the head of the houſe of Bethune, who lived in the tenth century, deſcended from a younger branch of the ancient counts of Flanders, and had for his portion the lordſhip of the city of Bethune, firſt barony of the earldom of Artois. If this opinion be well grounded, 'tis certain, that it was the city of Bethune from which this branch took its name, and which was from that time borne by all the houſe of Bethune. The title of patron of the church was then ſo noble, that many ſovereigns thought it an honour to be diſtinguiſhed by it.

† Theſe are apparently the two brothers, ſons of Robert the fifth, lord of Bethune, whom (according to William of Tyr) Philip of Alſace, count of Flanders, propoſed to marry to the two daughters of Baldwin, king of Jeruſalem. It is alſo certain, that after the death of Peter de Courtenay, emperor of Conſtantinople, this Coëſne or Conon de Bethune was

Happy,

1570. Happy, if, during the courſe of my life, my conduct may be ſuch, that ſo many illuſtrious men diſdain not to acknowledge me, nor I have occaſion to bluſh that I am deſcended from them.

At length the houſe of Bethune, growing every day more illuſtrious, became allied * to almoſt all the ſovereign houſes in Europe; it entered into that of Auſtria ‡, and to conclude with what honoured it infinitely more, the auguſt houſe of Bourbon ‖ did not contemn its alliance.

But I muſt confeſs, that the branch from which I am deſcended, had then loſt much of its firſt ſplendor. It was the iſſue of a younger brother †, and the pooreſt of all who have borne this name. The eldeſt branch having three times fallen into the female line, all the great eſtates it poſſeſſed in different parts of Europe did not go to the collateral branches, but went with the daughters to the royal houſes they married into.

My particular anceſtors, by marrying advantageouſly, reſtored to their branch what it wanted to maintain the dignity of its name, but all theſe riches were almoſt entirely diſſipated by the prodigality and

declared regent of the empire, during the minority of Philip de Courtenay his ſon.

* See in Du Cheſne and father Anſelm, all the alliances of the houſe of Bethune with different princes of France; with the emperors of Conſtantinople, the counts of Flanders, Hainault, Boulogne, the kings of Jeruſalem, the dukes of Lorrain, the kings of Caſtile, Leon, Scotland, and England, the families of Courtenay, Chatillon, Montmorency, Melun, Horn, &c.

‡ By Jean de Coucy, who married John de Bethune. It muſt be obſerved, that as often as the houſe of Coucy is mentioned here, it is not in reality the houſe of Coucy but that of Guines that is meant. The eldeſt branch of this ancient houſe of Coucy was extinct in the perſon of Enguerrand the fourth of Coucy. Enguerrand de Guines, who married Alice de Coucy, the daughter of a younger branch, revived it, by taking the name and the arms. The houſe of Guines was not leſs ancient and illuſtrious than that of Coucy.

‖ By the houſes of Chatillon, Neelle, Montmorency, Luxembourgh, and laſtly by the houſe of Melun.

Anne de Melun, lady of Roſny, who married John IV. de Bethune, reckoned in her family, ſays Du Cheſne, as well on the ſide of her father, Hugo de Melun, viſcount de Gand, as on that of Jean de Horn her mother, more than ten princes of the blood-royal of France, and all the ſovereigns of Europe.

† John de Bethune, anceſtor in the ſeventh degree of the duke of Sully, had two ſons, Robert and John. Robert, by three marriages, left only daughters. John is the younger brother, of whom the author here ſpeaks; he was lord of Locres and Autreche. Matthew de Bethune, another anceſtor of the author's, had likewiſe three daughters, and no ſon.

bad

bad management of my grandfather *, who left nothing to his son my father, but the eſtate of Anne de Melun his wife, which it was not in his power to deprive him of. 1571.

As for what relates to me perſonally: at the time of which I have been ſpeaking, I entered into my eleventh year, being born the 13th of December 1560. Although I was but the ſecond † of four ſons, yet the natural imperfections of my eldeſt brother ‡ made my father look upon me as the future head of his family; all the indications of a ſtrong and vigorous conſtitution recommending me ſtill more to his favour. My parents bred me in the opinions and doctrine of the reformed religion, and I have continued conſtant in the profeſſion of it; neither threatenings, promiſes, variety of events, nor the change even of the king my protector, joined to his moſt tender ſolicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce it.

Henry || king of Navarre, who will have the principal ſhare in theſe memoirs, was ſeven years older than me, and when the peace of 1570 was concluded, entered into his eighteenth year ‡. A coun-

* John de Bethune, baron de Baye: he married Anne de Melun, daughter of Hugo de Melun, viſcount de Gand, and of Jane d'Aſpremont: he was heir of Rosny. After her death, he married Jean Du Puy, a private gentleman. He ſold the lordſhips of Orathoux, d'Avraincourt, Novion, Commenchon, Joye, Barmay, Talus, Loudun, Villeraudi, Chatillon, Broucy, &c. Du Cheſne, ibid.

† Francis de Bethune, baron de Rosny, &c. had ſix ſons, but the author does not reckon John and Charles, who died young. The four others are, Lewis, Maximilian, Solomon, and Philip de Bethune. He mentions each of them in another place.

‡ Lewis drowned himſelf at twenty years of age.

|| "The houſe of Bourbon, from "Lewis IX. to Henry IV. had been al-"moſt always neglected; and to ſuch "extreme poverty was it reduced, that "the famous prince of Conde, brother "to Antony king of Navarre, and uncle "to Henry the great, had no more than "ſix hundred livres a-year for his patri-"mony." *Eſſay on the civil wars.*

Theſe words of the author of the Henriade might eaſily lead one into an error, if at the ſame time we were not warned of it by an hiſtorian better informed, who tells us, that the houſe of Bourbon was then in poſſeſſion of a revenue of more than eight hundred thouſand livres a-year in lands only, which was at that time thought a very conſiderable fortune. 'Tis certain, that this was all it poſſeſſed of the ancient eſtate of Bourbon, or even of the houſe of Moncade, the maternal ſtock; the eſtates of theſe two houſes, which came by very rich and illuſtrious alliances, being alienated to purchaſe the viſcounty of Narbonne. Peter Matthieu's hiſtory of Henry IV. vol. II. p. 1 and 2. For their alliances, and the genealogy of the houſe of Bourbon, conſult alſo the New chronology of Peter Victor Cayet, vol. I. book i. p. 237. and our other hiſtorians.

‡ He was born at Pau in Bearn, December 13th, 1553. Mr. de Perefixe relates ſome very curious particulars concerning

tenance

1571. tenance noble, open, and inſinuating, free, eaſy, and lively manners, with an uncommon dexterity in performing all the exerciſes ſuitable to his age, drew the eſteem and admiration of all that knew him. He began early to || diſcover thoſe great talents for war, which have ſo highly diſtinguiſhed him among other princes. Vigorous and indefatigable by the education of his infancy *, he breathed nothing but

his birth. " Henry d'Albert, his grand-" father, made his daughter promiſe to " ſing a ſong to him while ſhe was in la-" bour; in order, ſaid he, that you may " bring me a child, who will neither weep " nor make wry faces. The princeſs had " fortitude enough, in the midſt of her " pains, to keep her word, and ſang a " ſong in Bearnois, her own country " language. As ſoon as Henry entered " the chamber, the child came into the " world without crying; his grandfather " immediately carried him to his own a-" partment, and there rubbed his little " lips with a clove of garlic, and made " him ſuck ſome wine out of a gold cup, " to make his conſtitution ſtrong and vi-" gorous." Perefixe's hiſtory of Henry the great, p. 1. Cayet, vol. I. book i. p. 241.

|| " This young prince, when he was " only thirteen years of age, had judg-" ment enough to obſerve faults in the " conduct of the prince of Condé, and the " admiral Coligny. It was his opinion, " and a very judicious one, that at the " great ſkirmiſh at Loudun, if the duke " of Anjou had had troops in readineſs to " attack them, he would have done it: " that he did not do it, but choſe to re-" tire, was a proof of his being in a weak " condition, and therefore they ought to " have attacked him; this they neglected, " and by that means gave time for all " his troops to join him. At the bat-" tle of Jarnac, he repreſented to them " with equal ſtrength of judgment, that " they had not a favourable opportunity " for fighting, becauſe the forces of the " princes were diſperſed, and thoſe of " the duke of Anjou all joined: but they " were too far engaged to retire. At the " battle of Moncontour, when he was but " ſixteen years of age, he cried out, We " loſe our advantage, and conſequently the " battle." Perefixe, ibid.

* " He was brought up in the caſtle " of Coaraſſe in Bearn, ſituated amidſt " rocks and mountains. Henry d'Albert, " his grandfather, would have him cloath-" ed and fed like other children in that " country. They even accuſtomed him " to run up and down the rocks. It is " ſaid, that his ordinary food was brown " bread, beef, cheeſe, and garlick; and " that they often made him walk barefoot " and bareheaded." Perefixe, ibid.

While he was in the cradle, he was called prince of Viane. A little time after, they gave him the title of duke of Beaumont, and after that prince of Navarre. The queen of Navarre his mother took great care of his education, and appointed La Gaucherie, a very learned man, but a ſtrict Calviniſt, for his preceptor.

" While he was yet a child, he was " preſented to Henry II. who aſked him " if he would be his ſon: He is my " father, replied the little prince in Bear-" nois, pointing to the king of Navarre. " Well, ſaid the king, will you be my " ſon-in-law then? Oh, with all my " heart, anſwered the prince. From that " time, his marriage with the princeſs " Margaret was reſolved upon. At Ba-" yonne the duke of Medina, looking at " him earneſtly, ſaid, This prince either " will, or ought to be an emperor." Cayet, vol. I. b. i. p. 240.

In the Memoirs of Nevers we meet with ſome letters written in 1567, by the principal magiſtrates of Bourdeaux, that contain ſeveral very intereſting particulars concerning the perſon and manners of young Henry. " We have here, ſays one,

labour,

labour, and seemed to wait with impatience for occasions of acquiring glory. The crown of France not being yet the object of his aspiring wishes, he indulged himself in forming schemes for the recovering that of Navarre, which Spain had unjustly usurped from his family; and this he thought he might be enabled to perform, by maintaining a secret intelligence with the Moors in Spain *. The enmity he bore to this power, was open and declared; it was born with him, and he never condescended to conceal it. He felt his courage enflamed at the relation of the † battle of Lepante, which was fought at that time; and a like opportunity of distinguishing himself against the infidels became one of his most ardent wishes. The vast and flattering expectations which the astrologers agreed in making him conceive, were almost always present to his mind. He saw the foundation of them in that affection which Charles IX. early entertained for him, and which considerably increased a short time before his death: but animated as he was with these happy presages, he laboured to second them only in secret, and never disclosed his thoughts to any person but a small number of his most intimate confidents. 1571.

In order to form a just idea, either of the general state of affairs in the government of France, or of those of the young prince of Na-

" the prince of Bearn; it must be con-
" fess'd, that he is a charming youth.
" At thirteen years of age, he has all
" the riper qualities of eighteen or nine-
" teen: he is agreeable, polite, obliging,
" and behaves to every one with an air so
" easy and engaging, that wherever he is,
" there is always a crowd. He mixes in
" conversation like a wise and prudent
" man, speaks always to the purpose, and
" when it happens that the court is the
" subject of discourse, 'tis easy to see that
" he is perfectly well acquainted with it,
" and never says more nor less than he
" ought, in whatever place he is. I shall
" all my life hate the new religion for
" having robb'd us of so worthy a sub-
" ject." And in another, " His hair is
" a little red, yet the ladies think him
" not less agreeable on that account: his
" face is finely shap'd, his nose neither
" too large nor too small, his eyes full
" of sweetness, his skin brown but clear,
" and his whole countenance animated
" with an uncommon vivacity: with all
" these graces, if he is not well with the
" ladies, he is extremely unfortunate."
Again, " He loves diversions and the
" pleasures of the table. When he wants
" money, he has the address to procure it
" in a manner quite new, and very a-
" greeable to others as well as himself;
" to those, whether men or women,
" whom he thinks his friends, he sends
" a promissary note, written and signed
" by himself, and intreats them to send
" him back the note, or the sum mention-
" ed in it. Judge, if there is a family that
" can refuse him: every one looks upon
" it as an honour to have a note from this
" prince," &c. Vol. II. p. 586.

* My ewe, said Henry d'Albert, has brought forth a lion. And added from a secret presage, This child will revenge me on Spain for the injuries I have received from her. Peref. ibid.

† Gained this year against the Turks by Don John of Austria, natural son to

1571. varre, and what he might have to hope or fear in the times of which we are ſpeaking, 'tis neceſſary to give a ſummary relation of the different ſteps taken by the miniſtry, both before and after the death of the * king of Navarre his father, ſlain before Rouen. I ſhall go back, therefore, to the rupture that kindled the war between Henry II. and Philip II. of Spain. To which ſide ſoever it owed its riſe, the event was not ſo favourable to France, as convenient for the views of the two men who adviſed it. Theſe were the conſtable † de Montmorency, and the duke ‡ de Guiſe, who hoped theſe troubles would furniſh them with the means of reciprocally ſupplanting each other. In this war there was ſufficient employment for both. The duke of Guiſe, at the head of a powerful army, paſſed into Italy, where he performed nothing worthy his reputation. But the conſtable was ſtill more unſucceſsful: the moſt diſtinguiſhing poſt, which was the command of the army in Flanders, he reſerved for himſelf, and loſt St. Quentin, with the battle of that name, where he was taken priſoner. This defeat was followed by that of the marechal Thermes at Gravelins.

Paul de la Berts, lord of Thermes, marechal of France.

The duke of Guiſe ſaw all his wiſhes compleated by theſe unfortunate events. He was recalled from Italy, to be placed ſingly at the head of the council and armies, with which he acquired Calais to

Charles the fifth. He was generaliſſimo of the Spaniſh and Venetian troops.

* Antony de Bourbon, huſband of Jane d'Albert queen of Navarre. He turned catholic. M. de Thou relates an anecdote of him, which we cannot do better than give in the words of the author of the Henriade. "Francis de Guiſe did "deſign to aſſaſſinate him in the cham- "ber of king Francis II. Antony de "Navarre had a great deal of courage, "though his judgment was weak; he "was informed of the plot, yet went re- "ſolutely into the chamber where it was "to be executed. If they murder me, "ſaid he to Reinſy, one of his gentlemen, "take my bloody ſhirt, and carry it to "my wife and ſon: that will teach them "what they ought to do to revenge me. "Francis the ſecond durſt not ſtain him- "ſelf with this crime; and the duke of "Guiſe at leaving his chamber, exclaim- "ed, What a poor king have we!"

† Anne, conſtable of Montmorency. He received a wound at the battle of St. Denis, October 10, 1567, of which he died.

‡ Claude de Lorrain, a ſtem of the houſe of Guiſe in France, had ſix ſons, Francis, duke of Guiſe; Charles, archbiſhop of Rheims, called cardinal of Lorrain; Claude, duke of Aumale; Lewis, cardinal of Guiſe; Francis, grand prior; and René, marquis d'Elbœuf. Francis the eldeſt, is he whom the author here mentions. He married Anne d'Eſt, and was murdered in 1563, with three poiſoned balls, by the hand of John Poltrot de Meri, a gentleman of Angoumois. Poltrot impeached the admiral, the count de la Rochefoucault, and Theodore de Beze, as accomplices in his crime; but afterwards varying in his accuſations, the admiral was declared innocent. His titles were, duke of Guiſe and Aumale, prince of Joinville, knight of the order of the king, peer, grand maſter, grand chamberlain, and grand huntſman of France.

France.

France. The conſtable in his priſon felt all the force of this blow; and being reſolved to go and defend his rights at any price, he treated of a peace with Spain. It was not indeed an honourable one for the king his maſter, but it releaſed him from captivity. The death of king Henry II. entirely ſunk his credit *. This prince was ſlain in the midſt of the magnificent rejoicings on account of his daughter's marriage with the king of Spain, which was the ſeal of the peace. Francis II. who ſucceeded him, was young, weak and infirm: he had married the niece † of the duke of Guiſe, and that nobleman became in his turn the ſole governor of the king and kingdom. The proteſtants could not have fallen into the hands of a more cruel enemy. He was buſied in forming vaſt projects, and meditating the ſtrangeſt cataſtrophes in France, when he himſelf experienced the viciſſitudes of fortune. A ſudden death, occaſioned by a pain in his ear ‡, deprived him of Francis II. The reign of Charles IX. his brother, yet an infant, was ſingular in this, that the authority ſeemed to be equally divided amongſt the queen-mother, the princes of the blood, the conſtable, and the duke of Guiſe. Each of them in ſecret ſupported a party of his own. The good deſtiny of the duke of Guiſe placed him a ſecond time at the head of affairs, by the union that Catherine made with him. Upon this union ſhe even founded the principal part of her politics; and 'tis pretended, the hatred ſhe began to ſhew towards the princes of Bourbon, had a great ſhare in it: this averſion aroſe from her having taken it into her head, upon the faith of an aſtrologer, that none of the princes her ſons ſhould have iſſue, in which caſe the crown muſt paſs to a branch of the houſe of Bourbon. She could not reſolve to ſee it go out of her family, and therefore deſtined it to the poſterity of her ‖ daughter, who was married to the duke of Lorrain. Whatever there may be in this predilection of the queen-mother * *, it is certain, ſhe gave birth to two parties 1571.

* Struck in the eye with a ſplinter of a lance in a tournament, where he ran againſt the count de Montgomery, July 10, 1559.

† Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, daughter of James V. king of Scotland, and of Mary of Lorrain, of the houſe of Guiſe.

‡ The abſceſs that he had in this part turning to a mortification, he died the 5th of December, 1560. No more was needful to raiſe a ſuſpicion of his being poiſoned.

‖ Claude of France, the ſecond of three daughters, which Catherine de Medicis had by her marriage with Henry II. She married the duke of Lorrain, and had children by him.

** M. L'Abbé le Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, aſſigns another reaſon for queen Catherine's hatred to the king of Navarre: he declares he read in theſe memoirs, that this prince and the duke d'Alençon being priſoners together, they plotted to ſtrangle the queen-mother with their own hands, when ſhe

1571. in politics as well as religion, which began from that moment to fill the kingdom with confuſion, horror, and the moſt dreadful calamities.

This dreadful tempeſt ſeemed ſolely formed to burſt upon the head of the young prince of Navarre. The * king of Navarre, his father, was juſt then dead: his death, indeed, left a prince and a king to be head of the reformed religion in France: but this prince was a child of ſeven years of age, and the mark at which all the blows of the new council were aimed, who acted in concert with the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and all the catholics of Europe. In effect, this party experienced the moſt cruel reverſes of fortune; yet, by the wiſe conduct of its chiefs, and the early talents of young Henry, it ſupported itſelf with glory till the peace of 1570, at which period theſe Memoirs commence.

Prince Henry made uſe of the quiet that was given him, to viſit his eſtates, and his government of Guyenne; after which he came and ſettled in Rochelle, with the queen of Navarre his mother, the admiral de Coligny, and the principal chiefs of the proteſtant party, to whom this important city, far diſtant from the court, ſeemed moſt advantageous for the intereſt of their religion. A very wiſe reſolution, had they been capable of adhering to it conſtantly.

Gaſpard de Coligny, lord of Châtillon-ſur-Loing, admiral of France.

Queen Catherine diſſembled the trouble this conduct gave her, and during the whole year 1571, ſpoke only of faithfully obſerving the treaties, of entering into a cloſer correſpondence with the proteſtants, and carefully preventing all occaſions of rekindling the war. This was the pretence of the marechal de Coſſé's deputation, whom ſhe ſent to Rochelle with Malaſſize and La Proûtiere, maſters of requeſts, her creatures and confidents; but the true motive was to obſerve all the ſteps of the calviniſts, to ſound their inclinations, and draw them inſenſibly to an entire confidence in her, which was abſolutely neceſſary to her deſigns; and ſhe forgot nothing on her ſide that was capable of

Philip Gouraud de la Proûtiere.

came into their chamber. This deſign was not executed through the horror they themſelves felt at the fact; and the king of Navarre afterwards but ill concealing the ſecret, Catherine de Medicis was to the laſt degree enraged againſt him.

* The author is miſtaken in placing the death of Antony king of Navarre in 1560; it did not happen till 1562, by a wound he received at the ſiege of Rouen. See his character and eulogium in the Memoirs of Brantome, vol. III. p. 242.

inſpiring

inſpiring it. The marechal de Montmorency * was ſent to Rouen with the preſident de Morſan, to do juſtice there for the outrages committed againſt the huguenots; any infringements of the treaty of peace were ſeverely puniſhed; and king Charles uſually called it his treaty, and his peace. This prince would on all occaſions artfully inſinuate, that he conſented to this peace, in order to ſupport the princes of his blood againſt the too great authority of the Guiſes, whom he accuſed of conſpiring with Spain to throw the kingdom into confuſion †. Theſe noblemen ſeemed daily to decreaſe in favour; and their complaints, whether true or falſe, gave all imaginable colour to this report. Charles did not even make the leaſt difficulty of advancing as far as Blois and Bourgueil, to confer with the proteſtants, who for their deputies had named ‡ Téligny, ſon-in-law to the admiral, Briquemaut, Beauvais-la-Nocle, and Cavagne; and theſe four deputies, when they went afterwards to Paris, were loaded with preſents and civilities.

1571. Bernard Prevot, lord of Morſan.

THE marechal de Coſſé did not fail to give weight to theſe appearances of ſincerity: having by that means inſinuated himſelf, he began to confer in earneſt with the queen of Navarre on the ſcheme of marrying the prince her ſon to the princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to the king of France; and was commiſſioned by Charles to promiſe a portion of four hundred thouſand crowns. For the || prince of Condé,

* Francis de Montmorency, eldeſt ſon of Anne, conſtable of Montmorency, died in 1579.

† Charles IX. had a natural averſion to the duke of Guiſe. He was ſo offended at his having demanded the princeſs Margaret his ſiſter in marriage, that ſpeaking on this ſubject one day to the grand prior of France, natural ſon of Henry II. he ſaid, ſhewing him two ſwords, "Of theſe "two ſwords that thou ſeeſt, there is one "of them to kill thee, if to-morrow at "the chace thou doſt not kill the duke of "Guiſe with the other." Theſe words were repeated afterwards to the duke of Guiſe, who quitted his purſuit. F. Matthieu, book vi. p. 333. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that Charles IX. purſued the duke of Guiſe one day with a javelin in his hand, and ſtruck it forcibly into a door, at the ſame moment that the duke came out of it, for having, in playing, touched him with a file. Ibid. 376.

‡ Charles, lord of Téligny in Rouergue, Montreüil, &c. married to Louiſa de Coligny. He had ſomething ſo ſweet and amiable in his countenance, that at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, thoſe perſons who were firſt ſent to aſſaſſinate him, ſtopped as in ſuſpence, and had not reſolution enough to ſtrike the blow. Francis Briquemaut. John de Lafin, called Beauvais-la-Nocle, to diſtinguiſh him from Philip de Lafin his eldeſt brother. The author wrote Tavannes, but we muſt read Cavagne. Arnaud de Cavagne was a counſellor of the parliament of Toulouſe.

|| Henry the firſt, prince of Condé. Mary of Cleves, marchioneſs d'Iſle, related to the Guiſes, and brought up in the court

he

1571. he propoſed the third heireſs of Cleves, a very conſiderable match; and the * counteſs d' Entremont for the admiral de Coligny, whom he rightly judged would be more difficult than all the others to be perſuaded: to this laſt article, therefore, he added a nuptial preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns, which the king engaged to give the admiral, together with all the benefices his brother the cardinal had enjoyed †. The marechal de Biron was ſent to confirm theſe ſhining offers, and entirely gained the queen of Navarre, by feigning to impart to her in confidence the ſuſpicions which were entertained at court, that Philip II. king of Spain had poiſoned the queen his wife, Elizabeth of France ‡, who had been falſly accuſed of an intrigue with the infant Don Carlos. At the ſame time he told her, under an injunction of ſecrecy, that the court being reſolved to revenge this injury, would carry the war into Flanders and Artois, the reſtitution of which would be demanded from the king of Spain, as being ancient fiefs of the crown, like that of Navarre; and that they would commence hoſtilities by ſuccouring Mons, which the prince of Orange had juſt taken from the Spaniards.

Armand de Gontault de Biron, marechal of France.

William of Naſſau, prince of Orange.

of the queen of Navarre. She had no children by her huſband, who afterwards married Charlotte Catherine de la Trimouille.

* Jaqueline de Montbel, only daughter of Sebaſtian, count of Entremont, widow of Claud Batarnai, lord of Anton, who was killed at the battle of St. Denis. The duke of Savoy detained her ſome time in his dominions, but ſhe eſcaped, and came to Rochelle to marry the admiral. His firſt wife was Charlotte de Laval.

† Odet de Châtillon, cardinal biſhop of Beauvais, abbot of St. Benoit ſur Loire, &c. He was made a cardinal at ſixteen years of age; and although he was degraded from this dignity by pope Pius the fourth, he was publicly married in the habit of a cardinal to Elizabeth de Hauteville, a lady of Normandy, to whom he gave the title of counteſs of Beauvais, and as ſuch ſhe took rank at the public ceremonies. In 1564, he was accuſed of high treaſon before the parliament of Paris. He died in the beginning of the year 1571, at Southampton in England, whither he was ſent during the war, to ſupport the intereſts of the calviniſts with queen Elizabeth; and after the peace he was commiſſioned by the king to treat of a marriage between this princeſs and the duke of Alençon. 'Tis certain, though d'Aubigné takes no notice of it, that his valet de chambre poiſoned him with an apple, as he was preparing to return to France, being recalled by the admiral his brother. Thuanus, lib. 50.

D'Aubigny adds, that the admiral was in reality put in poſſeſſion of great part of theſe benefices, and enjoyed them during the ſpace of a year; and that Charles the ninth gave him alſo a hundred thouſand francs, to purchaſe furniture for his houſe of Chatillon. D'Aubigny's hiſtory, vol. II. book i. chap. 1.

‡ Eldeſt daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis. Moſt of the French hiſtorians are of this opinion. The Spaniards attribute her death to bleeding, and medicines, that the phyſicians, not knowing that ſhe was with child, made her take. She died a little time after, in 1568.

Don Carlos, prince of Spain, whom

To

To compleat all he added, that the king had fixed upon the admiral to command his army, with the title of viceroy of the Low-Countries: and he was actually at that time permitted to nominate the general officers that were to ſerve under him, as a little while before he had done the commiſſioners of the peace. The report of this expedition into the Low-Countries ſpread ſo far, that it is certain the grand ſeignor offered the king of France his gallies and troops to make a diverſion, and to facilitate the conqueſt. With regard to the queen of England, nothing was omitted that was neceſſary to be done on this occaſion. Montmorency was ſent ambaſſador thither, with inſtructions to uſe every method, by which he might gain the princeſs, and prevail upon her to chuſe one of the king's brothers for a huſband. A marriage, which, they ſaid, would alike ſtrengthen the union of the two religions, and the two powers. 1571.

THIS conduct, ſo full of ſeeming frankneſs, might have been ſuſpected by its exceſs; yet it had the deſigned effect, and the diſcourſe of the courtiers did not a little contribute towards it. The deſire of breathing the air of a gay and magnificent court, and of enjoying the honours that were prepared for them, ſerved more than any thing elſe to baniſh their ſcruples. * Beauvais, Bourſaut, and Francourt, were the firſt who ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded, and they made a point of it afterwards to perſuade others. Some hints for a journey to Paris had been already thrown out; theſe three perſons ſtrongly ſupported that deſign, and repreſented to the queen of Navarre, that if ſhe refuſed to go upon this occaſion, ſhe would not only give offence to the king, but loſe all the advantage of this favourable ſituation of her affairs. At firſt ſhe doubted, and continued irreſolute during ſome months, but yielding about the end of the year 1571, preparations for the journey were made the beginning of 1572, and the time of their departure fixed the month of May following.

THE huguenots, one would imagine, affected to cloſe their eyes, that they might not ſee a thouſand circumſtances, ſufficient to make the ſincerity of ſuch great promiſes ſuſpected. The king and queen could not ſo well diſſemble, but that they ſuffered their real ſentiments to be ſometimes gueſſed at. It was known, that Charles had one day ſaid to Catherine, "Do I not play my part well?" To which ſhe

Philip II. his father alſo put to a violent death.

* —— Beauvais, governor to the prince of Navarre. Gervais Barbier, lord of Francourt, chancellor to the king of Navarre.

anſwered,

1571. answered, "Very well, my ſon, but you muſt hold out to the end." Something alſo had taken air, relating to the reſult of the conferences held at Bayonne *, between the courts of France and Spain. The king of Navarre had been very ill received in his government of Guyenne: Bourdeaux had ſhut its gates againſt him; and the marquis de Villars, who commanded the royal army there, would neither draw off his troops, nor permit them to receive orders from the prince. In Rochelle, they were ignorant that the king had actually a naval force over all the coaſt, which they ſuppoſed had been deſtined for Holland. The citizens had moreover diſcovered the artifices which Strozzy †, La Garde, Lanſac, and Landereau, had made uſe of to gain the cuſtody of their gates, and to ſeize their city. In fine, while they boaſted of their exactneſs in maintaining the treaty of peace in its fulleſt extent, it was but too plain, that a great number of injuries were offered to the proteſtants, which the court either authorized, or diſſembled the knowledge of. The chancellor de l'Hopital ‡ being inclined to puniſh the aggreſſors at Rouen, Dieppe, Orange, &c. this was the cauſe, together with his refuſing to ſeal the revocation of an edict of pacification, that he was baniſhed from court ‖. Without all theſe inſtances of treachery, the huguenots, one would imagine, were ſufficiently warned by the knowledge they had of Catherine's

Honorat, a baſtard of Savoy, marquis of Villars.

* In 1564, the queen-mother, after having travelled through great part of the kingdom, advanced almoſt to Bayonne, where ſhe had many private conferences with the duke d'Albe, who had attended the queen of Spain thither. There were appearances ſufficient to make it probable, that the ſubject of theſe conferences was an alliance between the pope, France, and the houſe of Auſtria, and the means by which they ſhould extirpate the proteſtant party: but there is no certainty, that the deſign of the maſſacre of Bartholomew, which was not executed till ſeveral years after, was formed there. Matthieu tells us, that the prince of Navarre being then a child, and almoſt continually with Catherine de Medicis, heard ſomething of the plot to exterminate all the heads of the proteſtant party: he gave notice of it to the queen his mother, and ſhe to the prince of Condé and the admiral, and the rage this inſpired them with, carried them to the enterprize at Meaux. Hiſt. of France, vol. I. p. 283.

† Philip Strozzy: the baron de la Garde, called captain Polin: Lanſac the younger, brother of Lewis de Luſignan of St. Gelais, lord of Lanſac: and Charles Rouhault, lord of Landereau, who commanded this fleet.

‡ Michael de l'Hopital, chancellor of France. The ſeals were taken from him, and given to John de Morvilliers. He died in 1573.

‖ I ſuppreſs two reaſons drawn from the canons of the councils of Conſtance and Trent, from whence the author infers, that the pope, the biſhops, &c. did not think themſelves obliged to keep their word with heretics. M. Fleury, and our moſt learned eccleſiaſtical critics, have fully juſtified the conduct of the firſt of theſe councils, with regard to John Hus and Jerome of Prague; and the good faith of the ſecond towards the proteſtants.

temper, as well as that of her ſon. Could they flatter themſelves that this prince, naturally furious, and vindictive, would forget the attempt at Meaux *, the invaſion of Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Lyon, &c. Havre given up by the huguenots to the Engliſh, foreigners introduced into the heart of the kingdom, ſo many battles, ſo much blood ſhed? Reaſons of ſtate, that phraſe ſo familiar with ſovereigns, that under the anguiſe of policy they may ſatisfy their perſonal reſentment, and other paſſions, will ſcarce permit them to ſuffer their ſubjects to engage in ſuch enterprizes with impunity. Catherine, to that time, had always perſiſted to impute the death of her huſband to them, which ſhe could never pardon, no more than their having treated the whole family of Medicis like the enemies of Chriſt. Nor was there leſs imprudence in truſting the Pariſians, whoſe animoſity and fury againſt the huguenots had broke out again, in the affair of the croſs of Gatine †. From all this, my father conceived ſuch ſtrong apprehenſions, that when the report of the court of Navarre's journey to Paris firſt reached him, he could not give credit to it. Firmly perſuaded, that the preſent calm would be of ſhort continuance, he made haſte to take advantage of it, in order to ſhut himſelf up immediately with all his effects in Rochelle, when every one elſe talked of nothing but leaving it. The queen of Navarre herſelf informed him more particularly of this deſign ſoon after, and requeſted him to join her in her way to Vendome. My 1572.

* In the year 1567, the prince of Condé, and the admiral de Coligny, formed the deſign of ſeizing Charles the IX. at Meaux, where he then was, and from whence the queen-mother made him ſet out precipitately at night, to return to Paris. This deſign would have been executed, but for the ſeaſonable arrival of three thouſand Swiſs, who covered the king in his march, and the calviniſts durſt not attack him. See the hiſtorians.

† The following is the fact, as it is related by M. de Thou, book i. anno 1571. Philip Gatine, a rich merchant of St. Denis ſtreet, having ſome years before been convicted of lending his houſe to the huguenots, to ſerve them for a church, he was, by the parliament of Paris, condemned to be hanged or burnt the 30th of July. His houſe was demoliſhed, and in its place a pillar was erected, in the form of a croſs, which was afterwards called the croſs of Gatine. With the edict of pacification, paſſed in the year 1570, the calviniſts obtained, that this croſs ſhould be thrown down, which after ſome delay was at laſt executed; but it occaſioned ſuch violent tumults amongſt the populace, that the council was obliged to ſend ſome troops thither, under the command of the duke de Montmorency. Felibien, in the ſecond volume of his Hiſtory of the city of Paris, ſays, that this croſs was replaced at the entry of the church-yard of the Innocents, after the iron plate, upon which the decree of the parliament was engraved, had been taken away; and it is ſtill to be ſeen there. Sauval, vol. II. book viii. of the Antiquities of Paris, mentions the place where this houſe ſtood, in the ſtreet of St. Denis, over-againſt the ſtreet of the Lombards, where indeed there is a hollow in the ground, which poſſibly might be the foundation of Gatine's houſe.

1572. father prepared to go; and being desirous of taking me with him, he ordered me some days before his departure, to attend him in his chamber, and no one being present but la Durandiere, my preceptor, he thus spoke to me: "Maximilian, since custom does not permit "me to make you the principal heir of my estates, to balance this "disadvantage, I will endeavour to enrich you with virtues; by means "of which, I hope, as hath been predicted to me, you will one day "distinguish yourself. Prepare, therefore, to support with fortitude "whatever difficulties you may meet with in the world, and by no- "bly surmounting them, procure the esteem of all good men, par- "ticularly that of the master to whom I am desirous of giving you, "and in whose service I recommend to you to live and die. I am "going to Vendome, to meet the queen of Navarre, and the prince "her son; dispose yourself to accompany me, and when I present you "to him offer him your service; and, that you may express yourself "gracefully, study a little speech for that purpose." Accordingly I attended him to Vendome *. He found there a general security, and an air of satisfaction on every face, which in public he durst not object to; but whenever he had an opportunity of conversing in private, either with the queen, the prince, the admiral, the counts Ludovic † and Rochefoucault, and the other protestant lords, he very freely told them, he was surprized that they had so soon forgot the many occasions that had been given them for well-grounded apprehensions; that from a reconciled enemy, excessive promises and civilities were no less suspicious, and much more dangerous, than open menaces and declared hatred: that it was hazarding still more, to expose a young prince, too little guarded against the allurements of pleasure, to the attractions of the most voluptuous court in the world. He represented to them, that instead of dreaming of an alliance so unhappy as that must necessarily be, between this prince and a princess who professed a different religion, they ought rather to have endeavoured to marry him to the queen of England, who might have assisted him in his attempts to recover the crown of Navarre, and possibly, as occasions offered, that of France likewise. He had so strong a foreboding of the fatal consequences of this French match, that he often said, if the nuptials

* Francis de Bethune, the author's father, followed the prince of Condé to the battle of Jarnac, and was there taken prisoner. An indictment of high treason was made out against him, for having borne arms against his majesty, and his estates were seized, but were restored to him at the peace. Du Chesne.

† Or Lewis of Nassau, brother to William prince of Orange. Francis, count of Rochefoucault, and prince of Marsillac, slain in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

were

were celebrated at Paris, the bridal favours would be crimſon. This prudent advice was looked upon to be the effect of weakneſs and timidity. My father, not willing to appear wiſer than ſo many perſons of more diſtinguiſhed underſtandings, ſuffered himſelf, contrary to his opinion, to be driven with the torrent, and only demanded time to put himſelf into a condition of appearing with that ſplendor his rank required, in a court where every thing was magnificent. For this purpoſe, he again took the road to Roſny; but before he went, he preſented me to the prince of Navarre, in the preſence of the queen his mother, and, in my name, gave him aſſurances of an inviolable attachment; which I confirmed with great boldneſs, putting one knee to the ground. The prince raiſed me immediately, and after twice embracing me, had the goodneſs to commend the zeal which my family had always diſcovered for him, and, with that engaging air ſo natural to him, promiſed me his protection; a promiſe I at that time regarded as a mere effect of his complaiſance, but which I have ſince ſeen accompliſhed far beyond my hopes and merit. I did not return with my father to Roſny, but went to Paris in the queen of Navarre's train. As ſoon as I arrived, ſenſible of the neceſſity my youth had of inſtruction, I applied myſelf cloſely to my ſtudies, without neglecting, however, to make my court to the prince my maſter. I lived with a governor and valet de chambre, at a diſtance from the court, in a quarter of Paris, where almoſt all the colleges ſtood, and continued there till the bloody cataſtrophe, which happened a ſhort time after. 1572.

Nothing could be more kind than the reception the queen of Navarre, her children, and principal ſervants met with from the king, and queen mother, nor more obliging than their treatment of them; Charles IX. continually praiſing the virtues and good qualities of the count de la Rochefoucault, de Téligny, Reſnel *, Beau-diſner, Piles, Pluviaut, Colombieres, Grammont, Duras, Bouchavannes, Gamache, my father, and other proteſtant lords. The admiral he always called father, and took upon himſelf the care of reconciling him with the princes of the houſe of Guiſe. To him alſo he granted the pardon

* Antony de Clermont, marquis of Reſnel; Galiot de Cruſſol, lord of Beaudiſner, brother to the duke d'Uzès; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, in Perigord; N— de Rochefort, lord of Pluviaut Claveau, a gentleman of Poitevin; Francis de Bricqueville de Colombiéres; Antony de Grammont, viſcount d'Aſter; John de Durefort, viſcount Duras; Bayancour, lord of Bouchavanes; Nicholas Rouhaut, lord of Gamache.

1572. of Villandry*, which he had denied to his own mother and his brothers, his crime being thought too great for forgiveneſs. When the admiral was wounded, the king, at the firſt news he heard of it, broke into oaths and threatenings; and declared, that the aſſaſſin † ſhould be

* Villandry being one day at play with the king, was ſo raſh as to commit ſome offence againſt majeſty itſelf, for which he was ſentenced to be put to death. Davila, book v. See d'Aubigné, who relates this fact more particularly, vol. II. book i. ch. 2.

† He was called Nicholas de Louviers, lord of Maurevert in Brie. "Muſt I," ſaid Charles IX. throwing his racket at him in a rage, "be perpetually troubled "with new broils? ſhall I never have any "quiet?" Many perſons have doubted, whether theſe threatenings of Charles, and his violent tranſports of rage, were not ſincere; and whether this prince, who had at firſt entered into all the deſigns of the queen his mother, did not ſuffer himſelf at laſt to be gained by the admiral de Coligny, in thoſe private converſations they had together, in which the admiral never ceaſed to repreſent to him the fatal conſequences of this princeſs's bad government, and to exhort him to ſhake off his dependence on her. Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, vol. II. p. 55. and 66, and many other writers of thoſe times, produce ſuch ſtrong proofs of this fact, that it is very difficult to decide upon the queſtion. If the Memoirs of Tavannes may be relied on, Charles IX. and his mother agreed ſo ill, that this princeſs ſaw no other means of preſerving her authority, which ſhe was upon the point of loſing, than by cauſing the admiral to be aſſaſſinated; and this writer pretends, that Maurevert was ſuborned, unknown to the king, to ſtrike the blow. On the other ſide, the hiſtorian Matthieu believes he has ſufficient reaſon to maintain, vol. I. book vi. that Charles IX. deceived the admiral from firſt to laſt. He relates, that this prince obſerving the oppoſition ſome of his counſellors gave to the deſign of extirpating the huguenots, repreſented to them in a rage, that the kingdom was loſt if their plot was not executed that ſame night, for a longer delay would put it out of their power to prevent the ſchemes the huguenots were forming; who, he told them, were well acquainted with their deſign. He added, that thoſe who did not approve of his reſolution, would never be conſidered by him as his ſervants.

But this hiſtorian does not perceive that a few pages after, he himſelf leſſens the weight of theſe proofs, by relating a converſation that paſſed between Henry III. and his phyſician Miron, in Poland; of which the following is an abridgment, for it is too long to be inſerted here at length. Henry III. then duke of Anjou, going, ſome days before the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, into the chamber of the king his brother, obſerved, that this prince looked upon him with eyes ſo full of rage, and ſuch indications of fury in his air, that apprehending the conſequence of theſe violent emotions, he ſoftly regained the door, and hurried immediately to give the alarm to the queen-mother. She, from what had happened to herſelf, being but too much diſpoſed to believe it, reſolved to get rid of Coligny without further delay. Maurevert having partly failed in his attempt, ſince he only wounded the admiral in the arm, the queen-mother and the duke of Anjou, fearing they could not hinder the king from viſiting him, thought it neceſſary to accompany him, and, under pretence of ſparing the admiral's ſtrength, interrupted, as often as they could, the private converſation they held together. During this viſit, Catherine, who was ſurrounded with calviniſts, obſerved, that they frequently whiſpered to each other, and looked on her from time to time with very ſuſpicious eyes. This adventure, the action revenged, was the moſt deſperate of all the bold

ſought

sought for in the most secret recesses of the palaces of the Guises. He made all the court, after his example, visit the wounded person; and when the Guises came to intreat that he would condescend to hear their justification, he gave them a very unfavourable reception. The Spanish ambassador was on this occasion so ill treated, that he thought fit to withdraw: nor could pope Pius V. escape the resentment of Charles, he having refused to give the necessary dispensation for Henry's marriage with the princess Margaret, for which the most magnificent preparations were then making. The king carried his respect for this prince so far, as to dispense with his going into the church 1572.

ever been engaged in. As they returned, she pressed the king so vehemently to tell her the subject of his private discourse with the admiral, that this prince could not hinder himself from betraying it, by telling her, with his usual oath, that she spoiled all his affairs, or [illegible] to that purpose. Catherine, now more alarmed than before, had recourse to an artifice that succeeded. She told her son, that he was ready to fall into the snare the admiral had prepared for him; that he was upon the point of being delivered up to the huguenots, confirmed with foreigners, and had nothing to hope for from his catholic subjects, who, through despair at finding themselves betrayed, had chosen another leader. All the other counsellors, excepting only the marechal de Retz, seconded her arguments so strongly, that Charles himself being seized with fear, and passing from one extreme to the other, was the first to resolve, and even press, not only the murder of the admiral, but of all the huguenots; to the end, said he, that there may not one be left to reproach me. All the rest of that day, and the following night, they consulted upon the means of executing this design. At break of day, Charles, the queen-mother, and the duke of Anjou, went to the gate of the Louvre, and hearing a pistol go off, fear and remorse seized them. The king sent orders to [illegible] Charles, terrified no further. To which they [illegible] replied, his orders had [illegible] and they recovering from their consternation, joined in every thing that was afterwards performed.

'Tis possible, I think, to reconcile these different opinions, and preserve to the proofs alledged on each part all their force, by saying, that Charles IX. who certainly invited the admiral to Paris with no other view than to have him murdered with the rest of the huguenots, suffered himself to be shaken by his arguments; and that he embraced alternately propositions from each of the contending parties; and from their different reasons, was thrown into a state of irresolution, from whence he was only freed by the natural impetuosity of his disposition, which Catherine well knew how to take advantage of. Coligny's security proceeded from his not being able to doubt the efficacy of his arguments on the mind of this prince; otherwise, it would not have been possible for Charles to have so long imposed upon a man of the admiral's great prudence and sagacity. A young king of three and twenty years of age, who till then had been almost always governed by others, was not capable of that deep policy which they have had the complaisance to attribute to him: however, it must be confessed, that this young prince already carried dissimulation to its utmost height; which his having never discovered the secrets of his council, or those of the admiral, to each other, although strongly pressed to it, is an incontestable proof.

C

1572. of Notre-dame *, and even with obſerving any of the romiſh ceremonies. The cardinal de Bourbon making ſome remonſtrances upon theſe tolerations, which to him ſeemed to exceed all bounds, was diſmiſſed with a ſevere reprimand: and when the queen of Navarre died, the whole court appeared ſenſibly affected, and went into deep mourning. In a word, it is not paſſing too harſh a cenſure upon this conduct of Catherine and her ſon, to call it almoſt an incredible prodigy of diſſimulation; ſince a man of the admiral de Coligny's great wiſdom fell into the ſnare, notwithſtanding a thouſand circumſtances concurred to make him apprehend the danger that was approaching: for it was loudly ſaid, that Genlis and La Noüe †, who had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of the prince of Orange, were defeated with the connivance of the French court; which, whilſt uncertain of ſucceſs in the principal object of its diſſimulation, was not willing to hazard all the conſequences which that diſſimulation might produce.

Charles de Bourbon, cardinal, uncle to Henry IV.

They were alſo informed of the conferences which the queen-mother, and the principal miniſters, held with cardinal Alexandrin, nephew of pope Pius V. and with the Guiſes; who were twice diſcovered converſing in maſques with the king, the queen-mother, the duke de Retz, and the chancellor de Birague ‡: this was ſufficient

Albert de Gondy, duke of Retz, marechal of France.

* "The king, ſays le Grain, was re- "ſolved that the marriage ſhould not be "celebrated in a manner wholly conform- "able to neither religion. Not to the "calviniſt, becauſe the vows were to be "received by a prieſt, who was to be the "cardinal of Bourbon; nor to the ro- "miſh, becauſe theſe vows were to be re- "ceived without the ſacramental ceremo- "nies of the church.

"A great ſcaffold was erected in the "court before the principal gate and "entry of the church of Paris, on Mon- "day Auguſt the 18th, 1572, upon which "were betrothed and married on the ſame "day, and by a ſingle act, The moſt "high, &c. This done, the bridegroom "retired to meeting to hear a ſermon, "and the bride went into the church to "hear maſs, according to the articles of "the treaty of marriage; after which, "they both came to the entertainment "prepared for them in the great hall of "the palace," &c. B. le Grain, Dec. "of Henry the great, book ii.

Charles the ninth gave his ſiſter three hundred thouſand crowns for a portion; and the queen of Navarre yielded the Upper and Low Counties of Armagnac, &c. to her ſon at his marriage. F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi.

† John d'Angeſt d'Ivoy, of the ancient houſe of Genlis. Francis de la Noüe, a gentleman of the greateſt reputation in the proteſtant party, and eſteemed even by the catholics themſelves. The admiral ſpeaking of this misfortune to Charles the ninth, attributed it to the ſecret being but ill kept in the council. Charles demanded of the duke of Albe, by Claude Mondoucet his reſident in the Low Countries, the French proteſtant gentlemen, who had been taken priſoners. De Thou, anno 1572, book li.

‡ René de Birague, a Milaneſe, biſhop of Lavaur, afterwards cardinal. He to

to ſhew what they ought to think of their pretended diſgrace. In the death of the queen of Navarre *, they perceived plain indications of poiſon. It never was doubted, but that the wound the admiral received came from the houſe of Villemur, preceptor to the Guiſes; and the aſſaſſin was met in his flight, upon a horſe belonging to the king's ſtable. Even the guards that Charles † (under pretence of ſecuring the admiral's perſon from the like attempts) placed about him, were almoſt all his declared enemies; nor was it leſs certain, that all the citizens of Paris were furniſhed with arms, which by the king's order they kept in their houſes. 1572.

was at that time only keeper of the ſeals, and was not made chancellor till the following year, after the death of the chancellor de l'Hôpital. See his elogium in the negotiations of Buſbeq. Aug. Giſt. Buſbequii Epiſt. 29. Of him it was ſaid, that he was cardinal without a title, chancellor without ſeals, and prieſt without a benefice.

* Her lodgings were in the palace of Charles Gaillart, biſhop of Chartres, a man violently ſuſpected of calviniſm. Soon after her return from Blois, whither ſhe had followed the court, ſhe was ſeized with a fever, and died on the fifth day of her illneſs. Many different opinions prevailed concerning the manner of her death. The Memoirs of l'Etoile, d'Aubigné, and all the calviniſts, attribute it to poiſon, which they ſay was given her in a pair of gloves by a Florentine, named Rene, perfumer to the queen-mother. De Serres, in his Memoirs, gives us to underſtand, that the phyſicians who opened her body, had orders not to touch her brain, which was ſuppoſed to be affected by the poiſon: but they are all contradicted by le Grain, and ſeveral others, who maintain, that ſhe died of a pleuriſy, occaſioned by her being over-heated in making preparations for the nuptials of her ſon: to which was added, the vexation ſhe conceived at being obliged to kneel to the holy ſacrament as it paſſed before her houſe, on Corpus Chriſti day. La Popeliniere, Perefixe, and De Thou, endeavour to remove all ſuſpicions of poiſon. The laſt mentioned aſſures us, that Charles IX. ordered the head of this princeſs to be opened, as well as the reſt of her body; and if the phyſicians did not do it, it was becauſe they found the true cauſe of her death in an abſceſs ſhe had in her body. This is alſo the opinion of Matthieu the hiſtorian.

† This is all true, and proves that the queen-mother, and not the king, was the deſigner of this ſtratagem. 'Tis hard to ſay, what was her real intention by this ſtroke; whether ſhe ſought to get rid of a man who poſſeſſed too much power over the king's mind, and was capable of ruining her deſign of extirpating all the huguenots; or whether, if the admiral had died of this wound, ſhe would have confined her vengeance to his ſingle death; or laſtly, whether ſhe expected the noiſe of this aſſaſſination would excite the calviniſts in Paris to revolt, and by that means furniſh her with the occaſion ſhe wanted to fall upon them, for which her party was already prepared. In the council, many expedients to give a pretence for attacking them were propoſed, amongſt others, the aſſault of an artificial fort built in the Louvre, which would afford them an opportunity of turning the feigned ſlaughter into a real one againſt the huguenots; at laſt, they reſolved to put them all to the ſword in the night.

The admiral lodged in the ſtreet Betiſy in an inn, which is called at preſent the Hotel S. Pierre. The chamber where he was murdered is ſtill ſhewn there.

THE

1572. THE moſt clear-ſighted amongſt the huguenots, yielding to proofs ſo convincing, quitted the court, and Paris itſelf, or at leaſt lodged in the ſuburbs. Of this number were Meſſ. de Langoiran *, de Frontenay, the viſcount de Chartres, de Loncaunay, de Rabodanges, du Breüil, de Segur, de Sey, du Touchet, des Hayes, de Saint Gelais, de Chouppes, de Beauvais, de Grandrie, de Saint Eſtienne, d'Arnes, de Boiſſec, and many other gentlemen of Normandy and Poitou. Happily my father was one of thoſe, whoſe life was preſerved by a wiſe and prudent diſtruſt. When he was preſſed to come nearer the court, he replied, that he found the air of the ſuburbs agreed better with his conſtitution, and that of the fields was ſtill more advantageous for it. When they were informed that the biſhop of Valence, in taking leave of the king for his ambaſſy to Poland, had penetrated into the ſecret, and been indiſcreet enough to reveal it to ſome of his friends, and that they had intercepted letters ſent to Rome by the cardinal de Pellevé †, in which he unfolded the whole myſtery to the cardinal de Lorrain; it was then that theſe gentlemen renewed their intreaties to the king of Navarre, that he would either leave Paris, or permit them to retire to their own houſes. To this advice the prince oppoſed that which had been given him by a great many other perſons, and ſome even of the proteſtant party; for where are not traitors to be found? They warned him to be cautious, they told him the names of all thoſe who had been gained by the queen-mother to deceive him. He liſtened to nothing. The ad-

Jean de Montluc, biſhop of Valence.

* N—— de Montferrant, baron of Langoiran. John de Rohan, lord of Frontenay. John de Ferrieres, viſcount of Chartres. N— de Loncaunay, a gentleman of Normandy, ſlain at the battle of Yvry, at ſeventy years of age. N— de Rabodanges. In the manuſcripts in the king's library, N° 8699. p. 31, may be ſeen the original of a letter of Charles the ninth to M. de Rabodanges, dated from St. Maur, May 6, 1566, which begins thus, "Monſieur de Rabodanges, I "know with what fidelity you have acted "on occaſion of the commiſſion which I "delivered you ſome time ago, to puniſh "the vagabonds and robbers of your "country."

N—— de Segur de Pardaillan. N—— de Touchet, a gentleman of Normandy, near Domfront. N— des Hayes Gaſque. Guy de Luſignan of St. Gelais, ſon to Lewis lord of Lanſac. Peter de Chouppes. John de la Fin, lord of Beauvais la Nocle. Peter de Grandrie, ſteward in ordinary of the king's houſhold, &c. All theſe perſons earneſtly preſſed the admiral to leave Paris: "By doing ſo," he replied, "I muſt ſhew either fear or diſtruſt. My honour would be injured by "the one, by the other the king. I ſhould "be again obliged to have recourſe to a "civil war; and I would rather die than "ſee again the miſeries I have ſeen, and "ſuffer the diſtreſs I have already ſuffered." Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. p. 343.

† Nicolas de Pellevé, cardinal, archbiſhop of Rheims, paſſionately devoted to the league. Charles, cardinal of Lorrain.

miral

miral * appeared no leſs incredulous: his bad deſtiny began to blinding him to lead him to his ruin. It would have been happy, if he had acted with the ſame prudence that the marechal de Montmorency did; who could never be drawn from Chantilly, notwithſtanding repeated invitations from the king, who preſt him to come and partake his favour with the admiral, and be near his perſon, to aſſiſt him with his advice. 1572.

If I was inclined to increaſe the general horror, inſpired by an action † ſo barbarous as that perpetrated on the 24th of Auguſt, 1572,

* It has been ſaid, that all the great actions which the admiral Coligny performed in his life, were againſt his God, his religion, his country, and his king; how much is it to be lamented, that he did not employ his talents more uſefully! All the hiſtorians agree in ſaying, he was the moſt conſummate politician, and greateſt warrior that ever appeared. 'Tis thought that it was in conſequence of the advice he gave to the prince of Orange, that the Low Countries rebelled againſt Spain, maintained the war during ten years, and formed the plan of a republic, which in part has ſucceeded. It is alſo believed, and not without probability, that he would have made a like attempt in France. In Villeroi's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 322, 340. he is accuſed with great violence, but he always ſteadily denied, particularly in his laſt will, his ever having any intention of attempting the perſon of the king. See his elogium, and political deſigns in Brantome, vol. III. De Thou, and the other hiſtorians.

† What M. de Sully ſays of the maſſacre ought not to be thought too ſevere: "An execrable action, cries Perefixe, "that never had, and I truſt God never "will have, its like." Pope Pius V. was ſo much afflicted at it, that he ſhed tears; but Gregory XIII. who ſucceeded him, ordered a public thankſgiving to God for this maſſacre to be offered at Rome, and ſent a legate to congratulate Charles IX. and to exhort him to continue it. The following is a ſhort account of this maſſacre: All the neceſſary meaſures having been taken, the ringing of the bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, for matins, was the ſignal for beginning the ſlaughter. The admiral de Coligny was firſt murdered, in the midſt of his ſervants, by Beſmes, a French gentleman, and a domeſtic of the duke of Guiſe; the duke himſelf, and the chevalier de Guiſe ſtaying below in the court. His body was thrown out of the window. They cut off his head, and carried it to the queen-mother, together with his box of papers; among which, 'tis ſaid, they found the memoirs of his own times, compoſed by himſelf. After they had offered all ſorts of indignities to the bleeding carcaſe, it was hung on the gibbet of Montfaucon, whence the marechal de Montmorency cauſed it to be taken down in the night, and buried at Chantilly. The whole houſe of Guiſe had been perſonally animated againſt the admiral, ever ſince the aſſaſſination of Claude duke of Guiſe, by Poltrot de Meré, whom they believed to have been incited to this crime by him; and 'tis certain, the admiral was never able to clear himſelf of this imputation. If this cruel ſlaughter (as many people are fully perſuaded) was only an effect of the Guiſes' reſentment, who adviſed the queen-mother to it with a view of revenging their own injuries; it muſt be confeſſed, that no particular perſon ever drew ſo ſevere a vengeance for an offence. All the domeſtics of the admiral were afterwards ſlain; and the ſlaughter was at the ſame time begun by the king's guards

1572. and too well known by the name of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, I ſhould in this place enlarge upon the number, the quality, the virtues, and great talents of thoſe who were inhumanly murdered on this horrible day, as well in Paris as in every part of the kingdom: I ſhould mention at leaſt the ignominious treatment, the fiendlike cruelty, and ſavage inſults theſe miſerable victims ſuffered from their butchers, and which in death were a thouſand times more terrible than death itſelf. I have writings ſtill in my hands, which would confirm the report of the court of France having made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the neighbouring courts to follow its example with regard to the proteſtants, or at leaſt to refuſe an aſylum to thoſe unfortunate people; but I prefer the honour of the nation to the ſatisfying a malignant pleaſure, which many perſons would take in lengthening out a recital, wherein might be found the names of thoſe who were ſo loſt to humanity, as to dip their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and even their own relations. I would, were it in my power, for ever obliterate the memory of a day that divine vengeance made France groan for, by a continued ſucceſſion of miſeries, blood, and horror, during ſix and twenty years; for it is not poſſible to judge otherwiſe, if one reflects on all that paſſed from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598. 'Tis with regret that I cannot omit what happened upon this occaſion to the prince, who is the ſubject of theſe Memoirs, and to myſelf.

ries in all parts of the city. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of the calviniſts that periſhed, were Francis de la Rochefoucault, who having been at play part of the night with the king, and finding himſelf ſeized in bed by men in maſques, thought it was the king and his courtiers, who came to divert themſelves with him. Antony de Clermont, marquis de Reſnel, was murdered by his own kinſman Lewis de Clermont, of Buſſy d'Amboiſe, with whom he was then at law for the marquiſate of Clermont. Charles de Quellenec, baron of Pont in Bretagne, whoſe dead body excited the curioſity of the ladies of the court, on account of a proceſs carried on by his wife, Catherine de Parthenay, daughter and heireſs of John de Soubize. Francis Nonpar de Caumont, was murdered in his bed, betwixt his two ſons; one of them was ſtabbed by his ſide, but the other, by counterfeiting himſelf dead, and lying concealed under the bodies of his father and brother, eſcaped. Téligny, ſon-in-law to the admiral; Charles de Beaumanoir de Lavardin; Antony de Marafin, lord of Guerchy; Beaudiſner, Pluviaut, Berny, du Briou, governor to the marquis of Conti; Beauvais, governor to the king of Navarre; Colombieres, Francourt, &c. The count of Montgomery was purſued by the duke of Guiſe as far as Montfort l'Amaury. The king pardoned the viſcounts of Grammont and Duras, and Gamache and Bouchavannes: the three brothers of the marechal de Montmorency were alſo ſpared, through fear that he might hereafter revenge their death. See the hiſtorians and other writers, and that fine deſcription of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, by M. de Voltaire in his Henriade, Canto ſecond.

I WAS

I WAS in bed, and awaked from ſleep three hours after midnight, by the ſound of all the bells, and the confuſed cries of the populace. My governor St. Julian, with my valet de chambre, went haſtily out to know the cauſe; and I never afterwards heard more of theſe men, who without doubt were amongſt the firſt that were ſacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber dreſſing myſelf, when in a few moments I ſaw my landlord enter, pale, and in the utmoſt conſternation: he was of the reformed religion, and having learned what the matter was, had conſented to go to maſs, to ſave his life, and preſerve his houſe from being pillaged. He came to perſuade me to do the ſame, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him, but reſolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I had ſtudied: though the great diſtance between the houſe where I then was, and the college, made the attempt very dangerous. Having diſguiſed myſelf in a ſcholar's gown, I put a large prayer-book under my arm, and went into the ſtreet. I was ſeized with horror inexpreſſible, at the ſight of the furious murderers; who running from all parts, forced open the houſes, and cried aloud, "Kill, kill, maſſacre the huguenots!" the blood which I ſaw ſhed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midſt of a body of guards; they ſtopped me, interrogated me, and were beginning to uſe me ill, when, happily for me, the book that I carried was perceived, and ſerved me for a paſſport. Twice after this I fell into the ſame danger, from which I extricated myſelf with the ſame good fortune. At laſt I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger ſtill greater than any I had yet met with, waited me. The porter having twice refuſed me entrance, I continued ſtanding in the midſt of the ſtreet, at the mercy of the furious murderers, whoſe numbers increaſed every moment, and who were evidently ſeeking for their prey, when it came into my mind to aſk for La Faye, the principal of this college, a good man, by whom I was tenderly beloved. The porter, prevailed upon by ſome ſmall pieces of money which I put into his hand, admitted me; and my friend carried me to his apartment, where two inhuman prieſts, whom I heard mention Sicilian veſpers, wanted to force me from him, that they might cut me in pieces, ſaying the order was, not to ſpare even infants at the breaſt. All the good man could do, was to conduct me privately to a diſtant chamber, where he locked me up. Here I was confined three days, uncertain of my deſtiny; and ſaw no one but a ſervant of my friend's, who came from time to time to bring me proviſions. 1572.

1572. At the end of these three days, the prohibition for murdering, and pillaging any more of the protestants, being published, I was suffered to leave my cell; and immediately after I saw Ferriere and la Vieville, two soldiers of the guard, who were my father's creatures, enter the college. They were armed, and came, without doubt, to rescue me by force wherever they should find me. They gave my father a relation of what had happened to me; and eight days afterwards I received a letter from him, in which he expressed the fears he had suffered on my account, and advised me to continue in Paris, since the prince I served was not at liberty to quit it. He added, that to avoid exposing myself to an evident danger, it was necessary I should resolve to follow that prince's example, and to go to mass. In effect, the king of Navarre had found no other means of saving his life. He was awaked, with the prince of Condé, two hours before day, by a great number of soldiers, who rushed boldly into a chamber, in the Louvre, where they lay, and insolently commanded them to dress themselves, and attend the king. They would not suffer the two princes to take their swords with them; who, as they passed, beheld several of their gentlemen * massacred before their eyes. The king waited for them, and received them with a countenance and eyes in which fury was visibly painted: he ordered them, with oaths and blasphemies, which were familiar with him, to quit a religion that had been only taken up, he said, to serve them for a cloak to their rebellion. The condition to which these princes † were reduced, could not hinder them from discovering that they should obey him with grief. The king, transported with anger, told them, in a fierce and haughty tone, "That he would no longer be contradicted in his opinions by his subjects; that they, by their example, should teach others to revere him as the image of God,

* James de Segur, baron of Pardaillan, a Gascon; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, a Perigordin, &c. Gaston de Levis, lord of Leyran, took refuge under the queen of Navarre's bed, who saved his life. Some persons were sent to Châtillon, to seize Francis de Châtillon the admiral's son, and Guy d'Andelot's son, but they both escaped, and fled to Geneva. Armand de Gontault de Biron was saved by fortifying himself in the arsenal.

† As Henry went to the king, Catherine gave orders that they should lead him under the vaults, and make him pass through the guards drawn up in files on each side, in menacing postures He trembled and recoiled two or three steps back, when immediately Nançai-la-Chatre, captain of the guards, endeavoured to remove his apprehensions, by swearing they should do him no hurt. Henry, tho' he gave but little credit to his words, was obliged to go on amidst the carabines and halberts. Perefixe's history of Henry the great.

" and

" and ceaſe to be enemies to the images of his mother." He ended by declaring, that if they did not go to maſs, he would treat them as criminals guilty of treaſon againſt human and divine majeſty. The manner in which theſe words were pronounced, not ſuffering the princes to doubt if they were ſincere, they yielded to neceſſity, and performed what was required of them. Henry was obliged even to ſend an edict into his dominions, by which the exerciſe of any other religion but the romiſh was forbid. Tho' this ſubmiſſion preſerved his life, yet in other things he was not better treated; and he ſuffered a thouſand capricious inſults from the court: free by intervals, but more often cloſely confined, and treated as a criminal, his domeſtics ſometimes permitted to attend him, then all on a ſudden not ſuffered to appear. 1572.

As for me, I employed this leiſure in the moſt advantageous manner I was able. I had it no longer in my choice to proſecute my ſtudy of the learned languages, nor of whatever is called learning: this application, which my father had ſtrongly recommended to me, became impracticable from the moment I lived in the court. It was with regret that I parted with an excellent preceptor, to whoſe care he had intruſted my education; he himſelf perceiving he could be no longer uſeful to me, aſked leave to retire. From his hands I paſſed into thoſe of a man named Chrétien, whom the king of Navarre kept in his train, and who was ordered by him to teach me mathematics and hiſtory; two ſciences that ſoon conſoled me for thoſe I renounced, becauſe I felt an inclination for them, which I have ever ſince preſerved: the reſt of my time was employed in learning to write and read well, and in performing all thoſe exerciſes that give eaſe and gracefulneſs to the perſon. It was in theſe principles, to which a ſtill greater attention to form the manners was joined, that that method of educating youth conſiſted, which was known to be peculiar to the king of Navarre, for he himſelf had been brought up in that manner. I continued to follow it till I was ſixteen years of age, when the ſituation of affairs throwing both him and me into the tumults of arms, from which we had no hope of being freed, to theſe exerciſes thoſe only that related to war ſucceeded; which I began by learning to ſhoot, and renounced all others. In ſuch circumſtances all that a young man can do, is to improve his morals, if he cannot his genius; for even the hurry and confuſion of arms offer excellent ſchools of virtue and politeneſs to him that is deſirous of profiting by them: but miſerable, and that during his whole life, is he, who engages in a profeſſion ſo fatal to youth, without having ſtrength or inclination to reſiſt bad examples: though

1572. though he ſhould have the good fortune to preſerve himſelf from being tainted with any ſhameful vice, how will he be able to inſtruct and fortify his heart in theſe principles, which wiſdom dictates as well to a private man as a prince, but by making virtue habitual by practice? ſo that any good action may never become painful, and that, if reduced to a neceſſity of ſaving all by a crime, or loſing all by a virtuous action, he may find his duty and inclination the ſame.

It was not long before Charles felt the moſt violent remorſe for the barbarous action to which they had forced him to give the ſanction of his name and authority. From the evening of the 24th of Auguſt, he was obſerved to groan involuntarily at the recital of a thouſand ſtrokes of cruelty, which every one boaſted of in his preſence. Of all thoſe who were about the perſon of this prince, none poſſeſſed ſo great a ſhare of his confidence, as Ambroſe Paré, his ſurgeon. This man, though a huguenot, lived with him in ſo great a degree of familiarity, that, on the day of the maſſacre, Charles telling him, the time was now come when the whole kingdom would be catholics; he replied, without being alarmed, "By the light of God, ſire, I cannot "believe that you have forgot your promiſe never to command me "to do four things, namely, to enter into my mother's womb, to "be preſent in the day of battle, to quit your ſervice, or to go to "maſs." The king ſoon after took him aſide, and diſcloſed to him freely the trouble of his ſoul: "Ambroſe, ſaid he, I know not what "has happened to me theſe two or three days paſt, but I feel my "mind and body as much at enmity with each other, as if I was "ſeized with a fever: ſleeping, or waking, the murdered huguenots "ſeem ever preſent to my eyes, with ghaſtly faces, and weltering in "blood. I wiſh the innocent and helpleſs had been ſpared." The order which was publiſhed the following day, forbidding the continuance of the maſſacre, was in conſequence of this converſation.

The king hoped to retrieve his honour, by publicly diſavowing all that had been done. In the letters patent which he ſent into the provinces, he threw all upon the Guiſes, and would have had the maſſacre paſs for an effect of their hatred to the admiral. The private letters he wrote on this ſubject to England, Germany, Switzerland, and other neighbouring ſtates, were all conceived in the ſame terms.

It is not to be doubted, but the queen-mother, and her council, made the king comprehend the bad conſequence of ſo formal a diſavowal;

vowal; for, at the end of eight days, his ſentiments and language were ſo much changed, that he went to hold his bed of juſtice in the parliament, and ordered other letters patent to be regiſtered, which declared, that nothing was acted on the 24th of Auguſt but by his expreſs commands *, and to puniſh the huguenots; to each of the principals of which party a capital crime was imputed, in order, if poſſible, to give the name and colour of a juſt execution to that deteſtable butchery. Theſe letters were addreſſed to the governors of provinces, with orders to publiſh them, and purſue the reſt of the pretended guilty. I ought here to make honourable mention of the counts de Tende †, and de Charny; of meſſieurs de Mandelot, de Gordes, de Saint Heran, and de Carouge, who boldly refuſed to execute ſuch orders in their governments. The viſcount d'Ortez, governor of Baionne, had reſolution enough to anſwer Charles IX. who wrote to him with his own hand, "That on this point he muſt not expect any obedience from him." 1572.

The number of proteſtants maſſacred, during eight days, over all the kingdom, amounted to ſeventy thouſand. This cruel blow ſtruck the party with ſuch terror, that believing itſelf wholly extinct, nothing was

* Nothing is more certain, than that he was ſeen with a carabine in his hand during the maſſacre, which, 'tis ſaid, he fired upon the calviniſts that were flying. The laſt marechal de Teſſe, in his youth, was acquainted with an old man of ninety years of age, who had been page to Charles IX. and often told him, that he himſelf had loaded that carabine. 'Tis alſo true, that this prince went with his court to view the body of the admiral, which hung by the feet with a chain at [illegible] to the gallows of Montfaucon; and one of his courtiers obſerving it ſmelt ill, Charles replied, as Vitellius had done before him, "The body of a dead enemy "[illegible] ſmells well." Theſe two anecdotes I relate after the author of the Henriade, in his notes, p. 32 and 37.

† Claude de Savoy, count of Tende, ſaved the lives of all the proteſtants in Dauphiny. When he received the king's letter, by which he was directed to deſtroy them, he ſaid, "That could not be his maſter's order. Eleonor de Chabot, count of Charny, lieutenant general in Burgundy: there was only one calviniſt murdered at Dijon. Francis de Mandelot, governor of Lyon: he was reſolved to ſave the proteſtants, nevertheleſs they were all maſſacred in the priſons where he had put them for ſecurity. He is ſaid, by M. de Thou, to have only feigned ignorance of this barbarity. Bertrand de Simiane, lord of Gordes, a man of great eſteem. N— de S. Heran de Mauvoiſin, governor of Auvergne: he poſitively refuſed to obey, unleſs the king was preſent in perſon. Tanneguy le Veneur, governor of Normandy, an honeſt humane man; he did all that lay in his power to preſerve the proteſtants at Rouen, but he was [illegible] maſter of it. N— viſcount d'Orte, governor of all that [illegible]. See his anſwer to the king. "Sire, I have command- "ed [illegible] to your majeſty's orders to [illegible] "inhabitants, and to the [illegible] the "garriſon; I found there good citizens, "and brave ſoldiers, but no [illegible] "tioner." &c. De Thou, book 53. and liſt. D'Aubigne, vol. II. book 1. &c.

talked

1572. talked of but ſubmitting, or flying into foreign countries. A bold and vigorous ſtroke for once broke this reſolution. * Renier, a gentleman of the reformed religion, having by a kind of miracle eſcaped out of the hands of the lord de Vezins, his moſt cruel enemy, ſaved himſelf, with the viſcount de Gourdon, and about eighty horſe, and came to Montauban. He found this city under ſuch a conſternation, and ſo little in a condition to defend itſelf againſt the troops of Montluc, who were approaching, that, having ventured to adviſe the inhabitants to hold out, he himſelf had like to have been delivered up to Montluc; which obliging him to leave Montauban precipitately, his little troop fell in with a ſquadron of 450 horſe, belonging to the army of Montluc; and, being deſirous of dying nobly, performed ſuch wonderful acts of valour, that they were all cut in pieces. Renier returned to Montauban with this good news; he was now obeyed, and they ſhut the gates upon Montluc. This reſiſtance, and the reſolution of Montauban ſpreading about, thirty towns followed its example, and behaving in a manner the proteſtants had not dared to hope for, obliged the catholics to keep themſelves upon the defenſive.

Blaiſe de Muntluc, marechal of France.

The catholics immediately turned all their forces againſt Rochelle and Sancerre, which, taking advantage of the general fear, they had inveſted. Theſe enterprizes did not ſucceed: Sancerre, after having ſuffered all the horrors of a famine, of which no hiſtory can furniſh us with examples, at laſt concluded a ſort of treaty with the beſiegers; but Rochelle held out, and baffled all the duke of Anjou's efforts †, who had in perſon come to beſiege it. The election for the throne of Poland happened very opportunely to ſave the honour of this prince; and by a treaty, in which Nîmes and Montauban were comprehended, Rochelle preſerved all its privileges: and theſe were the only cities which kept entire all the advantages of the laſt edicts.

* Here is an error in the Memoirs of Sully: it was Vezins himſelf, a man of great honeſty, but of harſh manners, that ſaved the life of Renier, whoſe enemy he had a long time been, and ſtill continued to be, notwithſtanding this action. See this remarkable hiſtory in M. de Thou, book lii.

† The marechal de Montluc, in his Commentaries, finds great fault with the conduct of this ſiege, that they did not ſend troops enough, carried on the aſſaults improperly, hazarded too much, and ſuffered victuals to be brought into the place by ſea; however, he ſays, it would have been taken at laſt. He adviſed the queen-mother, from the time ſhe went to Baionne, to take poſſeſſion of this city: it would have ſaved France both men and money had this advice been followed. See a relation of the ſieges of Rochelle, and Sancerre, in d'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. La Popeliniere, book xxxiii. and Matthieu, vol. I. p. 340. and other hiſtorians.

Time

Time also produced other favourable conjunctures for the calvi- 1572.
nists. The queen mother, of all her children, felt only a true affection for the duke of Anjou. The departure of this prince for Poland gave her as much grief as it occasioned joy to his two brothers, king Charles and the duke of Alençon; the last of whom, by his brother's removal, becoming duke of Anjou, began to entertain great hopes of the crown of France, when he reflected that Charles had no children, and that his weak state of health was changed into a mortal disease. The opposition he thought there was reason to apprehend the queen-mother would give to his design, wholly alienated his affections from her. This princess, by bestowing her confidence on a small number of foreigners of mean birth, who governed her finances, had made the greatest part of the nobility almost as discontented as the duke of Alençon: He privately fomented this revolt, and persuaded them to apply to the protestants for assistance, in whose disgrace they partook. To ward off this blow, and at once to gratify the duke of Anjou, and her tenderness for the king of Poland, she began from that moment to think in earnest of marrying the first of these princes to the queen of England, and of procuring for him the sovereignty of the Low Countries: but his discontent had already produced its effect.

Charles, through another motive, joined in his brother's resentment against the queen their mother. The disease with which he found himself attacked, began at Vitry, whither he had accompanied the king of Poland, in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to have the pleasure of seeing him leave his kingdom. The condition 1573.
to which he soon saw himself reduced, gave birth to a thousand suspicions against Catherine in his mind; so that, uniting his interest with that of the protestants, he began to shew them a great deal of favour. This principally appeared in his permitting them, notwithstanding the opposition made by the queen-mother, to send deputies to court, to declare their grievances, and propose their demands. These deputies meeting with others, who came from the catholic provinces, who had been prevailed upon by the discontented lords to demand the suppression of certain new taxes, and a diminution during ten years of the old, they joined each other. The memorial indeed which contained their demands was signed only by four or five gentlemen, but the terms in which it was conceived shewed the most immovable steadiness in a party that seemed to derive new strength even from its losses. The queen-mother was violently enraged at it; but the king not suffering her to exert any authority upon this occasion, all she

1574. could do was to make uſe of delays till the death of this prince, which ſhe foreſaw was not far diſtant. The proteſtants penetrated into her deſigns; and, that they might not be prevented, appeared ſuddenly in arms. This was called the rebellion of Shrove Tueſday, becauſe they poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral towns on that day *. Montgomery returned from England to Normandy, where he fortified himſelf. The queen-mother, and the whole court, was then at St. Germain-en-Laye. She was reſolved, at leaſt, to take ſuch meaſures, that the princes ſhould not eſcape; but the attempts that were every day made to get them out of her power, did not a little embarraſs her. Guitry † and Buhy came one day to St. Germain to carry them away by force; the alarm was very great, but the conſpirators not having ſufficiently ſecured the ſucceſs of their deſign, Catherine had time to fly with the princes to Paris; where ſhe beheaded Coconnas ‡ and la Mole, the contrivers of the plot, and impriſoned the marechals de Montmorency and de Coſſé. She afterwards placed guards about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou, and ſent ſoldiers to Amiens to arreſt the prince of Condé, who was there ſtrictly watched, and bring him to Paris. The prince was informed of it, and diſguiſing himſelf, deluded his ſpies, and the third time happily eſcaped to Germany; where, upon his arrival, he was declared generaliſſimo of the proteſtant troops in France.

Gabriel, count of Montgomery, the ſame that wounded Henry II.

The queen-mother took a reſolution to ſend all her forces againſt the huguenots immediately. They were divided into three armies: Matignon ‖ led the firſt into Normandy, where Montgomery, having only two or three ** inconſiderable forts in his poſſeſſion, was ſoon

* Fontenay, Luſignan, Melle, Pons, Tonnay-Charente, Talmont, Rochefort, Oriol, Livron, Orange, and other places in Poitou, Languedoc, Dauphiny, &c.

† John de Chaumont, marquis of Quitry or Guitry: Peter de Mornay, lord of Buhy, brother of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay. See an account of this enterprize in the life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, book i. p. 26.

‡ Joſeph Boniface de-la-Mole; Hanibal, count of Coconnas, a Piedmonteſe. "La "Mole and Coconnas were beloved by two "great princeſſes, [the queen of Navarre "and the ducheſs of Nevers] love and "jealouſy brought them both to deſtruc-"tion." Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 75.

‖ James de Matignon, marechal of France: he died in the year 1597. This nobleman, for his great qualities, deſerves all the praiſes that M. de Thou has given him, particularly for his inviolable attachment to the perſon of his king; a virtue in thoſe times very uncommon. De Thou, book lxvi.

** Theſe were Carentan, Valogne, Saint Lo, and Donfront. In this laſt he was taken fighting like a man in deſpair. D'Aubigné, who was himſelf a zealous proteſtant, cannot certainly be ſuſpected of partiality upon this queſtion relating to the promiſe given to the count by the marechal. "The place, ſays he, was taken, and defeated,

defeated, and obliged to deliver himſelf up to this marechal, who carried him to Paris, where he was beheaded. The ſecond, commanded by the duke de Montpenſier *, went to inveſt Fontenay, and afterwards Luſignan, which he took, notwithſtanding the bravery with which the viſcount de Rohan defended it. The prince † Dauphin, who commanded the third, took likewiſe ſome ſmall places in Dauphiny; but having ſat down before Livron, ſhamefully raiſed the ſiege. All was ſuſpended on account of the king's death, which happened this year on Pentecoſt day. This prince died at the caſtle of Vincennes, in the moſt exquiſite torments, and bathed in his own blood. The cruel maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day was always in his mind; and he continued to the laſt, by his tears and agonies, to ſhew the grief and remorſe he felt for it ‡. The cardinal of Lorrain || died alſo on the 23d of December, this year, in the pope's territories; a day made remarkable by the moſt terrible ſtorm that ever was known. 1574.

The king of Poland was informed of his brother's death in thirteen days, and the night after the news was brought him, he ſtole out of the

" life was promiſed to all but the count, " to whom artful aſſurances were given, " that he ſhould not be delivered into any " other hands than the king's. This I " am convinced of, notwithſtanding the " contrary has been written. France is " guilty of but too many perjuries, there " is no occaſion to invent any to charge " her with," &c. vol. II. book ii. chap. vii. Montgomery ſubmitted to his fate like a hero. De Thou, Brantome, &c.

* Francis of Bourbon. This branch of Montpenſier deſcended from a Lewis of Bourbon, ſecond ſon of John II. of Bourbon.

† Francis of Bourbon, ſon to the duke of Montpenſier, bore this tittle. Memoirs of Brantome, vol. III. p. 301.

‡ He ſent for the king of Navarre, in whom only he acknowledged to have found faith and honour, and moſt affectionately recommended to him his wife and daughter. Perefixe. A little before he expired he ſaid, he was glad he had left no children, who would have been too young to govern the ſtate in ſuch difficult times. Montluc, De Thou, and almoſt all the hiſtorians agree in ſaying, that if he had lived he would have been a very great prince. He poſſeſſed, and in a great degree, courage, prudence, eloquence, œconomy, and ſobriety: he loved polite literature and learned men; but he was choleric and a great ſwearer. He was but twenty-five years of age when he died. Many contuſions were found in his body. De Thou. However, there were no proofs found of his being poiſoned, as the author of the Legend of Claude duke of Guiſe ſays he was. His death proceeded from violent exerciſes, to which he was very much addicted, and a great quantity of bile, that often made his eyes look quite yellow. His ſtature was tall, but he was not ſtrait, his ſhoulders were bent, his legs thin and weak, his complexion pale, his eyes ghaſtly, and his countenance fierce. See F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. and the life of this prince written in Latin by Papire Maſſon.

|| Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, archbiſhop of Rheims. See his character in the third book of Brantome's Memoirs. He died, ſays he, at Avignon by poiſon, if we may give credit to the Legend of St. Nicaiſe, p. 138. and moſt pioufly, according to Matthieu, who wrote his eulogium, vol. I. book vii. p. 407.

1574. court and fled. In his journey he viſited the emperor Maximilian, and Charles duke of Savoy, and took his route thro' Venice *. In all theſe places, they gave him advice equally wiſe and conformable to his intereſts, which was, to grant the proteſtants peace, and the free exerciſe of their religion; but, inſtead of complying with it, he immediately upon his arrival in France broke the truce that had been granted to them for three months, and changed it, at the ſolicitations of the queen-mother, into a declaration of war againſt the whole party; to which a great number of catholics had lately joined themſelves, out of affection to the marechal de Damville †, who had been diſtinguiſhed by the impriſonment of his brother.

The king went in perſon to lay ſiege a ſecond time to Livron, which he was likewiſe obliged to raiſe; and brought nothing away with him, but the ſhame of finding himſelf inſulted from the top of the walls by the women, and even children, and hearing the moſt ſatirical and cutting reflections on the queen his mother. From this time he always appeard ſo different from what he had been when duke of Anjou, that it may be ſaid with reaſon, his ſhameful flight to Avignon was at once the æra of his ignominy, his kingdom's misfortunes, and his own. In his journey to Rheims, whither he went immediately after to be conſecrated, he conceived a paſſion for one of the daughters of the count de Vaudemont ‡, and married her.

1575. It was fortunate for him, that the duke of Anjou was all this time cloſely confined; but after Henry's coronation, this prince, who again quitted his title to take that of Monſieur, enjoyed, as well as the king of Navarre, a little more liberty, which was increaſed or leſſened according to the reports that were brought of their correſpondence with the enemies of the queen-mother ‖. One of Catherine's other

* The reader may conſult Matthieu, vol. I. upon the departure of Henry III. of Poland, and the particulars of his journey.

† Henry de Montmorency, duke of Damville, ſecond ſon of the conſtable Anne de Montmorency.

‡ Louiſa of Lorrain, daughter of Nicolas, duke of Mercœur, count of Vaudemont, and Margaret of Egmond, his firſt wife. Matthieu gives this princeſs great praiſes for her virtue and affection to her huſband. Vol. II. book iii. p. 438.

‖ Henry III. hated Monſieur, on account of his having, as he ſuppoſed, attempted to poiſon him. He endeavoured to perſuade the king of Navarre to kill this prince, but was refuſed with horror. Henry III. being ill with a diſorder in his ear, the king of Navarre one day ſaid to the duke of Guiſe, whom he loved, "Our man is very ill." The duke anſwered the firſt time, "It will be nothing." The ſecond, "We muſt think of it." And the third he ſaid to him, "I under-

cares

cares was to diſunite theſe two princes; which ſhe effected, by pro- 1576.
miſing each of them ſeparately the poſt of lieutenant-general of the
French armies, and by making uſe of ſuch means as ſeldom fail to
ſucceed, intrigues of gallantry, and competitions in love. Notwith-
ſtanding all her arts, Monſieur eſcaped at laſt: he deceived his guards,
and fled in diſguiſe on the evening of the 17th of September. He no
ſooner gained Dreux, than he ſaw himſelf attended by a numerous
court, and at the head of a powerful party.

The prince of Condé had laboured ſo effectually in Germany, that prince Caſimir was ſoon in a condition to enter France with a ſtrong army.

Catherine had now recourſe to other ſtratagems; ſhe endeavoured to regain Monſieur by the moſt ſpecious offers, and purſued him from city to city, always attended by a train of young and beautiful ladies, on whom ſhe relied ſtill more. In a word *, ſhe ſucceeded ſo well, that he fell at laſt into the ſnare ſhe laid for him.

The king of Navarre, who had given credit to her promiſe of making him lieutenant-general, thought himſelf now ſecure of it, and rejoiced at firſt that he had got rid of Monſieur, whom he always looked upon as his rival; but the ladies de Carnavelet and de Sauves drew him out of his miſtake. They made him comprehend, that if one of them could pretend to this great employment, it would be Monſieur, of whoſe reconciliation it would be made the price; but that in reality Catherine deceived them both, and that he in particular had nothing to expect but a more rigorous captivity. This opened the prince's eyes, and he now wholly applied himſelf to the recovery of his liberty. The means were offered him one day in the month of February, when he was hunting near Senlis †: his guards being diſperſed, he inſtantly paſſed the Seine at Poiſſy, gained Chateau-Neuf in Timerais, which belonged to him, where he took up ſome money of his farmers, and, followed only by thirty horſe, arrived at Alençon, which the lord de Hertray had ſeized in his name. There he had a conference with Monſieur and the prince of Condé, and they agreed to

" ſtand you, Sir;" and ſtriking the hilt of his ſword, " This, added he, is at your ſer-
" vice." Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 418.

* They conferred together at Champigny-ſur-Vade, a houſe belonging to the duke of Montpenſier, upon the confines of Touraine.

† See an account of this in d'Aubigne, vol. II. chap. xviii. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 420, &c.

unite

1576. unite all their forces. From Alençon the king of Navarre went to Tours; where he no ſooner arrived, than he publicly reſumed the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion. I was one of thoſe who accompanied this prince in his flight, and during his whole journey. He ſent me from Tours with Fervaques *, to demand the princeſs his ſiſter of the court. She was delivered to us, and the ſecond day after, ſhe alſo reſuming her religion, heard ſermon in the calviniſt church at Chateaudun, and joined the king, who waited for her at Parthenay.

According to others, 30,000 only.

The three princes, after uniting their troops, found themſelves at the head of fifty thouſand effective men, and made even Catherine tremble. A bloody war was now expected. I threw myſelf into the infantry, in the character of a volunteer, till an employment more ſuitable was given me. I made my firſt eſſay in arms in the neighbourhood of Tours, where ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between detachments from the different parties. The king of Navarre hearing that my behaviour had more of raſhneſs than courage in it, ordered me to be called, and ſaid to me, "Roſny, it is not here that I would have you "hazard your life; I admire your valour, but I deſire you ſhould em-"ploy it on a better occaſion." This occaſion was not ſo near as we believed, for Catherine finding herſelf deficient in ſtrength, had recourſe to her uſual artifices. She talked of peace; ſhe offered more than we thought we could demand; promiſes coſt this artful princeſs nothing. In a word, ſhe had addreſs enough to make the princes lay down their arms, and peace was concluded upon, and ſigned three months after. This was called Monſieur's peace †, for, beſides that Catherine's principal view in making it was to gain this prince, he was ſo much the dupe of her artifices, that at laſt he wiſhed for it, and ſolicited it more warmly than any other perſon. It muſt be confeſſed, it was a very advantageous one; however, the princes never committed a fault more irreparable than when they ſigned it.

* William de Hautemer, count of Grancey, lord of Fervaques, &c. marechal of France, and lieutenant-general in Normandy. He died in the year 1613, aged ſeventy-five years. Madame Catherine of Bourbon, afterwards ducheſs of Bar.

† By the edict of ſixty-three articles, paſſed at the convent of Beaulieu near Loches in Touraine between the queen-mother and the princes, the memory of the admiral de Coligny and the other proteſtant chiefs was reſtored, chambers of juſtice, compoſed equally of proteſtants and catholics, were granted in the principal parliaments, and ſeveral cities given for ſecurity. Monſieur procured alſo a large appennage for himſelf, and a conſiderable ſum in money and jewels for prince Caſimir. De Thou, d'Aubigné, &c.

To

To this Monſieur added a ſecond error as conſiderable againſt his own intereſt; he ſeparated from the proteſtants *, and by that means loſt opportunities both in France and England, of becoming one of the moſt powerful princes perhaps in Europe. Thus all things fell out agreeable to the queen-mother's wiſhes, who, in making this peace, had nothing in view but the diſunion of her enemies. 1576.

Henry, upon the concluſion of the peace, retired to Rochelle, where the inhabitants, except that they offered him no canopy, paid him all the honours they could have done to the king. The catholics in this prince's train did not meet with ſo favourable a reception. Caumont, afterwards duke of Epernon †, was not ſuffered to enter the city, nor any other whom they could prove had embrued his ſword in the bloody ſlaughter of the 24th of Auguſt.

The king of Navarre ſtaid but a ſhort time in this city. As ſoon as he demanded the accompliſhment of the treaty, he became ſenſible of the great fault he had committed: the queen-mother denied ſhe had promiſed any thing to the proteſtants, who were obliged to take up arms again before the expiration of the year.

I now quitted my firſt poſt; M. de Lavardin, my kinſman, who had a great affection for me, preſented me with a pair of colours in the company he commanded. I was appointed to defend Périgueux, and afterwards Villeneuve, in Agenois, which was threatened with a ſiege. The king of Navarre had a deſign to undertake ſome conſiderable enterprizes, but the opportunity for them was loſt: the greateſt part of the troops upon which he relied, diſappointed him, and the reſt were in ſo bad a condition, that it was with difficulty he made two attempts, the one upon Réole, the other on St. Macary; in the laſt of which he failed. Favas, who conducted that of Réole, put me at the head of fifty ſoldiers, who entered it with very little danger. I demanded a like commiſſion of Langoiran, to whom the aſſault of St. Macary was entruſted; he granted it, and joined my couſin Bethune with me: but Favas retained us in the ſecond troop.

John de Beaumanoir de Lavardin or Lave din, marechal of France.

John Favas, called captain Favas.

* In reality Monſieur, on this occaſion, ſacrificed the king of Navarre and the huguenots to his intereſts, or his politics. In the memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 90. and following, may be ſeen all the ſteps taken by each party on occaſion of this treaty.

† John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon. He will be mentioned hereafter.

This

1576. This I mention as an inſtance of the firſt good fortune I met with in war, for the inhabitants of St. Macary, having had notice of our deſign, received us ſo well, that not a man of the firſt troop, who had courage to enter, ever returned.

At the ſiege of Ville-Franche, in Périgord, which was afterwards carried on by Lavardin, I was expoſed to a danger more conſiderable. During the aſſault, having mounted the walls with my colours, I was overthrown by the pikes and halberts into the ditch, where I lay ſunk in the mud, and ſo entangled with my colours, that had it not been for the aſſiſtance of la Trape, my valet de chambre, and ſome ſoldiers, who helped me to get up, I muſt infallibly have periſhed. The city being forced while they were parlying on the walls, it was given up to pillage. I gained a purſe of a thouſand crowns in gold for my ſhare, which an old man, who was purſued by five or ſix ſoldiers, gave me to ſave his life. The name of Ville-Franche recalls to my memory a very ſingular adventure that happened ſome time after. The inhabitants of this town having formed the deſign of ſeizing upon Montpazier, another little neighbouring town, by ſurprize, they choſe for the execution of it the very ſame night which the citizens of Montpazier had, without knowing any thing of the matter, pitched upon to make themſelves maſters of Ville-Franche. Chance ordered it ſo, that the parties taking different ways, did not meet; all was executed with ſo much the leſs difficulty, as the walls of both towns were wholly without defence. They pillaged, they glutted themſelves with booty, each thought himſelf happy till day appeared, and diſcovered the miſtake. They then came to a compoſition, every thing was reſtored to its right owner, and they returned to their reſpective habitations. Such was the manner of making war in thoſe times; it conſiſted of ſeizing by artifice the towns and caſtles of the enemy, though often thoſe attempts produced very bloody engagements.

A town in Perigord, upon the confines of Quercy.

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that the king of Navarre was very indifferently ſerved: his army was almoſt equally compoſed of proteſtants and catholics, and he often ſaid, that his obligations were greateſt to the laſt, for they ſerved him diſintereſtedly, and through pure attachment to his perſon: but it was this medley of catholics and proteſtants that ruined his affairs. Meſſieurs de Turenne, de Montgomery, de Guitry, de Leſignon, de Favas, de Pardaillan, and other principal proteſtants, had an invincible averſion to meſſieurs de Lavardin, de Mioſſens, de Grammont, de Duras, de Saint Colombe, de Roquelaure, de Bogole, de Podins,

Lewis de Leſignon, of S. Gelais. Henry d'Albret, baron of Mioſſens.

de Podins, and other catholic officers. This appeared, amongſt other occaſions, in an affair where I was concerned: an officer named Frontenac, having treated me contemptuouſly on account of my youth, added, that the milk was not out of my noſe. I replied, that I found myſelf ſtrong enough to draw blood from his with my ſword. This quarrel made a noiſe; and what was very extraordinary, tho' my antagoniſt was a catholic, and myſelf a proteſtant, yet the viſcount de Turenne promiſed him his aſſiſtance, and that of his proteſtant friends againſt me; which M. de Lavardin being informed of, he and his catholics offered their ſervices to me. The viſcount's hatred to me, proceeded from my having taken Langoiran's part (to whom I was obliged) in a quarrel he had with that nobleman. M. de Turenne expected, that wherever he and Langoiran were together, the latter ſhould receive orders from him as his general. Langoiran, who thought his birth equal to Turenne's, made a jeſt of his pretenſions; and adding ſome ſtrokes of raillery, ſpoke of Turenne as a bigot, who came over to the reformed, only becauſe Buſſy * had ſupplanted him in Monſieur's favour. When the quarrel was compoſed, I was adviſed to ſeek the friendſhip of Turenne. I complied, but he anſwered my firſt advance ſo ill, that I drew back, and we continued at a greater diſtance than ever. 1576. Antony de Buade de Frontenac. Henry de la Tour, viſcount de Turenne, afterwards duke of Bouillon.

This animoſity between the parties gave riſe to an oppoſition in the king of Navarre's councils, which blaſted many of his deſigns, and in particular that upon Marmande. Lavardin having attacked it, contrary to the advice of la Noüe, and even of the king of Navarre himſelf, he cauſed ſeveral bodies, of a hundred arquebuſiers each, to advance, with orders to poſſeſs themſelves of the hollows and other advantageous parts near the walls of this city. The command of one of theſe bodies was given to me; and ſcarce had I poſted myſelf at about two hundred paces diſtant from the city, when I was attacked by a detachment of the beſieged three times ſuperior to mine in number: I entrenched my men, and being favoured by ſome houſes, we defended ourſelves a long time. The king of Navarre, who ſaw the danger to which we were expoſed, ran to us, covered only with a cuiraſs, fought the whole day, and gave us time to ſeize the deſtined poſts; but they were of little uſe to us, as we had not men enough to ſurround the city on all ſides; and the king of Navarre would have had the mortifi- In Agenois, upon the Garonne.

* Lewis de Clermont de Buſſy d'Amboiſe, celebrated for his valour and perſonal accompliſhments. In an aſſignation he had ſome time after with the lady de Montforeau, he was killed by her huſband and his domeſtics.

1576. cation of not being able to approach it, and of being under a neceſſity of ſhamefully raiſing the ſiege, had not the arrival of the marechal de Biron, with propoſals for an accommodation, furniſhed him with an honourable pretence for withdrawing his troops.

A TRUCE only could be agreed upon, during which the king of Navarre went to Bearn, to viſit the princeſs his ſiſter, or rather the young Tignonville *, with whom he was in love. I was permitted to accompany him; and giving back my enſign's commiſſion to M. de Lavardin, who beſtowed it upon young Bethune, my couſin, I quitted my equipage of war, and took one more ſuitable to the character I was now to appear in. My œconomy during three or four years, joined to my military profits, made my finances ſo conſiderable, that I ſaw myſelf now in a condition to entertain ſeveral gentlemen in my pay, with whom I attached myſelf ſolely to the perſon of the king. As I had no inclination to deſcend from this ſtation, I regulated my domeſtic affairs in ſuch a manner, that the king of Navarre, who was always attentive to the conduct of his officers, confeſſed to me afterwards, that I owed the greateſt part of that eſteem with which he honoured me, to the prudent œconomy he obſerved in this diſpoſition of my affairs. It was my youth only that made this conduct appear extraordinary, for I began early to be ſenſible of what advantage it is, to preſerve an exact regularity in domeſtic concerns. Such a propenſity, in my opinion, is a very happy preſage, either for a ſoldier or a ſtateſman.

DURING our ſtay at Bearn, nothing was thought of but diverſions and gallantry. The taſte which Madame, the king's ſiſter, had for amuſements, proved an inexhauſtible ſource of them to us. Of this princeſs I learned the trade of a courtier, which I was yet unacquainted with. She had the goodneſs to make me one in all her parties; and I remember, ſhe would teach me herſelf the ſteps of a dance in a ballet that was performed with the greateſt magnificence.

THE truce was now almoſt expired, and the king of Navarre, who had been informed that the city Eauſe, excited by the mutineers, had refuſed to give entrance to a garriſon he ſent thither, ordered us to

A city of Armagnac.

* This young lady was daughter to madam de Tignonville, governeſs to madame the king of Navarre's ſiſter, who in the court of Navarre was generally called mademoiſelle Navarre. Mademoiſelle Tignonville was afterwards married to the baron of Pangeas.

come,

come, with our arms concealed under our hunting-habits, to a certain part of the country, where he himſelf waited for us. He arrived at the gates of this city before they could be advertiſed of his march, and entered it, without meeting with any reſiſtance, at the head of fifteen or ſixteen of his men, who had followed him cloſer than the reſt of the troop. As ſoon as the mutineers perceived this, they called out to have the draw-bridge inſtantly let down; which was accordingly done, and fell almoſt upon the buttocks of my horſe and Bethune's, ſo that we were ſeparated from the body, which remained without the city. The rebels at the ſame time rung the alarm-bell, and arming haſtily, a band of fifty ſoldiers came thundering upon us: among theſe we diſtinguiſhed three or four voices, which cried, "Fire upon that ſcarlet cloak, "and white plume, for it is the king of Navarre." "My friends, "my companions," ſaid this prince, turning towards us, "it is here "that you muſt ſhew courage and reſolution, for our ſafety depends "upon what we now act; follow me then, and do as I do, without "firing your piſtols." As he ended theſe words, he marched fiercely up to the mutineers with his piſtol in his hand: they could not ſuſtain the ſhock, and were ſoon diſperſed; three or four ſmall bodies of men preſented themſelves afterwards, and theſe alſo we drove before us; but the enemies drawing together, to the number of two hundred, and our forces being greatly diminiſhed, the danger became inevitable. The king retired to the gate, which facilitated his defence, and there he kept firm. He had the preſence of mind to order two of us to climb up upon the belfrey, and make a ſign to our companions, who continued in the field, to advance and force the gate. This they performed with the more eaſe, as very fortunately the bridge had not been drawn up. 1576.

Thoſe of the citizens who were well affected to the king, but had been forced by the ſeditious into their meaſures, perceiving the ſoldiers upon the point of entering the city, attacked the rebels behind. Theſe laſt defended themſelves till the gate being forced, the city was filled with our troops. All would have been put to the ſword, and even the city abandoned to pillage, had not the principal inhabitants, with their conſuls at their head, thrown themſelves at the king's feet, and implored his pardon. He granted it, and contented himſelf with puniſhing only thoſe four perſons who had fired upon the white plume.

1576. The king of Navarre leaving * Bethune governor in Eauſe, advanced haſtily towards Mirande, upon advice, that St. Criq, a catholic gentleman of his party, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the city; but not having men enough to keep it, had been obliged to throw himſelf, with his troops, into the tower, where he was beſieged, and hard preſſed by the citizens and garriſon of the place. Notwithſtanding the king marched with all poſſible diligence, he could not prevent the unhappy fate of this officer, who had juſt been taken, and burnt with all his men, when Henry appeared before the walls of Mirande. The inhabitants, who thought to draw him into their power, artfully concealed what had happened, and made the trumpets ſound, as if St. Criq was rejoicing for the aſſiſtance they brought him; when a huguenot ſoldier in the city, perceiving the danger into which the king of Navarre was going to precipitate himſelf, together with all his men, who muſt infallibly have periſhed, through the great ſuperiority of the enemies numbers, came over the wall, to inform him of the ſnare that was laid for him. The king now thought of nothing but retreating; but as he was very far advanced, the inhabitants of Mirande ſoon perceived that their deſign was prevented, and ſallying out, attacked him in his retreat. Myſelf and young Bethune having engaged too far amidſt the enemy, were ſurrounded on all ſides: deſpair added to our ſtrength, and we fought like men who were reſolved to ſell their lives dear; but we ſhould certainly have been overpowered, extreme wearineſs making it hardly poſſible for us to uſe our arms any longer, when happily for us Léſignan, and the elder Bethune, whom the king of Navarre had ſent to our aſſiſtance, charged the enemy ſo fiercely, that they gave back, and afforded us the means of retreating. The ſieur d'Yvetot, a gentleman of Normandy, and la Trape, my valet de chambre, did me great ſervice upon this occaſion.

A city in the county of Armagnac.

The king of Navarre, ſeeing night approach, gave orders to ceaſe fighting, and retired to Jegun; where two or three days after, the royal troops, with the marechal de Villars at their head, appeared in arms, drawn thither by the report of the attempt upon Mirande. It would have been raſhneſs to attempt them, therefore we kept firmly intrenched, and fought only to engage them to force us; but this they durſt not attempt. The two armies continued in view of each other till night: a combat of ſix againſt ſix was propoſed by Lavardin and la Deveſe; but we not being able to agree amongſt ourſelves

* See all theſe little military expeditions in d'Aubigné, book ii.

about the choice of the combatants, the king and the marquis de Villars both drew off their reſpective troops the beginning of the night. 1576.

SOME time after the king of Navarre going from Leictoure to Montauban, commanded the count de Meilles and me with five and twenty horſe, to fall upon a body of muſqueteers, which the inhabitants of Beaumont had poſted in the vineyards and hollow places in our paſſage. We engaged, and drove them almoſt to the city gates, from whence about an hundred ſoldiers came out to their aſſiſtance; part of theſe we left dead upon the place, and the reſt were drowned in the ditches. The king, who ſaw the rampart begin to be crouded with ſoldiers, did not think proper to purſue this advantage, and continued his rout. Frederick de Foix de Candalle. Beaumont of Lomagne in Armagnac.

AT his return, he endeavoured to avoid paſſing under the walls of this city, and took a lower road, by a place, which, if I remember right, was called * St. Nicholas, near Mas de Verdun. Scarce had we marched a league, when we heard the beating of drums, and diſcovered a party of three hundred muſqueteers, marching in very indifferent order, under five enſigns. A council was immediately held; ſome were of opinion that we ſhould attack the enemy, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their numbers; others diſapproved this. The king of Navarre, who wanted only to try them, ordered fifty horſe to advance, and in the mean time we drew up in a line, with our domeſtics behind us, and preſented a front to the enemy, which concealed the ſmallneſs of our numbers. The ſhining of our armour contributed to deceive them: they fled acroſs the woods, whither we purſued them; till meeting with a church, they entered it, and barricaded themſelves within.

THIS church was very large, ſtrong, and well furniſhed with proviſions, being the accuſtomed retreat of the peaſants; a great number of them were then ſhut up in it. The king of Navarre undertook to force it, and ſent to Montauban, Leictoure, and other neighbouring towns, for workmen and ſoldiers for that purpoſe; not doubting but Beaumont, Mirande, and other towns of the catholic party, would ſend powerful ſuccours to the beſieged, if they were not prevented. In the mean time we endeavoured, with the aſſiſtance of our ſervants, to undermine the church. The choir was al-

* St. Nicolas de la Grave. Mas de Verdun, or Mas Garnier, a city of Armagnac.

lotted

1577. lotted to me; and in the ſpace of twelve hours I made an opening in it, though the wall was of a great thickneſs, and built of a very hard ſtone: afterwards by means of a ſcaffold raiſed over this gap, I threw a great quantity of grenadoes into the body of the church. The beſieged had no water, and were obliged to temper their meal with wine; and what incommoded them ſtill more, they had neither ſurgeons, linen, nor ſalves for the wounds that were given them by the granadoes. A powerful reinforcement being ſent from Montauban to the king of Navarre, they capitulated, and this prince contented himſelf with only ordering ſeven or eight of the moſt mutinous to be hanged; but he was obliged to abandon them all to the fury of the inhabitants of Montauban, who forced them out of our hand, and butchered them without mercy. We learned the cauſe of that rage which animated them againſt theſe wretches, in the reproaches they made them, of having carried away ſix women, whom, after they had raviſhed, they put to death, by filling them with gunpowder, and ſetting fire to it. A horrid exceſs of the moſt ſavage cruelty!

The ſtates, which were then held at Blois, named the archbiſhop of Vienne *, and the duke of Montpenſier and Richelieu, for deputies to the king of Navarre. This prince ſent Bethune and me as far as Bergerac, to receive them. They were commiſſioned to exhort the king of Navarre to embrace the catholic religion, which the ſtates had declared ſhould be maintained throughout the kingdom. This interview, which had produced a ſuſpenſion of arms, having had no other effect, the deputies returned, and hoſtilities began again.

Caſtel Jaloux, or Caſtel Geloux, near Auch. In Guyenne, the capital of the duchy of Albret.

Some attempts were made upon Caſtel Jaloux and Nerac, by the admiral de Villars †; but the king of Navarre was preſent every where, and diſconcerted all his deſigns. He expoſed himſelf to equal dangers with the meaneſt ſoldier, and gave a ſtriking proof of the greatneſs of his courage at Nerac; when being ſurrounded by a body

* The three deputies whom the ſtates ſent to the king of Navarre, were Peter de Villars, archbiſhop of Vienne, for the clergy; Andrew of Bourbon, lord of Rubempre, for the nobility; and Menager, general of the finances of Touraine, for the third ſtate. Here therefore is a fault in theſe Memoirs: conſult de Thou, d'Aubigné, &c. See alſo an account of the ſeſſion of the ſtates of Blois, in Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 438, and in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 166, and following.

† Honorat of Savoy, marquis of Villars. Although he was made admiral by the king during the admiral de Coligny's life, he did not in reality exerciſe that employment till after the death of that nobleman.

of

of horſe, detached on purpoſe to ſurpriſe him, he repulſed them almoſt by his ſingle valour. It was not in our power, by the moſt earneſt intreaties, to make him take more care of his life; and his example animating us in our turn, twelve or fifteen of us were bold enough to advance within piſtol-ſhot of the whole catholic army. The king of Navarre, who obſerved us, ſaid to Bethune, "Go to your couſin, "the baron of Roſny; he is raſh and heedleſs to the laſt degree; bring "him and his companions off; for the enemy ſeeing us retire, will no "doubt charge us ſo fiercely, that they will be all either taken or "killed." I obeyed this order, and the prince perceiving my horſe wounded in the ſhoulder, reproached me for my temerity, in a manner, however, wholly obliging. He propoſed this day a combat of four againſt four; but it did not take place, the admiral having given the ſignal for retreating. 1577.

It was of the laſt importance to the king of Navarre to hinder the taking of Brouage, then beſieged by the duke * of Maïenne. Accordingly he haſtened thither, leaving the viſcount of Turenne to bring his troops after him; but beſide that this nobleman did not arrive ſoon enough to ſuccour the city, the interview between the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé at Pons ſo exaſperated them againſt each other, that the prince of Condé wanted to fight with the viſcount de Turenne, whom he accuſed of being the author of their miſunderſtanding, and ſoon after openly ſeparated from the king of Navarre. A city and port in Saintonge. In Saintonge.

The peace which ſucceeded accidents ſo unfavourable to the reformed, was the ſole work of Henry III. who was deſirous of giving this mortification to the Guiſes. War was no longer agreeable, either to his inclinations, which led him to a ſtrange kind of life, divided between devotion and ſenſuality †, nor to his deſigns, that tended only to the cruſhing of the princes of Lorrain, now grown too powerful by the league. But although this peace ‡ was leſs advanta-

* Charles de Lorrain, duke of Maïenne, ſecond ſon of Francis of Lorrain, duke of Guiſe. He was general of the league.

† There is nothing, ſaid Sixtus V. to cardinal de Joyeuſe, which your king has not done, and does, to be a monk; nor nothing which I have not done to avoid being one. He had no leſs than a hundred and fifty valets de chambre, *miniſtres cubiculariis*, ſays Buſbeq, Ep. 31.

‡ By the treaty that was concluded at Bergerac, between the king of Navarre and the marechal de Biron, and the edict that followed in the latter end of September, the number of churches was diminiſhed, the exerciſe of the pretended reformed religion was prohibited ten leagues round Paris, the burying-places of the calviniſts in this city taken away, the liberty of marriages revoked, the chambers of

geons

1577. geous to the huguenots than that of Monſieur, yet they obſerved the articles of it with more fidelity than the catholics; who while it ſtill ſubſiſted, poſſeſſed themſelves of Agen, and Villeneuve, for which it was impoſſible to make them give ſatisfaction. The conſequence of a peace ſo very ill obſerved, was an inactivity full of diſtruſt; which rather reſembled a long ſuſpenſion of arms, than a real peace. In this manner paſſed the remainder of this year, and part of the following.

Villeneuve in Agenois, upon the Lot.

Whether it was, that the queen-mother was deſirous of labouring effectually to compoſe the troubles of the ſtate, or that ſhe had ſecret deſigns, which obliged her to gain, if poſſible, the king of Navarre, ſhe quitted Paris with all her court, and making the tour of the provinces, had a conference with this prince at Réole and Auch. She even ſtaid with him a long while, at different times, either at Nerac *, Coutras, Fleix, or other places; for the year 1578, and part of 1579, were wholly conſumed in journeys from one place to another, and reciprocal complaints of the bad execution of treaties, which indeed both parties did not ſcruple to infringe.

Fleix in Perigord.

1578. The mixture of two courts equally remarkable for gallantry, produced ſuch an effect as might have been expected. Nothing was ſeen but balls, feſtivals, and polite entertainments: but while love became the ſerious buſineſs of the courtiers, Catherine was wholly abſorbed in politics: for once, however, ſhe did not ſucceed. She, indeed, reconciled the king of Navarre to his wife, then greatly diſguſted with the proceedings of her brother Henry III. towards her; but ſhe could never draw this prince again to Paris, nor prevail upon him to reſign to her thoſe places of ſecurity, to obtain which had been her principal view.

I should ſwell theſe Memoirs too much, were I to enter into a detail of this medley of politics and gallantry; and, to confeſs the truth, my youth and other affairs, more ſuitable to my inclinations,

juſtice compoſed of half catholics and half proteſtants ſuppreſſed in Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, &c. King Henry III. called this his treaty. Neither party obſerved it faithfully: the catholics complained that ſeveral articles were infringed by the calviniſts. Memoirs of Nevers.

* At Nerac, ſays le Grain, the queen-mother had ſeveral conferences with the king of Navarre, her ſon-in-law, in which ſome articles were explained, but not all; for the good lady would always keep her Spaniſh gennet by the bridle as much as ſhe was able. It was here that Henry IV. fell in love with the two ladies, d'Agelle and Toſſeuſe.

did

did not permit me to engage in the firſt; as for gallantry, beſides that I have loſt the remembrance of it, a trifling detail of intrigues would, in my opinion, make a very indifferent figure here. 'Tis ſufficient to ſay, that all was reduced to a deſire of pleaſing, and ſupplanting each other: I ſhall not, however, omit ſome adventures relating to the war. 1578.

The queen-mother and the king of Navarre, could only agree upon a truce, which was to be in force over the whole kingdom, till the prince and ſhe ſeparated: but, whether ſhe thought war would afford her a more favourable opportunity of ſeizing ſeveral towns by ſurprize and artifice, or that this method was more likely to accompliſh her views, ſhe was not ſorry that both parties ſeemed to forget they were in peace, and treated each other as enemies. It was now reſolved, that there ſhould only be a truce where the court was, and not to extend beyond a league and a half, or two leagues, from the place where the queen and the princes reſided. This gave riſe to a contraſt altogether new: here they loaded each other with civilities, and converſed with the greateſt familiarity; there they fought with the utmoſt fury and animoſity. The two courts being at Auch, upon a ball night, news was brought to the king of Navarre, that the governor of Réole, who was an old man, and a zealous proteſtant, having conceived a violent paſſion for one of the queen-mother's maids of honour, had been prevailed upon to violate his duty, and deliver up the town to the catholics. The king of Navarre, who would not long defer his revenge, privately ordered me, and three or four others, to withdraw, and with our arms, concealed under our hunting-habits, join him in the fields. We got together as many of our people as we could; and taking care that the entertainment ſhould ſuffer no interruption, left the hall, and joined the king, with whom we marched all night; and arriving early in the morning at Fleurence, the gates of which were open, ſeized it without oppoſition. The queen-mother, who could have ſworn that the king of Navarre had lain at Auch, was greatly ſurprized next morning with the news of this expedition; however, ſhe was the firſt to laugh at it: "I ſee, ſaid ſhe, this is in "revenge for Réole: the king of Navarre was reſolved to have "nut for nut, but mine has the better kernel."

An adventure of the ſame kind happened a ſhort time after. When the court was at Coutras, the king of Navarre having reſolved to ſeize St. Emilion, he ſent us over-night to St. Foi, which was not comprehended in the truce, from whence we marched to St. Emilion, with a petard, In Guienne near Libourne. Upon the Dordogne in Agenois.

1579. a petard, which we faſtened by two port-holes to a great tower. The burſting of this machine made a noiſe that was heard even at Coutras. A breach was made in the tower wide enough to admit two men a-breaſt, and by this means the town was taken. The queen-mother was enraged, and ſaid openly, that ſhe looked upon this action as a premeditated inſult, St. Emilion being within the bounds of the truce. 'Tis certain, that the diſtance between Coutras and this town was ſuch as rendered the caſe a little doubtful; but the king of Navarre, who knew that a few days before, the citizens of St. Emilion had pillaged a proteſtant merchant, which the queen-mother maintained to be a lawful prize, juſtified what he had done by this fact, and all was paſſed over.

It often happened, that the two courts ſeparated from each other, when any thing fell out to give either of them diſguſt; but the deſire of pleaſure, which languiſhed while they were divided, ſoon brought them together again. The queen-mother's court was carried by the king of Navarre to Foix; where, among other diverſions, he was reſolved to give them that of bear-hunting. The ladies were frighted; this entertainment did not ſuit with their delicacy. Some of theſe animals tore the horſes to pieces; others overthrew ten Swiſs, and as many fuſileers; and one of them, who had been wounded in ſeveral places, mounting upon a rock, threw himſelf down headlong, with ſeven or eight hunters whom he held faſt in his paws, and cruſhed them to pieces.

At laſt the queen-mother left the king of Navarre, and continued her rout through Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny, where ſhe had an interview with the duke of Savoy, and returned to Paris, leaving all things in the ſame ſtate in which ſhe found them; that is, in a peace which only increaſed the doubts and ſuſpicions of each party: however, ſhe did not forget to ſeduce part of the king of Navarre's catholic officers; among whom were Lavardin, Grammont *, and Duras. Another effect of her preſence was, to embroil ſo perfectly the prince with the viſcount of Turenne, that he challenged him to a ſingle duel. Turenne went indeed to the place of combat, but it was only to make thoſe ſubmiſſions which he owed to the high quality of his antagoniſt. This duel produced nothing fatal, but the viſcount received ſeveral wounds in a ſecond, to which he was challenged by Duras and

* Philibert de Grammont. John de Durfort.

and Roſan *. It was ſaid at that time, that the advantage they had over Turenne, upon this occaſion, was owing to an artifice ſcarcely allowable. 1580.

After the queen-mother's departure, the court of Navarre went to Montauban, and from thence to Nerac, where they continued ſome time, uncertain whether it would not be proper to renew the war. This court being no leſs voluptuous than that of France, nothing was thought of but pleaſures and gallantry.

The news of the catholics having taken the city of Figeac by ſurprize, and holding the caſtle beſieged, determined them to take arms immediately. The king of Navarre ſent the viſcount Turenne to raiſe the ſiege; who at parting ſaid to me, "Well, Sir, will you be of "our party?" "Yes, Sir, I replied, I ſhall be always of your party, "provided it is for the ſervice of the king my maſter, and yours at all "times, when you favour me with your friendſhip." A city of Querecy, upon the confines of Auvergne.

The catholics, ſurprized at our diligence, abandoned Figeac; and the war being now begun by the huguenots, they made above forty attempts on different places, of which three only ſucceeded †. Theſe were Fere in Picardy, Montagu in Poitou, and Cahors. At this laſt I was preſent, for which reaſon, as well as that of all the towns attacked by petard and undermining, this was the moſt remarkable, I ſhall give ſome account of it.

* The two brothers, Durfort de Duras, and Durfort de Roſan, fought with the viſcount de Turenne, and John de Gontaut de Biron, baron of Salignac, his ſecond. Although the brothers were armed with coats of mail, yet the diſadvantage was wholly on their ſide. The viſcount permitted Roſan to riſe, and Salignac allowed Duras to change his ſword; at the ſame moment nine or ten armed men fell upon the viſcount, and left him upon the place pierced with two and twenty wounds, none of which, however, proved mortal. He recovered, and generouſly intreated the queen-mother to pardon Duras. The marechal de Damville, called by the death of his brother, marechal de Montmorency, coming thither about that time, was conſulted on this action; and it was his opinion, as well as that of many others, that the viſcount de Turenne was at liberty to ſatisfy his revenge by any means whatever, without expoſing his own life. Memoirs of the duke de Bouillon. His life by Muſſolier. Du Plan. Brantome in the tenth volume of his Memoirs, ſpeaking of duels, ſeems to doubt whether this duel was conducted in the manner it was reported, conſidering the reputation the two brothers were in for courage and honour.

† See all theſe expeditions particularly related in d'Aubigné, vol. II. book iv.

1580. Cahors is a large and populous city, ſurrounded on three ſides by water. * Veſins, who was governor of it, had above two thouſand men, beſides a hundred horſe, under his command; and he obliged the citizens alſo to take arms. He kept himſelf upon his guard like a man who expected to be attacked; which we diſcovered by a paper found in his cabinet, on which he had wrote theſe few words with his own hand, "A fig for the huguenots." The king of Navarre, whoſe little army was weakened by the abſence of Chouppes, and who ſaw no means of opening himſelf a paſſage but by petard and undermining, did not, however, deſpair of taking the city. He reinforced his troops with all the ſoldiers he could find in Montauban, Négrepeliſſe, St. Antonin, Cajare, and Senevieres; but the whole did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men, with whom he left Montauban, and arrived about midnight within a quarter of a league of Cahors. It was in the month of June, the weather extremely hot, with violent thunder, but no rain. He ordered us to halt in a plantation of walnut trees, where a fountain of running-water afforded us ſome refreſhment. Here he ſettled the order of his march, and of the whole attack. Two petardeers belonging to the viſcount Gourdon, the chief contriver of this enterprize, followed by ten of the braveſt ſoldiers in the king's guards, marched before us, to open a paſſage into the city. They were ſuſtained by twenty others, and thirty horſe of the king's guards likewiſe, under the conduct of St. Martin, their captain; forty gentlemen, commanded by Roquelaure, and ſixty ſoldiers of the guard compoſed another body, in which I was, and marched afterwards. The king of Navarre, at the head of two hundred men, divided into four bands, came next; the remainder of his little army, which made a body of about one thouſand or twelve hundred arquebuſiers, in ſix platoons, cloſed the march.

The river of Lot waſhes its walls.

Towns in Quercy.

—de Terride, viſcount of Gourdon.

Charles le Clere de St. Martin. He was ſlain there.

Antony de Roquelaure.

We had three gates to force; theſe we made haſte to throw down with the petard, after which we made uſe of hatchets. The breaches were ſo low, that the firſt who entered were obliged to creep through upon their hands and feet. At the noiſe of the petard, forty men armed, and about two hundred arquebuſiers, ran almoſt naked to diſpute our entry; mean time the bells rung the alarm, to warn every body to ſtand to their defence. In a moment the houſes were covered with

* The ſame who is mentioned in the beginning of this book. It is thought, that if he had not been ſlain in the attack, at the head of his people, the king of Navarre would not have made himſelf maſter of the place.

ſoldiers,

ſoldiers, who threw large pieces of wood, tiles, and ſtones upon us, with repeated cries of "Charge, kill them." We ſoon found, that they were reſolved to receive us boldly; it was neceſſary, therefore, at firſt, to ſuſtain an encounter, which laſted above a quarter of an hour, and was very terrible. I was caſt to the ground by a large ſtone that was thrown out of a window; but by the aſſiſtance of the ſieur de la Bertichere, and la Trape, my valet de chambre, I recovered, and reſumed my poſt. All this time we advanced very little, for freſh platoons immediately ſucceeded thoſe that fled before us; ſo that before we gained the great ſquare, we had endured more than twelve battles. My cuiſſes being looſened, I was wounded in the left thigh. At laſt we got to the ſquare, which we found barricaded, and with infinite labour we demoliſhed thoſe works, being all the time expoſed to the continual diſcharge of the artillery, which the enemy had formed into a battery. 1580.

The king of Navarre continued at the head of his troops during all theſe attacks; he had two pikes broke, and his armour was battered in ſeveral places by the fire and blows of the enemy. We had already performed enough to have gained a great victory; but ſo much remained to do, that the battle ſeemed only to be juſt begun; the city being of large extent, and filled with ſo great a number of ſoldiers, that we in compariſon of them were but a handful. At every croſs-way we had a new combat to ſuſtain, and every ſtone houſe we were obliged to ſtorm; each inch of ground was ſo well defended, that the king of Navarre had occaſion for all his men, and we had not a moment's leiſure to take breath.

It is hardly credible that we could endure this violent exerciſe for five whole days and nights; during which time, not one of us durſt quit his poſt for a ſingle moment, take any nouriſhment, but with his arms in his hand; or ſleep, except for a few moments leaning againſt the ſhops. Fatigue, faintneſs, the weight of our arms, and the exceſſive heat, joined to the pain of our wounds, deprived us of the little remainder of our ſtrength; our feet ſcorched with heat, and bleeding in many places, gave us agonies impoſſible to be expreſſed.

The citizens, who ſuffered none of theſe inconveniencies, and who became every minute more ſenſible of the ſmallneſs of our numbers, far from ſurrendering, thought of nothing but protracting the fight

1580. fight till the arrival of ſome ſuccours, which they ſaid were very near: they ſent forth great cries, and animated each other by our obſtinacy. Though their defence was weak, yet they did enough to oblige us to keep upon our guard, which completed our misfortunes. In this extremity, the principal officers went to the king, and adviſed him to aſſemble as many men as he could about his perſon, and open himſelf a retreat. They redoubled their inſtances at the report which was ſpread, and which they found to be true, that the ſuccours expected by the enemy were arrived at the bar, and would be ſo ſoon in the city, that he would have but juſt time to force the wall, and ſecure himſelf a paſſage. But this brave prince, whoſe courage nothing was ever able to ſuppreſs, turning towards them with a ſmiling countenance, and air ſo intrepid, as might have inſpired courage into the moſt puſillanimous heart: "'Tis heaven, ſaid he, which dictates what "I ought to do upon this occaſion; remember then, that my retreat "out of this city, without having ſecured one alſo to my party, ſhall be "the retreat of my ſoul from my body. My honour requires this of me; "ſpeak therefore to me of nothing but fighting, conqueſt, or death."

Peter de Chouppes.

Animated by theſe words, and the example of ſo brave a leader, we began to make new efforts; but in all probability, we ſhould at laſt have been wholly defeated, but for the arrival of Chouppes, whom the king had the precaution to ſend for before the attack: he, having underſtood the danger Henry was in, opened himſelf a paſſage into the city, with five or ſix hundred foot, and a hundred horſe, trampling over the enemy as he paſſed, who gathered in crouds to obſtruct his way. As ſoon as he joined us, we marched together to the bar, where the enemies ſuccours were endeavouring to enter. All this quarter we forced, and when we had made ourſelves maſters of the parapets and towers, it was not difficult to oblige the enemies without to abandon their enterprize and retreat; after which, the inhabitants finding themſelves no longer able to reſiſt, laid down their arms, and the city was given up to plunder. My good fortune threw a ſmall iron cheſt in my way, in which I found about four thouſand crowns. In the relation of an action ſo hot, ſo long, and ſo glorious for the young * prince that conducted it, I am obliged to ſuppreſs many circumſtances, and many particular exploits, performed by the king and his officers, which would have the appearance of being fabulous.

* Other hiſtorians agree, that this attack laſted five whole days, and that Henry IV. had a great many ſoldiers wounded there, and only ſeventy ſlain. M. de Thou's relation of this action is a little different, but our Memoirs deſerve moſt credit.

The

The king of Navarre having left Cabrieres * governor in Cahors, returned to Montauban. He defeated likewiſe two or three ſquadrons belonging to the marechal de Biron's army, who was under a neceſſity of ſhutting himſelf up in Marmande. The king, for the greater convenience of taking this city, came to Tonneins; which produced a great many little attacks, the marechal de Biron's ſoldiers making inroads every day into the enemy's country. Henry one day ordered Léſignan, at the head of five and twenty gentlemen well mounted, of which number I was one, to advance even to the gates of Marmande, as if to defy them: which was often done. We were followed by a hundred foot, who lay down on the ſhore of a rivulet not far from us; and the king, with three hundred horſe, and two companies of his guards, concealed himſelf in a wood at a ſmall diſtance. Our orders were to fire our piſtols only, and to endeavour to take any of the ſoldiers whom we ſhould find without the walls, and retire towards the little body of foot when they began to purſue us. Accordingly, as ſoon as we ſaw ourſelves ready to be attacked by a hundred horſe, who came out of the city, we marched off, though they inſultingly called out to us to ſtay. An officer of our troop, named Quay, hearing himſelf defied by name, could not reſtrain his indignation, but turned his horſe's bridle, and ſhot his challenger dead: he loſt his horſe, however, and regained his brigade on foot. Upon ſeeing him attacked by the enemy's party, who were enraged at the death of their comrade, we marched immediately to his aſſiſtance: and now ſo fierce a combat enſued, that one of our valets, ſeized with terror, fled, and carried the alarm to the king of Navarre; telling him, that we, and the whole party of foot were put to the ſword. This he ſaid without the leaſt foundation; for the enemy, on the contrary, ſeeing the body of foot, who came out of their ambuſcade to ſecond us, fearing ſome ſtratagem, and ſuppoſing that the whole army would fall upon them, retreated precipitately into the city. 1580. In Agenois upon the Garonne.

It was with great difficulty, that they could reſtrain the ardent Henry from ruſhing upon the enemy's army to revenge us, and periſhing gloriouſly; but they made him ſuch preſſing inſtances to retire, that he conſented to it at laſt, though with infinite regret. His aſtoniſhment was extremely great when he ſaw us, and his grief ſtill greater for having yielded to counſellors too timid; eſpecially when he ſaw Léſignan, who complained bitterly that he had been abandoned upon

* Conſult d'Aubigné upon theſe expeditions, vol. II. book ix.

this

1580. this occaſion. As for me, I loſt an horſe in the action, which was killed under me.

The king of Navarre's diſcontent was greatly increaſed by the bad news that was brought him. The prince of Condé, not ſatisfied with having corrupted ſome of his troops, and openly ſeparating from his party, had drawn ſeveral towns of Dauphiny and Languedoc into his intereſt, and took them from Henry to compoſe a ſovereignty for himſelf. Aigueſmortes and Pecais, he had engaged to prince Caſimir as ſecurities for the forces this prince had promiſed: and very lately, he had poſſeſſed himſelf of Fere * in Picardy; the loſs of which ſenſibly affected the king of Navarre. His army, already much inferior to that of the catholics, he was now obliged to diſmember, and ſent Turenne againſt the prince of Condé, who ſoon diſconcerted all his projects: as for himſelf, being no longer able to keep the field before the marechal Biron, he ſhut himſelf up in Nerac; in which the ladies and court of Navarre then were, and as brilliant as ever, notwithſtanding the bad condition of the king's affairs.

Towns in Languedoc.

This retreat gave a new face to the war; it could neither be called a campaign nor a ſiege, but it was both together. Biron, judging the ſiege of this place to be an enterprize for which he had not ſufficient ſtrength, ſought only to keep us in continual alarm, by ſurrounding it with all his troops; and the king of Navarre, though blocked up in the city, did not however fail to ſhew himſelf often in the field. The gates of the city were kept ſhut by his orders, his cavalry therefore was of no uſe to him; and our only reſource was to aſſemble in ſmall parties, and ſally out by the private doors, to attack the ſeparate detachments of the royal army, and ſometimes we would advance to the very front of the whole army. I reſumed my former condition of a private ſoldier, and mixing with the officers, performed many of thoſe raſh actions, in which there is neither fame nor advantage to be gained; and were likewiſe ſeverely condemned by the king of Navarre. When he was informed one day that I was wounded and taken by a party of the enemy, notwithſtanding his anger, he ſent Des-Champs and Dominge to reſcue me if poſſible; and at my return calling me raſh and preſumptuous, he expreſsly forbid me ever to leave the city with-

* It was re-taken immediately by the marechal de Matignon. In the Memoirs of the league there is a letter from queen Catherine to the prince of Condé, in which ſhe thanks him for having taken arms againſt the court.

out his orders. I confeſs, I but too juſtly merited theſe reproofs; for it is great folly and extravagance to precipitate one's ſelf into inevitable dangers, from whence nothing leſs than a miracle can extricate one. The marechal de Biron made ſhew of beſieging Nerac; but all ended in a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes, which the ladies beheld from behind the ramparts. The enemy's general had ſo little reſpect for them, that he ordered five or ſix diſcharges of cannon * to be made, tho' he expected no advantage from it. 1580.

In the country of Foix.

The king of Navarre did not, however, neglect to make himſelf maſter of Monſégur. Milon, one of his captains, enclofed five hundred weight of powder in a ſauciſſe, which he found means to introduce into a common ſhore, which ran into a ditch between the two principal gates; the end of the ſauciſſe, to which the fire was to be applied, was concealed amongſt the graſs. When every thing was ready for the playing off this machine, the king permitted us to go and ſee the effect, which indeed was wonderful. One of the two gates was thrown into the midſt of the city, and the other fifty paces forwards into the field. The vaults were all ruined, and a breach being made in the wall, wide enough to admit three men a-breaſt, the city was taken. The enemy ſeeming determined to recover it, the king commanded me to ſhut myſelf up in it with forty gentlemen. We applied ourſelves to the fortifying the place well with paliſades and intrenchments, in the place of thoſe the powder had deſtroyed; and this we performed without interruption, notwithſtanding we were all afflicted with a kind of epidemical diſtemper †, and myſelf more than any other. At length we put the place into ſuch a condition, that we had nothing to apprehend from the enemy; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who by the careſſes with which he loaded me on this occaſion, was deſirous of teaching me to make a juſt diſtinction between military exploits that are authorized by duty, and thoſe which a raſh and miſguided courage ſuggeſts.

It was with pleaſure that I ſaw this prince's favour towards me increaſe every day, and to find that he gave to inclination what he be-

* Some cannon was diſcharged againſt a gate of the city, behind which was the queen of Navarre. At the peace, ſhe procured the government of Guienne to be taken from this marechal.

† This diſtemper ſeized them in the reins, the head, and particularly in the neck. Bleeding and purging were mortal in it. De Thou obſerves alſo, that this diſeaſe was the fore-runner of a plague that carried off forty thouſand people in Paris. Book lxxiii.

1580. lieved he had granted only to his mother's recommendation; who, when dying, preſſed him to take care of my fortune. Some ſlight ſervices I did him this year, he rewarded by the poſt of counſellor of Navarre, and chamberlain in ordinary, with a penſion of two thouſand livres, which at that time was thought very conſiderable. I was then but nineteen years of age, and the fire of youth drew me into a fault which had like to have made me loſe for ever the favour of this prince.

I was at ſupper one night with Beauvais, the ſon of the king of Navarre's governor, and an officer named Uſſeau, who happening to quarrel, reſolved to fight, and intreated me to provide them with the means. Inſtead of immediately acquainting the king of Navarre with their deſign, that prince being very ſolicitous to prevent theſe ſort of combats, which a falſe ſenſe of honour made very frequent at that time, I was imprudent enough to promiſe to comply; and after having in vain endeavoured to reconcile them, conducted them myſelf to the meadow where they fought, and each received a very dangerous wound. The king of Navarre, who loved Beauvais, was extremely offended with me for the part I had acted in this affair. He ordered me to be ſent for, and told me in a rage, that I inſulted the authority of the ſovereign, even in his own court, and that, were ſtrict juſtice to be done on me, I ſhould loſe my head. Inſtead of repairing my fault by an ingenuous confeſſion of it, I added another ſtill greater: Piqued at this prince's threatening, I anſwered haughtily, That I was neither his ſubject nor vaſſal; and threatened him, in my turn, with quitting his ſervice. The king diſcovered no other reſentment for this inſolence, than a contemptuous ſilence. I went out of his preſence, with an intention to leave this good prince, and perhaps for ever, had not the princeſſes undertaken to make my peace with the king, who liſtening only to the dictates of his friendſhip for me, contented himſelf with puniſhing me no otherwiſe for my fault, than by treating me, during ſome time, with great coldneſs: at length, when he was convinced of the ſincerity of my repentance, he reſumed his former ſentiments. This inſtance of his goodneſs made me know in what manner ſo worthy a prince ought to be ſerved. I attached myſelf to him more ſtrongly than before, reſolving, from that moment, never to have any other maſter: but I ſaw myſelf removed from him for ſome time, by an imprudent promiſe which I had made to the duke of Alençon.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK II.

THE queen-mother, whoſe fertile imagination was ever producing ſchemes for the grandeur of her houſe *, and ſtill more employed for her own particular deſigns, having no longer any hope of marrying her youngeſt ſon to the queen of England, turned all her views upon Flanders, of which ſhe undertook to make him ſovereign. She had at firſt made ſeveral ineffectual attempts upon the Dutch; who, thinking they ſhould appeaſe the reſentment of Spain † by chuſing a maſter out of the houſe of Auſtria, decreed that honour to the archduke Matthias, notwithſtanding the power- 1580.

* M. de Thou, treating of this ſubject, ſays, book xcvi. that before the crown of Poland was offered to the duke of Anjou, Catherine, who was reſolved to make him a ſovereign one way or other, had ſent Francis de Noailles to Selim, then grand ſeignior, to aſk the kingdom of Algiers for this prince; Sardinia was to be added to it, which had been obtained from Spain, in exchange for the kingdom of Navarre, which they had promiſed him the poſſeſſion of; and as an equivalent for the claim the king of Navarre had to this kingdom, other eſtates in France were to be given him.

† The revolt of the United Provinces from Spain, an account of which will be ſeen in the following part of theſe Memoirs, began by an inſurrection, and a confederacy formed in the year 1566, the deſign of which was to hinder the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition in thoſe countries. Manuſcripts in the king's library, marked 9981.

1580. ful intrigues of Catherine. The archduke was a weak prince, absolutely deſtitute of the qualities neceſſary for a ſovereign; upon this occaſion eſpecially, where valour was ſo neceſſary, he behaved in ſuch a manner, as to inſpire the nobility with the utmoſt contempt for him; and by preferring the prince of Orange openly to all the other lords, and declaring him lieutenant-general of his forces, rendered himſelf completely hateful to them. The Dutch, diſguſted with this new maſter, thought of nothing but freeing themſelves from his power, and caſt their eyes upon Monſieur, brother to the king of France; whom they conſidered as a prince capable of defending them in his own perſon, and procuring them the powerful protection of his country.

William of Naſſau, prince of Orange.

He was at Coutras when the deputies from the United Provinces came to make him this offer: he accepted it joyfully, and deferred his journey to the Low Countries no longer than till he could appear there with a train ſuitable to the dignity of his birth. For this purpoſe, he earneſtly ſolicited the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt the lords and gentlemen of the king of Navarre's party to follow him. The greateſt part of the catholics attached themſelves to him, and the hopes of a ſolid and laſting peace with which the queen-mother took care to amuſe the proteſtants, was the cauſe that many of thoſe alſo promiſed to attend him.

Antony de Silly, lord of Rochepot.

Fervaques and Rochepot, two of my kinſmen, engaged themſelves in his party; and, to prevail upon me to follow their example, repreſented to me, that after the loſs I had lately ſuffered by the death of my father, I ſhould take care to recover the ſucceſſion to the viſcount de Gand's * eſtate, who had diſinherited me on account of my religion, and endeavour to get poſſeſſion of ſeveral other eſtates in Flanders, to which my family was entitled, and which only the protection of a new ſovereign could procure me. To theſe reaſons they added, in the name of Monſieur, a promiſe of twelve thouſand crowns, to furniſh me with an equipage. I yielded to their ſolicitations, and gave my word to go with them. Our expedition was protracted a conſiderable time, on account of ſeveral different affairs; at length all obſtacles † being removed, and the Dutch repeating their intreaties,

* Hugh de Melun, viſcount de Gand, grandfather by the mother's ſide to M. de Sully.

† By the peace concluded at Fleix, a caſtle upon the Dordogne, between the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou.

Monſieur

Monſieur reminding us of our engagement, ſent us orders to join him. When I went to take leave of the king of Navarre, I had a long converſation with him on my departure, and the occaſion of it; which I have never reflected on ſince without the deepeſt gratitude for that generous affection he diſcovered for me, nor without admiration of his penetrating wit, and the juſtneſs of his conjectures. When I mentioned leaving him, "'Tis by this ſtroke, ſaid he, that we ſhall "loſe you; all is over, you will become a Dutchman and a papiſt." I aſſured him that I would be neither; but that I ſhould have cauſe to reproach myſelf eternally, if by neglecting to cultivate the favour of my relations, and for the ſake of avoiding a little trouble, I ſhould ſee myſelf deprived of thoſe large eſtates that might revert to me from the houſes of Bethune, Melun, and Horn *. I added, that it was this conſideration alone which induced me to join Monſieur, and that only for a little time, after which nothing ſhould be able to prevent my following my inclinations, which were to attach myſelf ſolely to him; and that whenever he had the ſmalleſt occaſion for my ſervice, I ſhould leave Flanders at his firſt order. The king then entertained me with the predictions that had been made him, that he ſhould one day be king of France; and I, in my turn, informed him, that a great fortune had been foretold me. An early prepoſſeſſion in favour of theſe pretended prophecies had made me weak enough to give credit to them; but as for the king of Navarre, who was of opinion that religion ought to inſpire a contempt for thoſe evil prophets, as he called them, he had within his own mind an oracle more certain, which was a perfect knowledge of the perſon and character of Monſieur, and a ſagacity that opened almoſt futurity to him. "He will deceive me, "ſaid he, if he ever fulfils the expectations that are conceived of him: "he has ſo little courage, a heart ſo malignant and deceitful, a body ſo "ill made, ſo few graces in his converſation, ſuch want of dexterity in "every kind of exerciſe, that I cannot perſuade myſelf he will ever per- "form any thing that is great." The king of Navarre had leiſure to ſtudy this prince thoroughly, during the time that they were kept priſoners together. His memory at this inſtant furniſhed him with an 1580.

The proteſtants, to whom the laſt war had not been very favourable, conſented to it without any difficulty. The duke of Anjou deſired it with great ardour, in order to proſecute his deſigns upon the Low Countries; it was ſigned in the month of November. The articles were not made known, but were believed to be of little importance. The cities given for ſecurity, were to be kept by the calviniſts ſix years longer.

* Anne de Melun, the author's mother, was the daughter of Hugo, viſcount of Gand, and of Jane d'Horn.

infinite

1580. infinite number of particulars, that gave him room to believe, Monſieur would infallibly fail in an enterprize ſo noble and hazardous as that he had undertaken. Amongſt others he told me, that Monſieur flung himſelf againſt a pillar in running at the ring, and managed his horſe with ſo little ſkill, that he would have been thrown to the ground, had not his equery with great haſte and ſubtilty cut the reins of his horſe, and ſpared him the ſhame of ſo aukward a fall. That he ſucceeded no better in dancing, hunting, or any other exerciſe; and far from feeling a juſt conſciouſneſs of theſe natural defects, or of repairing them in ſome degree by an ingenuous modeſty, he ſecretly hated all who were more favoured by nature than himſelf; particularly the king of Navarre, who, on account of the preference the ladies gave him to Monſieur, tho' the brother of their king, and his having rivalled this prince in the favour of madam de Sauves *, and other court-quarrels of the ſame nature, became the object of his jealouſy and hate.

These little anecdotes with which he entertained me, tho' inconſiderable in themſelves, yet ceaſed to appear ſo, when the event fully juſtified the concluſions he drew from them. He concluded with telling me, that he plainly perceived Catherine had formed a deſign to exterminate the proteſtant party; and that he ſhould ſoon have occaſion for his faithful ſervants: then embracing me, he wiſhed me a happier journey than our leader's was likely to be. I threw myſelf at his feet, and kiſſing his hand, proteſted that I would ever be ready to ſhed the laſt drop of my blood in his ſervice. I quitted his preſence, to go and pay my reſpects to the queens; after which I took poſt for Roſny.

From hence I ſent Maignan, my equery, to Paris, to buy me ſome horſes. I have never ſince had any that equalled two which he

* —— de Beaune of Samblançay, married to Simon de Fizes, baron of Sauves, counſellor, and firſt ſecretary of ſtate, who died November the 27th, 1579. She made this name well known by her gallantries. Her ſecond huſband was the marquis of Noirmoutier. "One night, ſays Mat-"thieu the hiſtorian, when the duke "of Alençon was with her, the king of "Navarre laid a ſnare for him, ſo that "as he came out, he fell againſt ſome-"thing in his way, and hurt one of his "eyes. The next day the king of Na-"varre meeting him, exclaimed, Hea-"vens! what is the matter with your "eye? what accident has happened to "it? The duke anſwered rudely, It is "nothing, a ſmall matter ſurprizes you. "The other continuing to bemoan him, "the duke being offended, advanced, and "feigning to jeſt, whiſpered in his ear, "Whoever ſhall ſay I have got it where "you imagine, I will make him a liar. "Souvray and Du Guaſt hindered them "from fighting." Vol. I. book vii. page 403.

brought

brought me. One of them was a Spaniſh horſe; he was quite black, except a white ſpot on his right buttock. The other was a Sardinian horſe, to whom nature had given an inſtructive quality of defending his rider; for he would roll his eyes furiouſly, and ſpring upon the enemy with his mouth open, never quitting him till he had thrown him to the earth. 1580.

Part of the lands belonging to Monſieur extending to the neighbourhood of Roſny, I took occaſion from thence to draw ſome advantage from his offer, and aſked for the remainder of a wood, to be applied to my uſe; which was granted; and it produced me the ſum of forty thouſand franks. With this money, in fifteen days, I fitted out my whole troop, which was compoſed of eighty gentlemen; ſome of whom followed me diſintereſtedly, and others received only two hundred livres at moſt. With this train I went to join Monſieur, who waited for us in his caſtle of La-Fere, in Tartenois; from whence, after ſome time ſpent in deer-hunting, we marched to Saint Quentin, where all his troops were aſſembled.

The prince of Parma ſurrounded Cambray with his whole army, and kept it blocked up. This afforded an occaſion for the braveſt amongſt us to ſignalize themſelves, and each one was deſirous of commanding the firſt party that ſhould be ſent to reconnoitre. This honour fell to me, by the diſpoſition into which Fervaques, the quarter-maſter general, who was my relation and friend, had put the army: it procured me, however, no advantage, for I returned without having taken one priſoner, the beſiegers keeping all cloſe behind their lines, although I paſſed near enough to ſuſtain ſeveral diſcharges. The viſcount Turenne ſecretly rejoiced at my diſappointment, becauſe I had refuſed the offer he made to join me, if I would wait till the next day. He choſe out one hundred gentlemen, with whom he advanced towards Cambray, flattering himſelf that he ſhould perform no inconſiderable exploit. The event did not anſwer his expectations; this fine troop had the misfortune to be defeated by fourſcore or a hundred men belonging to the regiment of M. de Roubais *, of the houſe of 1581.

Alexander Farneſe, duke of Parma.

William de Hauterfier de Fervaques.

* Robert de Melun, marquis of Roubais. The viſcount Turenne's deſign was to throw himſelf into Cambray. See his Memoirs, page 311, and following. It is obſerved there, that he choſe rather to be priſoner to the prince de Robecque, general of the Spaniſh cavalry, than to the king of Spain: which was the cauſe that he was detained two years and ten months; for Spain feared, that after Robecque had received the money for the viſcount's ranſom, which was fifty-three thouſand crowns, he would quit its ſervice.

Melun,

1581. Melun, who ſerved in the enemy's army. Ten or twelve of our party were made priſoners, amongſt whom were Ventadour *, and the viſcount Turenne himſelf.

Mean time Monſieur advanced, with an intention to give battle to the enemy's general; but he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that we durſt not attempt to force him, and the following night he raiſed the blockade, and retired towards Valenciennes, without the loſs of one ſoldier, leaving the paſs alſo ſo ſecurely guarded, that he was under no apprehenſion of being overtaken. Monſieur now entered Cambray, and was received with great magnificence by the governor, whoſe name was d'Inchy. Chateau Cambreſis refuſing to ſurrender, was taken by aſſault. Monſieur, willing at firſt to diſcover a gentleneſs that might conciliate the people's affections towards him, forbid, upon pain of ſevere puniſhments, any violence againſt the women, who are generally the miſerable victims of war; but fearing that theſe orders would not be ſufficient to reſtrain the ſoldiers brutality, any more than the plague with which the fort was infected, he gave them the churches for aſylums, and placed guards about them. A very beautiful young girl threw herſelf into my arms as I was walking in the ſtreets, and holding me faſt, conjured me to guard her from ſome ſoldiers, who, ſhe ſaid, concealed themſelves as ſoon as they ſaw me. I endeavoured to calm her fears, and offered to conduct her to the next church; but ſhe told me ſhe had been there, and aſked for admittance, which they refuſed, becauſe they knew ſhe had the plague. My blood froze in my veins at this declaration, and anger renewing my ſtrength, I thruſt this girl from my arms, who expoſed me to death, to ſave her, when ſhe carried, in my opinion, her ſecurity about her; and flying away as faſt as I was able, expected every moment to be ſeized with the plague.

Monsieur having attacked the paſſages of Arleux, and l'Ecluſe, I took ſome priſoners there, whom I ſent back without ranſom, as ſoon as I was informed that they belonged to the marquis de Roubais, my couſin. Roubais, who was not ignorant of my juſt pretenſions to the eſtates of the viſcount de Gand, which he had uſurped, received this generoſity very ill. " By heaven, ſaid he, theſe civili-

* Anne de Levis, afterwards duke of Ventadour, knight of the king's orders, governor of Limoſin, and lieutenant-general in Languedoc. He died in 1622.

ties

" ties are very fine; but if he is taken, he brings his ranſom along 1581.
" with him." I had reaſon to be apprehenſive of this misfortune, and it would actually have happened to me two days after, at the attack of a wall, if Seſſeval, by a very ſeaſonable charge, had not extricated me from the danger.

The prince of Parma having divided his army in the Low Countries, Monſieur returned to Cambray, where he was guilty of an artifice towards d'Inchy, very unworthy of a great prince, whoſe word ought always to be ſo inviolable, that no perſon ſhould have a thought of ſuſpecting his integrity. He had invited himſelf to dinner with this governor, who was at an exceſſive expence to receive him in the citadel, in a manner ſuitable to his high rank. D'Inchy invited above ſixty of us to attend this prince, and treated us all with equal greatneſs and magnificence. During the repaſt, he was told that Monſieur's guards preſented themſelves at the gates; d'Inchy, thinking he ſhould fail in the moſt eſſential part of his reception of Monſieur, if he ſent them back, gave orders for their admittance, and every one elſe that come in that prince's name, who, he ſaid, was ſole maſter in the caſtle. He ſpoke indeed prophetically, tho' he did not think ſo at the time; for ſo many made uſe of this privilege, that our party became at laſt the ſtrongeſt, and Monſieur's guards diſarming thoſe of M. d'Inchy, ſeized upon the caſtle. This exploit was wholly the contrivance of Monſieur, who relied on that ſincerity in the governor, which he himſelf was not poſſeſſed of. As ſoon as d'Inchy was ſenſible of his misfortune, he complained bitterly of it to Monſieur, who anſwered him only with an inſulting ſmile upon the accent of his country, which was Picardy; and obliging him to quit the caſtle, which he gave to Balagny*, thought he made d'Inchy ſufficient amends by the gift of the town and duchy of Chateau-Thierry; but that gentleman, who perceived the difference between what was given him, and what he had been deprived of, reſigned himſelf up to deſpair, and ſeeking death found it ſoon after in a ſkirmiſh.

After this Monſieur returned to France, notwithſtanding the intreaties of the inhabitants of the Low Countries to the contrary, who aſſured him, that after five or ſix fortreſſes more were taken, the only important ones that remained, all Flanders would ſubmit to him. His

* John de Montluc, natural ſon of John de Montluc, biſhop of Valence; he is mentioned hereafter.

design in going to France was to make preparations for his voyage to England, whither he went a little time after. The reception he met with from queen Elizabeth*, and the engagement he contracted with her, having been mentioned by all the historians, I shall take no notice of them here, though I attended him in this voyage. From England Monsieur again returned to Zealand; flattered with a thousand agreeable hopes. He came to Lillo, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he was crowned duke of Brabant by the prince of Orange, assisted by the prince Dauphin, and all the nobility of the Low Countries, who expressed their joy on this occasion, a thousand different ways. This affection of the Dutch towards Monsieur had but a short duration. The prince of Orange, who only was more beloved by the people than him, was wounded in his chamber by a pistol shot†. The populace, who thought none but the French could be guilty of this action, mutinied, and would have fallen upon them; and Monsieur could find security no where but in the house of the wounded person, whither he fled for refuge. When the true author of this intended assassination ‡ was discovered, there was no sort of excuses or atonement which the burgesses did not offer Monsieur for the injustice of their suspicions, and the revolt they had occasioned; but this outrage made a deep impression on his heart, and he resolved within himself to take a signal revenge for it. The prince of Orange was not a man that could be easily deceived; he began from that moment to be upon his guard; for he perceived the resentment with which he was fired, and the rooted hatred he bore to protestants in general.

1582. A fort upon the Scheld. Francis of Bourbon, son to the duke of Montpensier

As for me, I had already received personal proofs of it; which, added to other causes of complaint that were given me by Monsieur, absolutely disgusted me with his service. At first I attached myself solely to his person, and to please him spared neither labour nor expence;

* It is well known that the queen of England allowed several of the princes of Europe to flatter themselves in this manner with hopes of marrying her; and whether policy, or reasons purely natural, was the cause that she never came to any conclusion, is a question not easy to decide. Monsieur went to England in the winter of 1581, and returned to Flanders the spring following. See an account of this voyage, and of all the negotiations concerning this marriage at length, in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. page 474, 603.

† The 18th of March 1582, by John de Jauregui. The ball went quite through his jaw. The assassin was taken by the soldiers of the prince of Orange, who rushed in at the noise, just as he was drawing his poignard to dispatch him. Chron. Piasicki.

‡ By the papers that were found in his pocket, he was known to be a Spaniard; this it was that appeased the people, who were ready to put all the French to the sword. Mem. d'Aubery du Maurier. The people ran about the street, crying, Behold, this is the marriage of Paris, let us kill these murderers. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. to the end.

I thought therefore that I might ſolicit his intereſt with regard to my pretenſions to the eſtate of the viſcount de Gand, which reverted to me. He received my requeſt very coldly, put me off with delays, and at laſt, when I preſt him one day on the ſubject, he told me very cavalierly, that he could not gratify two perſons at the ſame time; and that my couſin * the prince of Epinoy had obtained, without any trouble, what I had laboured for with ſo much aſſiduity. There was ſomething in this anſwer more diſobliging than the refuſal itſelf; I was ſenſibly affected with it, and a few days after had a convincing proof of the little ſhare myſelf, and the other proteſtant officers had in his favour, when I heard him ſay publicly, that he had juſt baniſhed d'Avantigny from his council, the laſt of the proteſtants to whom he confided his ſecrets, and he was now perfectly eaſy. From that time I reſolved to quit this ungrateful prince; and while I waited for an opportunity to return into France, applied myſelf to gain the favour of the prince of Orange, in whom I found all thoſe qualities in which Monſieur was deficient. I remember, a few days before the treacherous attempt upon Antwerp, that I was at this prince's palace with Sainte Aldegonde, and a miniſter named Villiers; when, ſpeaking of Monſieur and the catholics, by whom he was governed, he ſaid, "Theſe men have deſigns pernicious "both for themſelves and us, in which, it is my opinion, they will not "find their account; and I intreat you, ſir, added he, turning to me, "not to go far from my lodgings." He thought very juſtly; and his diligence finiſhing what his foreſight had begun, Monſieur ſuffered the double reproach of unſucceſsful treachery †. 1582.

Philip Marnix, lord of Sainte Aldegonde.

Having aſſembled his army in the plain, under pretence of reviewing it, he went out of Antwerp one day in February, and ordered his ſoldiers to enter the city again by thoſe gates that were at his diſpoſal, and to make themſelves maſters of it by force. Accordingly his men threw themſelves into Antwerp, as into a city taken by aſſault, crying out, "Kill, kill, the city is ours; maſs for ever." But their triumph laſted not long: the prince of Orange, who carefully obſerved every ſtep of Monſieur's, gave ſuch good orders every where, or rather cauſed thoſe he had long before given, to be ſo well

* Robert de Melun prince of Epinoy, ſon to the marquis of Richebourg.

† About that time the ſame attempt was made, by Monſieur's orders, on the principal cities of Flanders, the plot ſucceeded upon Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Dendermonde, but failed upon Bruges, Oſtend, Nieuport, &c. De Thou, book lxxvii. The duke of Montpenſier, and the marſhal Biron endeavoured in vain to diſſuade Monſieur from this enterprize. Matthieu, ibid.

1583. executed, that Monſieur's ſoldiers were all either repulſed, cut in pieces, or forced to throw themſelves off the walls; for their terror was ſo great, that thoſe who could not get at the gates, becauſe of the great number of carcaſes that obſtructed their way, had recourſe to that dreadful expedient. I had mounted my horſe two hours after noon, to go and join Monſieur in the field; but before I got out of the city, the loud ſhouts of the aſſailants ſtruck my ears, and in the ſame moment I met the prince of Orange, who deſired me and ſome other French gentlemen of the reformed religion, who were with me, to retire to his lodgings. As Frenchmen we could not expect to be ſafe at that time in the city, and, as huguenots, we had every thing to fear from the French army, who had taken poſſeſſion of it. We followed his advice, therefore, and he returned to us as ſoon as he had reſtored quiet to the city. The care he took to pacify the Dutch, and prevail upon them to forget a behaviour ſo inexcuſable, is a proof that he bore with regret, and only in his own defence, an action which no Frenchman diſapproved of. It was not his fault that the proteſtant party in Flanders was not reconciled to Monſieur; and as for us, as ſoon as he knew we intended to join this prince, he put us into a condition to do it without danger.

We found ourſelves greatly perplexed in the neighbourhood of Mechlin, whoſe inhabitants, by opening their ſluices, had formed a large marſh. Four or five thouſand foot, and as many horſe of Monſieur's army, periſhed there by cold and hunger, in a moſt rigorous ſeaſon. Monſieur, however, ſtaid five or ſix months in Flanders after this fatal enterprize: but his army had been ſo conſiderably leſſened, and the remainder ſo broken with fatigue, the cities ſo well guarded, and, to compleat his misfortunes, the prince of Parma returned with an army ſo vaſtly ſuperior to his, that he was at laſt obliged to go back to France with the duke de Montpenſier, and the marechal de Biron, leaving nothing behind him in the Low Countries but the remembrance of a name juſtly deteſtable.

A prince who has not prudence enough to conceal his hatred of perſons whoſe ſervices become neceſſary to him, muſt be unhappy; but this muſt be owned, to the advantage of virtue, that it ſecures, by the moſt infallible means, the ſucceſs of all great enterprizes. Wiſdom, equity, diſcipline, order, courage, good fortune; qualities which ſucceed each other in the order they are mentioned, form the chain of action in truly great men. The proceedings of thoſe who unjuſtly arro-

arrogate to themſelves that title, offer, on the contrary, nothing but raſhneſs and obſtinacy, the companions of blind ambition. A vain confidence in their talents, preſumptuous dependence on their good fortune; all conſequences of flattery, which generally enſlaves no perſons ſo much, as thoſe falſe heroes who think themſelves born to ſubject the whole world. 1583.

I could not reſolve to leave Flanders without viewing thoſe places where my anceſtors were born; and having procured a paſsport from the count of Barlaymont, I went to Baſſée, to viſit madam de Maſtin, my aunt. She received me as a nephew whom ſhe had diſinherited, becauſe he neither believed in God nor his ſaints, and worſhipped the devil. This notion father Silveſter, a cordelier, a famous preacher, and this lady's director, had thought proper to give her of all proteſtants; and ſhe took it upon his word. She carried me with her to ſee an abbey ſhe had founded; and as ſhe was ſhewing me ſome fine tombs of my anceſtors, which ſhe had cauſed to be erected there, took occaſion to ſpeak to me on the ſubject of my faith. If I was aſtoniſhed to hear her utter theſe extravagant whims that father Silveſter had put into her head, ſhe was no leſs ſurprized to hear me repeat the creed, and all thoſe prayers which we uſe in common with the roman catholics. With her reaſon, nature was alſo awakened; her great ſimplicity was the cauſe of the little tenderneſs ſhe had ſhewn me. She embraced me with tears in her eyes, and promiſed me not only the certain ſucceſſion to her eſtates, but alſo engaged to get thoſe of the viſcount de Gand reſtored to me. This at the time was her ſincere intention; but father Silveſter, no doubt, found better reaſons to prevent the effect of thoſe good deſigns, for none of them were ever executed. Claude de Barlaymont, lord of Hautepenne.

I had an earneſt deſire to ſee the city of Bethune, the country, and ancient inheritance of my anceſtors, who for a long time were in poſſeſſion of very conſiderable eſtates there. The treachery Monſieur had uſed towards the city of Antwerp, rendered all the other cities of the Low Countries ſuſpicious; they would not ſuffer me to enter Bethune till I had ſhewn my paſsport, declared my name, and convinced them I came from madam de Maſtin; which produced an effect I little expected: I had taken the road to an inn, whoſe ſign was the coronet of the family of Bethune, when I ſaw a plateon of foot approach, that gave me ſome apprehenſions. It was, however, the burgeſſes of the city, who full of reſpect for the blood of their ancient lords, no ſooner

1583. ſooner heard my name, than they reſolved to pay me all poſſible honours, and brought me a preſent of wine, and other refections. Before I left this city, I viſited and examined with great exactneſs, and a ſecret pleaſure, all the public and private monuments which preſerved to poſterity the remembrance of the benefits my anceſtors conferred on this city, and its gratitude for them.

Having nothing more to detain me in Flanders, I returned to France, and took the direct road to Roſny, which I left immediately, and went to Guyenne, full of joy to meet again the king of Navarre after ſo long an abſence. This prince's reception of me was ſuch as left me no room to doubt that my return was very acceptable to him. He obliged me to relate all my adventures, and thoſe of Monſieur, and when I had finiſhed, "Well, ſaid he to me, is not this the accompliſhment of all I predicted of this prince, in my converſation with you at Coutras; but the viſcount de Turenne, whom I diſſuaded as much as poſſible from following him, has ſucceeded much worſe than you."

Monsieur's expedition into the Low Countries had enraged the king of Spain to ſuch a degree, as to make him endeavour to gain the king of Navarre's friendſhip, and offer him ſupplies for renewing the war with the royaliſts of France. This propoſition he received at Hagemau, whither he went to viſit the counteſs of Guiche *; for his paſſion for this lady was then at its height. The diſtruſt Henry always entertained of Spain, and his natural antipathy to that court, prevented his giving any credit to it. I will not take upon me to anſwer for the ſincerity of the Spaniards in theſe offers, which were made him at different times by Bernardin de Mandoce, the chevalier Moreau, and Calderon; however, I believe there were ſome intervals, in which the king of Spain dealt faithfully with the king of Navarre †. But be that as it will, the king of Navarre gave no anſwer to this propoſition, and made no other uſe of it than to convince the king

* Diana, or Coriſande Dandoins, viſcounteſs of Louvigny, &c. wife, and afterwards widow of Philibert count of Grammont. In the obſervations upon the amours of Alcander the great, this lady is ſaid to have ſent Henry IV. three or four and twenty thouſand Gaſcons levied at her own expence. It is alſo mentioned there, that ſhe had a ſon named Antony, whom that prince offered to acknowledge for his own; but the young man replied, that he choſe rather to be conſidered as a gentleman, than the baſtard of a king. Journal of Henry the third's reign, p. 270.

† That which induced him to believe this, was, that to this letter of the king of Spain's, preſented to the king of Navarre and

and queen-mother of the juſtice of his deſigns. He ſent me therefore to Paris, to inform them of the ſtep which Spain had taken. 1583.

There was no longer any acceſs to be had to the king; he had retired to Vincennes, where he ſaw none but his favourites, and the miniſters of his pleaſures. I expected to have been introduced to him by the queen of Navarre; for this princeſs, whoſe temper could not agree with that of the king her huſband, had * left him to return to the court of France: but I learnt from madam de Bethune, that ſhe was on no better terms with the queen her mother, and the king her brother. I then had recourſe to madam de Sauves, who procured me an audience of Catherine. The affair ſeemed to her to be important, ſhe mentioned it to the king, and a negotiation was begun there. I even obtained from his majeſty a credential letter to the king of Navarre; but what reliance ought one to have on the determinations of a court, that, as it ſhould ſeem, never formed a good deſign that was not immediately repented of? The queen-mother thought fit to make no other uſe of the king of Navarre's confidence, than to enter into a ſtricter union with Spain: which came to Henry's knowledge by the reproaches the king of Spain made him, for having betrayed his ſecret.

The bad reception Monſieur met with at his return from Flanders, was one effect of this reconciliation with Spain. This prince retired to Chateau-Thierry, oppreſſed with grief. After my deputation was finiſhed, being at home, and engaged in no employment, curioſity led me to viſit Monſieur at Chateau-Thierry. I imagined his bad fortune would have made him wiſer; but it had only abated his pride. He received me with a kindneſs that I was far from thinking diſintereſted, and from which I immediately concluded, he had ſome great deſigns in his head. The advantageous offers made me in his name by Aurilly, who had procured me the honour of kiſſing his hand,

by the chevalier Moreau, or the commandeur Morree, as Davila calls him, book ii. was added an offer of fifty thouſand crowns, made by the ſame chevalier to the vicount de Chaux, on the frontier of Bearn, to maintain the king of Navarre's army; provided he would turn his arms againſt France. Mem. of the league, Vol. V.

* From that time they always lived ſeparate, notwithſtanding the reproaches which Henry III. often made the king of Navarre on that occaſion, and ſome others that are mentioned by l'Etoile. One day, when the latter received ſome very ſharp letters from Henry III. "The king, ſaid "he, in all his letters, honours me great-"ly; for by the firſt he calls me C—, and "by the laſt the ſon of P—.

convinced

1583. convinced me I was not miſtaken; but, amidſt the great projects * with which Monſieur was intoxicated, I diſcovered a melancholy and ſecret diſcontent that preyed upon his heart, and which nothing could remove. From hence proceeded that languiſhing diſorder, which ſome time after put an end to all his ambitious deſigns by death †.

At my return to Paris, I received an order from the king of Navarre to come to him upon ſome very important affairs. He was endeavouring to diſconcert, if poſſible, all the enterprizes of the league; a deſign, which this wiſe prince had always in view. He had occaſion for a perſon, on whoſe probity he could rely, to reſide at the court of France, and ſtudy all its motions; and it was to charge me with this commiſſion, that he had commanded my attendance. He communicated his reflections to me, gave me all the neceſſary inſtructions, and when I took leave of him, embraced me ſeveral times, ſaying, "My friend, remember, that the firſt quality in a man of "true courage and worth, is to keep his word inviolably; that "which I have given to you, I will never fail in." There was no neceſſity for racking my invention, to furniſh me with a pretence for this ſecond journey to Paris. The favour in which I had left my two younger brothers ‡ at that court, afforded me a very plauſible one. They had begun to create jealouſy in the favourites, for the king already made them his companions in his parties of devotion, which was a ſtep that was likely to lead them to the greateſt familiarity; however, on my arrival, I learned that they were diſgraced; the reaſon of which I did not know till a long time after, and it is of the number of

* Monſieur took the titles of ſon of France, by the grace of God, duke of Lauthier, of Brabant, Luxembourg, Guelderland, Alençon, Anjou, Tourain, Berry, Evreux, and Chateau-Thierry, count of Flanders, of Holland, Zealand, Zulphen, Maine, Perche, Mante, Meulan, and Beaufort, marquis of the holy Roman empire, lord of Frieſland, and Mechlin, defender of the Belgic liberty. Hercules was the name that was given him at his baptiſm, but when he was confirmed, it was changed to Francis.

† There is not any hiſtorian who doubts that he died by poiſon. His blood ran through all his pores, as if every vein had been burſt. De Thou, book lxxviii. "This happened, ſays the Memoirs of "Nevers, by his having lain with La — "who made him ſmell a poiſoned noſe-"gay." Ibid. p. 163. Buſbeq. Ep. 33, 35.

‡ Solomon and Philip de Bethune. The firſt as eldeſt, was called baron of Roſny, and was governor of Mante. The ſecond has formed the branch of the counts of Selles and Charoſt. By attaching themſelves to the perſon and party of the king of France, they both abjured the proteſtant religion, in which they had been educated.

thoſe

thoſe things * that ought to be buried in oblivion. This accident did not hinder me from entering upon my new employment at Paris, and the court. I gave the king of Navarre exact intelligence of all that paſſed, that he might take ſuch meaſures as were moſt ſuitable to the ſtate of his affairs. 1583.

Engaged in this new kind of life, which obliged me by the nature of the employment I had undertaken, to frequent the court, to mix in the politeſt company of the city, to ſhare in their amuſements, their pleaſures, and even to be infected with their idleneſs; and being beſides in the prime and ſtrength of my age, it is not ſtrange that I ſhould pay the accuſtomed tribute to love. I became violently enamoured of the daughter of the preſident de St. Meſmin, one of the moſt beautiful ladies in France.

At firſt, I wholly abandoned myſelf to a paſſion, which, in the beginning, is ſo delightful, that when I would have ſtifled it afterwards, upon reflecting that this alliance was not convenient for me, I found that conſideration too weak, when oppoſed to the friendſhip this whole family expreſſed for me, the eſteem of a father truly reſpectable, and the charms of a miſtreſs worthy my tendereſt affection. My own endeavours alone would not have been ſufficient to have broken this chain. La Fond †, to divert the courſe of my thoughts, propoſed to me to viſit mademoiſelle de Courtenay ‡, whom he earneſtly wiſhed I would make my addreſſes to, as a perſon who, in all reſpects, was much more ſuitable to me. I ſaw her, and approved this choice; but mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin ſoon deſtroyed all theſe wiſe reflections.

Being one day at Nogent upon the Seine, attended by this la Fond, and ſome other perſons, I went to lodge at an inn, whither chance had conducted both mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin, and mademoiſelle de Courtenay, which I learnt the moment I entered the inn. This was one of the moſt delicate conjunctures imaginable, and I judged it would be impoſſible to leave the place without breaking for ever with that lady of the two, to whom I ſhould neglect

* Thoſe who are curious to know it, need only conſult the ſeventh chapter of the Confeſſion of Sancy.

† La Fond was his valet de chambre. He is mentioned in another place.

‡ Anne de Courtenay, youngeſt daughter of Francis de Courtenay, lord of Bontin.

1583. to pay my firſt viſit and aſſiduities. In a caſe of this nature, no artifice, no addreſs can ſatisfy two women at the ſame time.

Mademoiselle de St. Meſmin's youngeſt ſiſter coming down ſtairs at that moment, found me abſorbed in reflection, like a man that was labouring to reconcile his reaſon with his love. She perceived it, and my confuſion affording her a fine opportunity to diſplay the vivacity of her wit, ſhe endeavoured to draw me to her ſiſter's feet; when la Fond approaching me, whiſper'd in my ear, "Turn to the "right, monſieur: there you will find a large eſtate, a royal ex- "traction, and equal beauty, when it ſhall have attained to the age "of perfection." Theſe few words, ſo ſeaſonably uttered, recalled my ſcattered reaſon, and fixed my wavering purpoſe. I was convinced the advice la Fond gave me was good, and that the only difference between the beauty of mademoiſelle de Courtenay and her rival, was, that the one was already in the poſſeſſion of charms, which a year or two more promiſed the other. I ſent an excuſe for not attending mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin, which drew upon me great reproaches; but I courageouſly ſuſtained the aſſault, and went immediately after to viſit mademoiſelle de Courtenay, who valued this ſacrifice at its full price. She was pleaſed with the preference; and I applauded myſelf for it, when I conſidered my new miſtreſs with more attention, and that a few viſits more had given me a perfect knowledge of her character. My addreſſes were favourably received, and a ſhort time after this adventure, we were married *.

The tenderneſs and aſſiduity due to an amiable bride, detained me in Roſny this whole year, amidſt rural employments, exerciſes, and diverſions; another kind of life not leſs new to me than the former. The country, to thoſe whoſe time has been divided between the court and the field, is generally an occaſion of double expence; but it affords many reſources to a man, who knows that good œconomy ſupplies the place of great riches. My turn for fine horſes, which I had cultivated merely for my pleaſure, did not make up a uſeleſs part of this domeſtic œconomy. I kept jockeys in my ſervice, whom I ſent to buy horſes in foreign countries, where they were cheap, and ſold them in Gaſcony, at the king of Navarre's court, where I never failed to draw large ſums for them. I remember to have ſold, amongſt

* Guy de Bethune, ſon of Alpin de Bethune, great grandfather of M. de Roſny, had married one Frances de Courtenay Bontin.

others,

others, a silver roan-horse to the viscount de Chartres, for six hundred crowns, which cost me but forty. The tapestry that adorns the hall of Sully, in which are delineated the labours of Hercules, came from M. de Nemours de la Garnache, who paid me with that for a fine Spanish horse that I had sold to him at the rate of twelve hundred crowns. 1584.

Towards the end of this year *, a letter from the king of Navarre drew me from a life so inactive: he informed me, that the time in which he had foreseen that the assistance of his faithful servants would be necessary, was now come: that the state and our religion were threatened with the severest misfortunes, if immediate endeavours were not used to prevent them; and that he should soon have a cruel war to sustain. I instantly disposed myself to attend this prince, taking with me, as well for his occasions, as my own, forty-eight thousand francs, which I raised by the sale of a wood of high trees, that was cut down for that purpose.

In effect, the bold enterprizes of the league † broke out this year. One cannot reflect without horror, that in less than four years, ten 1585.

* The peace continuing in force till the following year, the Memoirs of this and the preceding contain little concerning the king of Navarre. Le Grain relates the adventure that happened to him with captain Michau, who pretended to have quitted the service of Spain for that of this prince, in order to find some opportunity of murdering him treacherously. "One "day, says he, when the king of Navarre "was hunting in the forests of Aillas, he "perceived Michau just behind him, well "mounted, with a couple of pistols "cocked and primed. The king was "alone and unattended, it being custo-"mary for hunters to separate; and seeing "him approach, "Captain Michau, said "he to him, with a bold and determined "air, dismount; I have a mind to make "trial of your horse, that I may know if "it be as good a one as you say it is." "The captain obeyed, and dismounting, "the king got upon his horse, and taking "the pistols, "Do you design to shoot me "with one of these? said he: I am told, "you intend to kill me, but in the mean "time I can kill you if I please." Saying "this, he discharged the two pistols in the "air, and commanded the captain to fol-"low him. Michau, having good reasons "to desire to be excused, took leave of "him two days after, and never after ap-"peared." Decade of Henry the great, book viii. Busbeq, who at that time resided at Paris, in the quality of ambassador from the emperor Rodolphus II. assures us also, in his letters, that a deserter, whom he does not name, administered poison to the king of Navarre; but that this prince, either by the strength of his constitution, or the weakness of the poison, felt no bad effects from it: and adds, that the same man having attempted afterwards to shoot him with a pistol, and failed, was taken and put to the torture; and that it was known, by the behaviour of Henry III. upon this occasion, that he had no part in the designed assassination. Epistle 26.

† The first step which discovered the designs of the league, was an assembly of princes, prelates, and gentlemen of Picardy, who met at Peronne, to swear

1585. royal armies fell upon the king of Navarre, when the danger that equally threatened the two kings was turned againſt him alone, through the weakneſs of Henry III. who allowed his own enemies to give laws to him, and conducted himſelf the hand that ſought to overthrow his authority.

obeying the edict of ſixty-three articles, given in the year 1576, in favour of the proteſtants. The manifeſto that was there drawn up, ſerved for a model to all the other provinces, and even to the ſtates of Blois, which were ſummoned about the end of that year, and whoſe reſolutions obliged Henry III. to declare himſelf the head of the catholics againſt the huguenots, that he might not leave this title to be aſſumed by the duke of Guiſe. At firſt, they talked only of maintaining the catholic religion alone in the kingdom, but at length a debate concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown was introduced, in which they brought the pope and king of Spain. See the form of theſe aſſociations in the MS. volume marked 8826, in the king's library, p. 160. The conſpiracy of the nobility of Normandy, with the oath to preſerve the catholic religion in France, and the crown to the houſe of Valois, ſee in vol. 8832. p. 5. All this volume is likewiſe filled with Memoirs relating to the league, and the firſt ſtates of Blois. See alſo the treaty of the league made with the king of Spain at the caſtle of Joinville, and ſigned by the reſpective parties, with many other pieces on the ſame ſubject, vol. 8866. All, or part of theſe pieces, with very curious circumſtances relating to the ſame ſubject, may be found in different authors, ſuch as the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Memoirs of the league, vol. I. Memoirs of ſtate by Villeroy, vol. II. De Thou, book lxiii. and lxxxi. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book iii. chap. 3. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. and viii. Le Novenmure de Cayet, vol. I. at the beginning; and many others. Many perſons believe the origine of the league to be much more ancient, and that it took its riſe in the council of Trent, through the endeavours of the cardinal of Lorrain, the uncle; during which Francis duke of Guiſe on his ſide formed the plan of it in France; but the death of the latter ſuſpended the effect. 'Tis pretended alſo, that Don John of Auſtria paſſing through France, in his way to Flanders, concerted the ſcheme with the duke of Guiſe. The college of Forteret has paſſed for the cradle of the league. 'Tis ſaid that an advocate, named David, carried the Memoirs to Rome; and that theſe Memoirs, which may be read in the firſt volume of the Memoirs of the league, being intercepted by the huguenots, gave them the firſt certainty of it. Some perſons have doubted whether this advocate, who died in his journey to Rome, or, as others ſay, in his return thence, did not treat with the pope by his own motion, and agreeably to his own opinion: which is not leſs probable. As for Henry III. he certainly deſerves all the reproaches which the duke of Sully here caſts upon him. He had undeniable proofs of his enemies deſigns upon the royal authority; to whom, when he broke the edict of pacification in 1577, he ſaid aloud theſe words, " I am much afraid, that " by our endeavours to ſuppreſs calvi- " niſm, we ſhall bring the maſs into " danger." We are aſſured, that all the ſecrets of the league were diſcovered by a gentleman named la Rochette, to whom they were entruſted, and who ſuffered himſelf to be taken on purpoſe, that he might reveal them without danger. In a word, 'tis alſo certain, that the duke of Guiſe began to raiſe the ſtandard of his party in the year 1585, when he was ſtill ſo weak, that he could not depend upon more than four thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe. Beauvais Nangis alſo (and he relates it himſelf in his Memoirs) aſked him one day what he intended to do if the king ſhould come to attack him: " I will retire im- " mediately to Germany, replied the duke, " and there wait for a more favourable " opportunity."

Henry

HENRY III. perceiving the league would publicly raise the standard of revolt, waked a little from the lethargy into which he had been plunged, and thought proper to send the duke de Joyeuse * into Normandy, to oppose the duke d'Elbœuf, who kept an army there, which the league made use of to extort the famous edict of July †, wherein all the huguenots were ordered, either to go to mass, or to leave the kingdom in six months. 1585. Claude of Lorrain.

JOYEUSE, who had my two brothers in his army, passed by Rosny, and prevailed upon me, without much difficulty, to go with him: by attacking the league, the friends of the king of Navarre entered into his true interests. I gave him the best reception in my power, but nothing charmed him so much as the beauty of my horses.

LAVARDIN likewise took his way through Rosny, but went to lodge at the extremity of the town. Chicot ‡, who would always

* Anne duke of Joyeuse, the eldest of seven sons of William of Joyeuse.

† This was the treaty of Nemours, the triumph of the league, and the disgrace of Henry III. Henry IV. told the marquis de la Force, in the presence of Matthieu, who relates it in his eighth book, that the moment he was informed of this shameful weakness of the king of France, his mustaches turned suddenly white on that side of his face, which he supported with his hand. Sixtus the fifth appeared ashamed himself; and by the same bull of September the 5th, 1585, wherein he excommunicated all that assisted the huguenots, he likewise excommunicated those who undertook any thing against the king and kingdom. He foresaw at that time all the misfortunes that would befall France. See these articles of Nemours, and the proceedings of the league in France and Rome, vol. I. of the Memoirs of Nevers, p. 661, and following.

‡ Chicot was a Gascon, brave, rich, and a buffoon. At the siege of Rouen, he wounded Henry of Lorrain, count of Chaligny, in the thighs, and taking him prisoner, presented him to Henry IV. saying, "There, keep what I give thee." The count, enraged at being taken by a fool, gave him a blow on the head with the flat of his sword, which killed him. He used to say whatever he pleased to the king, without giving him any offence. When the duke of Parma came to France, Chicot said to the king, before all the courtiers, "My friend, I see very well that all you "do will signify nothing, unless you either "turn catholic or pretend you are one." Another time he said to him, "I am convinced that to be peaceably king of "France, you would give both popish "and huguenots to Lucifer's clerk; so "true it is, that you kings have no religion but in appearance." "I am not "surprized," said he another time to his majesty, "that so many persons desire to "be kings: it is a good trade, and by "working at it only an hour in a day, "one may make sufficient provision for "the rest of the week, without being "obliged to one's neighbours; but for "God's sake, my friend, take care and "keep out of the hands of the huguets, "for if you should fall into some of them, "they would hang you up like a hog's "gut, and write upon your gibbet, At "the crown of France and Navarre, are "good lodgings to be lett." Memoirs for the history of France, vol. II. p. 72.

give

1585. give free ſcope to his humour, reſolved to divert himſelf at Lavardin's expence, whom he called a madman; and ſending for him one day, told him with a myſterious air, that that devil of a huguenot (meaning me) certainly intended to keep the deaf man (a nickname he gave likewiſe to the duke of Joyeuſe) priſoner. Lavardin, without reflecting that his attempt would be uſeleſs, tho' it had not been ridiculous, armed himſelf immediately, with all his domeſtics, and came with them in bravado before my door; where he was obliged to bear the railleries of the whole company, who did not ſpare him.

What I am now going to ſay, will hardly appear credible. We ſet out together, and had ſcarcely reached Verneuil, when the duke of Joyeuſe received a packet from court, which informed him, that the king had concluded a peace with the league, and that it was his majeſty's intention, that the army, which two days ago was to ſupport him againſt the league *, ſhould be led againſt the king of Navarre. Joyeuſe, in relating this to me, added, "Well! monſieur le baron "de Roſny, this ſtroke will give me a cheap bargain of your fine "horſes, for the war is declared againſt the proteſtants: but I per- "ſuade myſelf, continued he, that you will not be ſo ſimple as to join "the king of Navarre, and by embarking in a cauſe that will infal- "libly be ruined, loſe your fine eſtate of Roſny."

The duke might have ſpoken much longer without interruption; for although I was ſufficiently acquainted with the court, ſo that nothing from that quarter could ſurprize me, yet I could not reflect, without aſtoniſhment, upon thoſe difficulties through which fortune ſeemed to take a pleaſure in leading the king of Navarre, before ſhe conducted him to that greatneſs that was deſtined for him; for I was always perſuaded of this in my own mind, and the predictions of la Broſſe were continually preſent to me. My anſwer, therefore, to Joyeuſe, turned wholly upon theſe preſages; after which

* The king was obliged to it at Châlons by the leaguers, who were aſſembled there. He ſcarcely excuſed himſelf to the king of Navarre, upon the neceſſity he was driven to. This prince and the queen his Mother ſuffered themſelves to be unſeaſonably intimidated by the threats of the league, whoſe forces were exaggerated, although it would not have been difficult to have deſtroyed them in the beginning. The council miſſed an opportunity of uniting the Low Countries to the crown, by ſending back the deputies from thoſe provinces, without an anſwer, who came to offer the ſovereignty of them to the king, provided he would march with his troops on that ſide. Thus were two great errors committed at one time. De Thou, book lxxxi.

I quitted

I quitted him abruptly. This ſtep might appear a little extravagant to him; and I have been informed, that he ſaid to thoſe about him, "There goes a conſummate fool; but he will be finely deluded by "his ſorcerer." 1585.

I RETURNED to my houſe, from whence I ſet out again immediately, after taking ſome new meaſures conformable to the ſudden change which had ſo lately happened. I went directly to Guienne, where the king of Navarre was, and ſtaid with him four or five months, during which he was employed in making preparations againſt the ſtorm that was burſting upon him. He carried me with him to Montauban, where he held ſeveral conferences with the proteſtants upon the part it was neceſſary they ſhould take in this conjuncture. Unhappily for them, upon this occaſion, when all was at ſtake, they did not underſtand their true intereſt ſufficiently, at leaſt ſo as to oblige them to a perfect union amongſt themſelves, and a faithful concurrence in the ſame deſigns. From that time, ſome of the principal leaders thought more of their own advancement than the king's, without conſidering that their fortunes were ſo cloſely connected with his, that if he failed, it would be impoſſible for them to ſucceed. Each was for building a fortune for himſelf, independent of the general plan.

THIS diſunion of minds ſhewed itſelf more apparently in a private conference held at St. Paul de Lamiate, where audience was given to a doctor of divinity, named Butrick, ſent thither by the elector Palatine. It was there that the viſcount de Turenne gave the firſt indications of that turbulent, falſe, and ambitious ſpirit, which formed his character. He had, in concert with this Butrick, projected a new ſyſtem * of government, into which they had drawn monſieurs de Conſtans, d'Aubigné, de St. Germain-Beaupré, de St. Germain de Clan, de Brezolles, and others. They wanted to form the calviniſt part of France into a kind of republican ſtate, under the protection of the elector Palatine; and five or ſix lieutenants in his name were to be ſent into the different provinces. In the biſhopric of Caſtres.

* The hiſtorian who gives us the life of the duke of Bouillon, does not deny that theſe were the views of this calviniſt nobleman. He was a very able politician, extremely ambitious, paſſionately deſirous of the quality of leader of the calviniſts of France, and very capable of filling that poſt. This is all that can be ſaid of him, to ſoften thoſe terms, rather too ſevere, which monſieur de Sully frequently makes uſe of in theſe Memoirs, when he ſpeaks of the duke of Bouillon.

1585. If we examine this project, it will eaſily appear, that the king of Navarre was but little obliged to theſe gentlemen, ſince, by this plan they blended the princes of the blood with the officers of the proteſtant party, and reduced them all to the quality of lieutenants under a petty foreign prince. This was not the only time that the king of Navarre found ſecret enemies in his councils, amongſt his dependents, and, in appearance, moſt faithful ſervants, and even amongſt his own friends and relations.

From men all things may be expected; they are not to be kept firm to their duty, integrity, and the laws of ſociety, by fidelity and virtue, but by their hopes, and wiſhes. But how could theſe conſummate politicians undertake to mention unity and conduct in their pretended republic? they, who were for giving it ſo many heads, each independent of the other, and all under little ſubjection to a protector too weak to make himſelf be obeyed. It was perceived immediately, that their deſign was to make themſelves ſo many ſovereigns in their ſeveral diſtricts, not foreſeeing that by that means they would only deliver up each other to the diſcretion of Spain, and the league, who would eaſily deſtroy them, by attacking them ſeparately.

Although theſe cabals of the principal officers in the proteſtant party with a foreigner, were carried on privately enough, yet happily they did not hinder the better party from prevailing in the aſſembly. The duke of Montmorency * was of opinion, that in the preſent danger we ſhould be all united, and keep ourſelves effectually upon the defenſive. I inſiſted, in all the councils, upon the neceſſity of acknowledging the authority of one only head, and of not weakening our power by dividing it. As we came out from one of theſe councils, the king of Navarre drawing me aſide ſaid to me, "Monſieur le baron de Roſny, it is not enough to ſpeak well, we muſt act "ſtill better: are you not reſolved that we ſhould die together? it is "no longer time to be frugal; all men of honour, and who have their "religion at heart, muſt venture one half of their eſtates to ſave the "other. I am perſuaded, that you will be amongſt the firſt to aſſiſt "me, and I promiſe you, if I ſucceed, you ſhall partake of my good "fortune." "No, no, ſir, replied I, we will not die, but we will

* This is Henry, marechal Damville, afterwards duke of Montmorency.

"live

" live together, and make our enemies shorter by their heads. I have 1585.
" still a wood that will produce me a hundred thousand francs, and
" all shall be employed on this occasion; you shall give me more
" when you are rich, which will certainly happen. I had a preceptor
" tor who was possessed by a devil, and he foretold it me." The king of Navarre could not help smiling at this sally, and embracing me closely, " Well, my friend, said he to me, return to your house,
" be diligent, and come to me soon again, with as many of your
" friends as you can bring with you, and do not forget your wood of
" high trees." He afterwards communicated to me the design he had to draw the war to Paris, or at least to the Loire; which was, in effect, the only means of succeeding. He told me also, that he carried on a private correspondence in Angers, but that he feared the prince of Condé would by his precipitation obstruct his designs there, more than the catholics; the event will shew if he judged rightly. He promised to inform me of all that passed, and took leave of me, with a thousand testimonies of friendship, which I shall never forget.

I ARRIVED at Bergerac, almost in the same moment that the cardinal de Lenoncourt *, M. de Sillery, and M. de Poigny came thither also, being deputed by the court to the king of Navarre, to represent to him, for the last time, the necessity he was under of submitting to the king's pleasure, and of changing his religion †. Poigny

* Philip de Lenoncourt, cardinal and archbishop of Rheims. Nicolas Brulart, marquis of Sillery, afterwards chancellor. John d'Angennes, lord of Poigny.

† In the Memoirs of the life of J. A. de Thou, book iii. there is a conversation which Michael de Montagne had with this president, that the reader may not be displeased to see here. " As they were
" discoursing, says the author, upon the
" causes of the present troubles, Mon-
" tagne told the president, that he had
" been a mediator between the king of
" Navarre, and the duke of Guise, when
" these princes were at the court; and
" that the latter by his cares, his services,
" and assiduities, made advances to gain
" the king of Navarre's friendship; but
" finding that he made a jest of him, and
" that after all his endeavours he was still
" an implacable enemy, he had recourse
" to war as the last resource to defend the
" honour of his family; that the enmity
" which raged in the minds of these two
" persons, was the cause of a war, which
" was at present so far kindled, that only
" the death of one of them could extin-
" guish it; that neither the duke, or any
" of his family, believed themselves se-
" cure, while the king of Navarre lived;
" and the king of Navarre, on his side,
" was persuaded, that he should draw no
" advantage from his right of succession to
" the crown, during the duke's life. As
" for religion, added he, which they both
" make such a noise about, it is a good
" pretence to procure adherents, but nei-
" ther of them is much affected by it.
" The fear of being abandoned by the
" protestants, is the sole cause that pre-
" vents the king of Navarre from embracing
" the religion of his ancestors, nor would
" the duke recede from the confession of
" Augsburg, if his uncle Charles, cardinal

1585. came to me the next day, diſcloſing to me the purport of his commiſſion, and aſked me what I thought would be the event of his journey. I aſſured him that he was giving himſelf an uſeleſs trouble; and that on an occaſion when religion, the ſtate, and the royal authority were in ſo great danger, it would not be words only that could prevail upon the king of Navarre. He ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, ſighed at my anſwer, and inſtead of replying, "I believe, ſaid he to me, it will be a difficult thing to procure a maſs in this city." I conducted him to the chapel myſelf with the other deputies, being deſirous to perſuade them by this liberty that was allowed to catholics, in a city wherein the proteſtants were maſters, that we were not the real enemies of the king.

What I had foretold the deputies of the event of their commiſſion, exactly happened. As for me, I continued my journey to Paris, where, on my arrival, I found nothing was talked of but the deſign of ruining the king of Navarre entirely, and extirpating the huguenots. Every thing there was conducted according to the inclination of the league, which, ſince the ſhameful ſtep the king had taken, ruled deſpotically, and all the worthy Frenchmen that remained, were under a neceſſity of lamenting in private the misfortunes which the king's weakneſs had drawn upon the kingdom. It was to theſe that I addreſſed myſelf, and I had ſome conference with Meſſ. de Rambouillet, de Montbazon † the elder, d'Aumont, de la Rocheguion, des Arpentis, and ſome others. They all aſſured me, that when once the king of Navarre ſhould appear in the neighbourhood of the Loire, he ſhould ſoon ſee a conſiderable number of true Frenchmen in his train. I confirmed them as much as I was able in theſe good reſolutions ‡, and after I had bought ſome horſes at Paris, I made haſte to procure thoſe ſums I had promiſed the king.

I learnt by public report, what had happened at Angers: but, in order to give a diſtinct account of it, it is neceſſary to take the

" of Lorrain, had convinced him, that he " might follow it without prejudice to his " intereſt. Theſe, he ſaid, were the ſen- " timents he diſcovered in theſe princes, " when he was employed in their affairs."

† Nicholas d'Angennes, marquis of Rambouillet. Lewis de Rohan, created duke of Montbazon, in the year 1588. John d'Aumont, marechal of France. ——— de Silly, count of Rocheguion. Lewis du Bois, lord of Arpentis, maſter of the king's wardrobe, governor of Touraine.

‡ Monſieur de Roſny's negotiation with Henry III. is mentioned by de Thou, book lxxxii.

ſtory

ſtory a little higher. Briſſac, who was governor of the caſtle of this city, placed a lieutenant there in his abſence, called captain Grec, with twenty ſoldiers, on whoſe fidelity he had an entire reliance. Two of theſe ſoldiers, having been formerly of the reformed religion, ſuffered themſelves to be gained by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to deliver up the caſtle to them, which would neceſſarily be followed by the ſurrender of the city. When it was known at Angers, that Henry III. had joined with the king of Navarre againſt the league, a third party was formed, headed by du Hallot *, who likewiſe endeavoured to gain Rochemorte and Freſne, ſo were the two ſoldiers named. Matters did not long continue in this ſtate; the two ſoldiers, preſs'd by the prince of Condé, ſurprized captain Grec, and killed him, together with ſome of his men: after which they ſeized upon the caſtle. Du Hallot, who knew not of the change that had ſo lately happend at court, gave himſelf no trouble about this action; on the contrary, he ſatisfied the people, by repreſenting to them, that the two ſoldiers had only acted according to the king's orders; and he remained in this error, till offering to enter the caſtle, he himſelf experienced the treachery of Rochemorte and Freſne, and through his miſtake, ſuffered death upon the wheel †.

1585. Charles de Colly, comte de Briſſac.

Hitherto every thing ſucceeded for the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé's party. But they ſoon experienced the inſtability of fortune. Rochemorte having been drawn beyond the bridge by the catholics, who kept the caſtle inveſted, perceiving that their deſign was to ſurprize the place, and make him their priſoner, endeavoured to get in again. In this tumult, thoſe within the caſtle thought of nothing but of drawing up the bridge immediately. Rochemorte graſped the chains, which loſing from his hold, he fell into the ditch, where a ſtag that was feeding diſpatched him by tearing him in pieces. Freſne only remained, who, two days after, as he was ſleeping upon a parapet on the wall, where he thought himſelf in ſafety, was killed by a carabine, ſhot from the other ſide of the river, at the diſtance of above 500 paces. After which the catholics drove out the reſt of the huguenots from the city and caſtle, with the ſame

* Michael Bourrouge du Hallot. Lewis Bouchereau de Rochemorte. Leon de Freſne.

† The king was ſo much afraid of the league, that he publicly diſavowed du Hallot's enterprize.

1585. facility that they had ſeized it. Things would not have taken this unfavourable turn, if the king of Navarre had conducted the enterprize alone; for he would not have ſuffered the two conſpirators to begin their operation, till he was at the gate to ſupport them with his whole army.

This ill-concerted ſcheme produced more misfortunes; the prince of Condé being engaged in the ſiege of Brouage, when news was brought him, that his party had ſurprized Angers, balanced not a moment whether he ſhould quit the ſiege, but went immediately to the aſſiſtance of his confederates at Angers; where arriving too late, he failed in both his deſigns. This was not all; the whole catholic army being idle and diſperſed, aſſembled again in the neighbourhood of Angers, which took away all poſſibility of regaining it, precipitated all the actions of the campaign, and brought the prince of Condé himſelf, as we ſhall ſee preſently, into a danger, from whence he eſcaped but by a ſingular inſtance of good fortune.

After this firſt act of hoſtility on the proteſtant ſide, I believed it would be no longer poſſible to keep any meaſures with the catholics. If to continue at Roſny, therefore, was dangerous, the country being overſpread with royaliſts, it was no leſs ſo to endeavour to make my way to the king of Navarre: however, I reſolved upon this laſt expedient, being convinced, that he never had more need of my aſſiſtance than in the preſent conjuncture; and that the difficulty of ſending diſpatches through the midſt of an enemy's army, was the only cauſe of my not hearing from him as he had promiſed. * Meſſieurs de Mouy, de Feuquieres, and Morinville, to whom I imparted my deſign, judging it to be too hazardous, refuſed to accompany me; but this did not hinder me from ſetting out on my journey, attended only by ſix gentlemen, and my domeſtics, two of whom carried portmanteaus, in each of which were ſix thouſand crowns.

In Perche. In the county of Chartrain.

I lay the firſt night at Nonancourt, and the ſecond at Chateaudun. Hitherto no unfortunate accident befel me, for although we every where met with great numbers of catholic ſoldiers, yet they all ſuppoſed I was going, like them, to join the body of the duke of Joyeuſe's army; with whom, as a ſoldier, named Mothepotain, informed me, every thing went very well. I left Chateaudun before day, leſt I ſhould be diſcovered, and came to Vendome; where not being willing

* Iſaac Vaudré, or Vaudray, lord of Mouy. ——de Pas-Feuquieres.

to

to be known by Benehart *, I made Boifbrucil, one of the gentlemen in my train, paſs for the maſter of the troop, and I mounted, like one of the domeſtics, upon a horſe that carried baggage. He who appeared to be the chief amongſt us, was aſked ſeveral queſtions, to which he made proper anſwers, and we were ſuffered to paſs. We traverſed the whole city, in order to lodge in the moſt diſtant part of the ſuburbs. Benehart, who believed us to be catholics, as we had aſſured him we were, very obligingly ſent to adviſe us to return into the city, becauſe the prince of Condé's army, which had been repulſed before Angers, were diſperſed over the country, and ſometimes made excurſions to the gates of the city, which rendered our ſtay in the ſuburbs very dangerous. What he repreſented to us as a misfortune we ſhould have looked upon as a very great happineſs; but there was a neceſſity for concealing it: therefore, the pretended maſter of the equipage, ſeeming to approve of this advice, ordered the baggage to be put upon the horſes again, that we might return into the city. It belonged to me, who performed the part of a domeſtic, ſecretly to protract our ſtay till the night approached. The hurry and confuſion, occaſioned by the removal of all the people who lodged there, for the order was general, kept our artifice unſuſpected: at length, we in reality made preparations for going, as well as the reſt; but after our horſes had been fed and refreſhed, and the night half over, we mounted, and, inſtead of entering the city, filed off into a bye ſtreet, which I had cauſed to be reconnoitred, and got into the fields on that ſide, where I ſuppoſed the prince of Condé's army might be. 1585.

We had, however, reaſon to apprehend, that the artifice which had hitherto proved ſo ſucceſsful, would occaſion our ruin, through the impoſſibility of diſtinguiſhing readily, what party thoſe whom we might happen to meet, belonged to. A miſtake might coſt us our lives; but there being no remedy, we continued our journey, though with ſufficient uneaſineſs, thinking it neceſſary not to alter our uſual anſwer. In effect, the firſt we met with was a company of light-armed horſe, commanded by Falandre. To the queſtion, which was, Qui vive, we replied, Vive le Roy; and Falandre examining us no farther, adviſed us to join him, leſt we ſhould meet the prince of Condé's little army, which he aſſured us was not far off; adding, that if we doubted him, we might get further information from two or three companies of argoulets †, who were coming

* James de Maill; de Benchart, governor of Vendome.

† So called from the bows with which they were at firſt armed. They ſerved

1585. coming after. Theſe laſt words furniſhed us with a pretence for evading his perplexing civility: we feigned to have reaſons for not following the ſame rout with him, and for waiting to take our meaſures from the anſwer we ſhould receive from the argoulets. In reality, we were no leſs apprehenſive of this other rencounter, but we prepared for it, relying ſtill upon the good fortune of eſcaping, by means of our diſguiſe. Accordingly, we did not fail to the queſtion, Qui vive, which was aſked us by the next company we met, to anſwer boldly, Vive le Roy, being perſuaded that we ſpoke to the argoulets of the royal army, whom Falandre had mentioned to us. This ſuppoſition, however, probably drew us into a very great danger; for theſe argoulets having perceived the prince of Condé's army at a diſtance, diſperſed, and threw themſelves into the woods. Inſtead of them, therefore, theſe whom we now encountered were four companies belonging to the prince; which we ſoon comprehended by the whole troop's falling upon us, and aiming their pieces, crying out to us to ſurrender. At that moment, I plainly diſtinguiſhed three officers of my acquaintance, whom it would not have been difficult in any other ſituation to have made myſelf known to; but I reflected, that in ſuch ſort of encounters, the firſt word, the firſt motion, that tend to an explanation, are generally underſtood as a refuſal to ſurrender, and followed by a diſcharge of the piece cloſe to the breaſt. Inſtead, therefore, of naming myſelf, or thoſe officers, I behaved like a man who yields himſelf priſoner, and marched after the reſt; till coming near meſſieurs de Clermont and St. Gelais, whom I ſurprized very much by embracing, they ordered my equipage to be reſtored to me, and likewiſe the portmanteaus which contained my money.

George de Clermont d'Amboiſe, marquis of Galerande.

The prince of Condé came up ſoon after theſe four companies: he could ſcarcely believe what he ſaw, ſo bold did my enterprize appear to him. We lay all night in this place, after ſupping very temperately out of wooden diſhes; and when the time came which obliged us to ſeparate, the prince, who was ſo thinly accompanied, that far from being able to make head againſt a royal army, he was not in a condition to defend himſelf againſt a ſtrong detachment, and being likewiſe in a province where he was ſought for in all parts, would have

on foot or on horſeback, as our dragoons do at preſent. When the arquebuſes were firſt in uſe, they were called horſe-arquebuſiers; and it is by this name they are generally called in theſe Memoirs.

had

had me to receive him into my company, in the quality of a private gentleman. He was ſo well known, that I could not yield to his requeſt, without ruining both him and myſelf. I intreated him, therefore, to diſpenſe with my complaiſance; and making the ſame excuſe to the duke de la Trémouille, charged myſelf only with meſſieurs de Fors, du Pleſſis, de Verac, and d'Oradour. The prince of Conde remained behind, extremely perplexed; and finding it ſtill more dangerous to continue with his twelve hundred horſe, than to march with a ſmall retinue, he divided them into platoons, of which the moſt conſiderable conſiſted only of twenty horſe, making them take bye-ways, and marching himſelf through the roads, by a good fortune of which there are but few examples, twelve times eſcaped the purſuits of his enemies. 1585.

Claude duke de la Trémouille.

Nor indeed was I leſs fortunate myſelf. To the artifices I had already made uſe of I added another, which ſucceeded wonderfully: I aſſumed the name of one of my brothers; and to make myſelf look more warlike, cut off my beard and muſtaches. This, however, did not diſguiſe me ſo well, but that through every place I paſſed, I could hear people about me ſay, that I perfectly reſembled my brother the huguenot. To avoid the queſtions that might be aſked me, I took the ſtyle of a zealous partizan of the league, ſpread the report of the prince of Conde's defeat, and the rout of the proteſtant forces by the duke of Joyeuſe; by which means I arrived ſafe at Chateau-Renaud. The great difficulty was how to paſs the Loire; yet this I accompliſhed, through the aſſiſtance of M. des Arpentis, who acted on this occaſion like a true friend. I received, likewiſe, ſome ſervices from M. de Montbazon. As ſoon as I arrived at Montbazon, he ſent me a preſent of wine and fruit, and treated me with ſo much kindneſs in ſeveral other inſtances, that although I was known in this place, I complied with his intreaties, and ſtaid there three days, which was no more than neceſſary, as our horſes began to be greatly fatigued. By the death of M. de Montbazon *, which happened ſoon after, I was deprived of an opportunity of ſhewing my gratitude to a man, who had the good of the ſtate ſo nearly at heart.

In Touraine.

Favoured by my new diſguiſe, I traverſed Châtelleraud and Poitiers. At Ville-fagnan, meeting with a regiment of Swiſs that was

Upon the confines of Poitou, and Saintonge.

* He was ſlain at the battle of Arques.

1585. was going to join the marechal de Matignon's army, I reſolved to draw ſome advantage from this rencounter. The Swiſs were not diſpleaſed with any thing I ſaid to them, becauſe I always took care to provide them each morning with a repaſt; and I believe I might have depended upon them, had I even diſcovered my true name. I travelled with them four days, and we did not ſeparate, while I could poſſibly avoid it. Scarce had I quitted them, when paſſing the river at St. Marſaud, I was known by Puiferret, who advanced with his company to the bank of the river. Happily for me, I had already got to the other ſide; and having this advantage of him, I gained the houſe of * M. de Neufvy. At Marton I went down, as uſual, into the ſuburbs, and immediately, thro' a ſtrange foreboding, returned into the city. I was informed the next day, that the door of the ſtable in which my horſes were ſuppoſed to be, had been burſt open in the night by a petard; but the reflections I made upon this accident, did not prevent me from giving orders for my departure: when I was accoſted by a ſtranger, who ſaid to me, "Monſieur, I do not deſire to know who "you are; but if you are a huguenot, and leave this place, you will "periſh; five miles diſtant from hence there is an ambuſh of fifty "horſe, well armed, which I believe is deſigned againſt you." I thanked this man for his kindneſs, without ſeeming diſcompoſed by what he had told me, and coldly anſwered, that although I was not a huguenot, yet to fall into an ambuſh, appeared to me to be always dangerous. I then returned to my inn, where pretending that one of my fineſt horſes had hurt his foot, I ordered them to be all unſaddled.

A village in Saintonge.

In Angoumois.

That I might be aſſured whether what I had heard was true, I made one of my ſervants, named Perigordin, who could imitate perfectly well the gibberiſh of a peaſant, diſguiſe himſelf like one; and after inſtructing him in what he was to do, ſent him to that part of the country, where I was told the ambuſh was poſted.

Perigordin meeting theſe fifty horſemen, told them, in anſwer to the queſtions they aſked him concerning the news of the city, that my departure was deferred till the next day. He followed them to a town, two leagues from thence, where they retired extremely mortified at having miſſed their blow, but reſolved to return to the ſame

* The youngeſt ſon was called Bertrand de Melet de Fayoles of Neufvy: for Magdelaine de Melet de Fayoles, lord of Neufvy, his eldeſt, was in the party of the league.

place

place the next morning: and came back to me to make his report, I set out that moment, and after ſome other little adventures of the ſame kind, arrived at the houſe of M. de Longa, and went from thence to Bergerac, where the king of Navarre then was. This prince, on whom no inſtance of kindneſs was ever loſt, held me a long time embraced in his arms; and appeared extremely ſenſible of the dangers to which, through my attachment to him, I had expoſed myſelf. He would make me acquaint him with the leaſt particulars relating to my journey, eſpecially the rencounter I had with the prince of Condé, and the ſlippery condition in which I had left him. 1586.

'Tis impoſſible to deſcribe the king of Navarre's perplexity at this time: without troops, money, or aid, he ſaw three powerful armies marching againſt him. Thoſe of the dukes of Maïenne and Joyeuſe were advancing by great journeys; and he had the marechal de Matignon's army actually in front. The forty thouſand francs I had brought with me, proved a very ſeaſonable ſupply to this prince, who could not have raiſed ſuch a ſum in his whole court. We marched towards Caſtillon and Montſégur, which Matignon made ſhew of beſieging; but he falling ſuddenly upon Caſtets, we were obliged to turn to that ſide, and after a long and extreme cold march, for it was in the month of February, we arrived time enough to make them raiſe this ſiege. Cities of Gaſcony, in the biſhopric of Aire.

But when we learnt that the duke of Maïenne's army was near, then it was, that not being able to think of any means by which we could reſiſt the efforts of two armies, whoſe numbers were ſo ſuperior to ours, we were thrown into the greateſt conſternation imaginable; we knew not which way to turn, nor what reſolution to take: one was of opinion, that the king of Navarre ſhould retire into the heart of Languedoc; another, that he ſhould go ſtill farther; and a third adviſed him to paſs over to England, from whence, after he had ſecured ſome powerful ſuccours, he ſhould go and put himſelf at the head of thoſe that Germany had given him hopes of. All agreed upon this one point, that the king ought to go farther from Guienne. It was with grief that I ſaw this advice, which would leave the proteſtant party in France without any reſource, likely to prevail.

The king of Navarre deſiring to know my opinion, I repreſented to him, that our affairs were not reduced to ſuch an extremity, as to oblige us to abandon them entirely: that it would be time enough to do that, after we had endeavoured once more to make head againſt

1586. them every where; which did not appear to be impoſſible, by leaving, for example, the viſcount de Turenne, with a ſmall body of troops, ſuch as could be got together, to act upon the defenſive in Guyenne; and while the duke of Montmorency did the ſame in Languedoc, and Leſdiguieres in Dauphiny, the king ſhould reſerve the defence of Rochelle, and the neighbouring country, for himſelf, till the foreign troops, that were now very ſoon expected, arrived, which would bring the two powers nearer to an equality. The king of Navarre approved of this advice, and declared he would follow it; "But, added he, the duke of "Maïenne is not ſo peeviſh a boy, but that he will permit me to walk "up and down a little longer in Guyenne." He then gave ſome orders before he ſet out for Rochelle, and took a journey to Bearn; which the preſent conjuncture rendered abſolutely neceſſary.

He ſtaid there but eight days, and during this interval, the two catholic armies having joined, and ſeized all the paſſages by which they thought the king of Navarre could return to Poitou, he ſaw himſelf upon the point of being ſhut up in Nerac. In this extremity the king reſolving to attempt all things, rather than not ſecure himſelf a paſſage *; he left Nerac, followed by two hundred horſe, and took the road towards Caſtel-geloux. When he was got half way thither, he ſeparated his whole troop, and keeping only twenty of us that were beſt mounted, and a like number of his guards, appointed Sainte-foy for a place of rendezvous for all the reſt: then, turning ſhort, ſtruck into a road amidſt woods and heaths, with which he was well acquainted, having often hunted there, and arrived at Caumont, where he ſlept three hours. We paſſed the river after ſun-ſet, and marched all night through the enemy's quarters, and even over the moats of Marmande; after which, taking a bye-way near Sauvetat, we came two hours before day to Sainte-foy, where all the reſt of his men, who had divided into ſmall platoons, arrived alſo by different ways, without the leaſt loſs, not even of their baggage. The duke of Maïenne, exaſperated at this diſappointment of his hopes, went to diſcharge all his rage upon Montignac le Comte, where captain Roux, and ſerjeant More defended themſelves ſo courageouſly againſt his whole army, that he could not oblige them to ſurrender, but by granting them the moſt honourable conditions.

A city of the principality of Albret.
A city of Guienne, upon the Dordogne.
Another city of Guyenne.
A city of Perigord upon the Vezere.

* See this paſſage of the king of Navarre, and all the military expeditions on both ſides, in d'Aubigné, vol. III. Matthieu, vol. I. book xviii. Cayet, book i. and other hiſtorians.

This

1586.

This general found leſs reſiſtance in Sainte Bazeile. Deſpueilles, the governor of that ſmall place, was allied to the family of Courtenay, and had the reputation of a very brave man: which inſpired me with an inclination to ſhut myſelf up with him, contrary to the advice of my relations and friends, who without doubt knew him much better than I did. The king of Navarre a long time denied me the permiſſion I aſked of him; at laſt, overcome by my importunity, he gave me thirty men, with whom I threw myſelf into Sainte Bazeile. I found the place in a very bad condition, without ramparts, and the houſes all built of clay, which the cannon went quite through. However, it might have held out ſome time, but Deſpueilles being ſeized with fear, rejected all my advice, and was mad enough to put himſelf into the enemies hands, who treated the city as they pleaſed. The king of Navarre, at the firſt confuſed reports he heard of this action, was angry with us all; but when he was informed of the truth, the whole weight of his diſpleaſure fell upon Deſpueilles, which was increaſed by this cowardly governor having the imprudence to tell him, when he preſented himſelf before him to excuſe his conduct, that if he had been there himſelf, he could not have acted otherwiſe. The king of Navarre put him under an arreſt, from which, eight days after, he was releaſed at our ſolicitations.

A city of Bazadois upon the Dordogne.

The king did not quit the field till he was reduced to the laſt extremity, and after having diſputed the ground inch by inch. When he retreated, he threw the remains of his forces into Monſégur, Caſtillon, and Sainte-foy. I lent him ſix thouſand livres more, to fortify Montflanquin, where Bethune commanded. At laſt, fearing ſome fatal accident on the ſide of Rochelle, he left ſome troops in Guyenne, under the command of the viſcount de Turenne, and took the road to that city by Pons, and Saint Jean d'Angely.

Upon the Dordogne.

Floreitan de Bethune.

Cities of Saintonge.

There were moments in which Henry III. enraged at the ſhameful part the league obliged him to act, wiſhed ardently to find ſome means of revenging himſelf *: but willing to do this without danger, rejected always the thought that often preſented itſelf to his mind, of calling in the king of Navarre, and uniting with him. The deputies from the four Swiſs catholic cantons coming to Paris, to treat

* It was in theſe moments that he ſaid, as l'Etoile relates, *De inimicis meis vindicabo inimicos meos*; ſpeaking of the leaguers, and the huguenots.

1586. of the ſuccours which ſome time before had been demanded of this republic; the king, who was then in one of his temporary fits of anger againſt the league, reſolved to make uſe of theſe Swiſs, which, with the troops that were at his own diſpoſal, and thoſe he might expect from the king of Navarre, would form a body of men capable of reducing the league to reaſon. He wrote to the king of Navarre, and acquainting him with his new deſigns, deſired him to ſend a perſon in whom he could confide, to confer with him upon this whole affair, and particularly upon the uſe they were to make of the Swiſs. A blank paſsport was added to this letter, which the king of Navarre filling up with my name, obliged me to depart immediately.

I ARRIVED at Saint Maur, where the court then was, and went down to the houſe of Villeroy, with whom I dined, and ſtaid the reſt of that day, and on the next he preſented me to the king. I ſhall never forget the fantaſtic and extravagant equipage and attitude in which I found this prince in his cabinet: he had a ſword at his ſide, a Spaniſh hood hung down upon his ſhoulders, a little cap, ſuch as collegians wear, upon his head, and a baſket full of little dogs hung to a ribband about his neck. He continued in a poſture ſo fixed, and ſo immoveable, that in ſpeaking to us, he neither moved his head, hands, or feet. He began by giving vent to his indignation againſt the league, which made me conclude he had received ſome new affront from it, and talked of his union with the king of Navarre, as a thing, the utility of which he was perfectly convinced of; but ſome remains of fear made him always add, that he looked upon it as impoſſible, while the king of Navarre perſiſted in his reſolutions of not changing his religion. I took the word, and told the king in anſwer, that it would be in vain to propoſe ſuch an expedient to the king of Navarre, who by agreeing to it muſt act againſt his conſcience; which, were he capable of doing, would not produce what his majeſty hoped from it; that the motive by which the league was actuated, was neither a regard to public good, or to religion; that ſo precipitate an action would deprive the king of Navarre of all the aſſiſtance he might expect from the proteſtants, without drawing one man from the league; but, on the contrary, ſuch a weakneſs would increaſe the pride of their common enemies. The king did not fail to anſwer my reaſons; but I ſtill perſiſted in maintaining, that the king of Navarre, by complying with the terms propoſed to him, could bring only his ſingle perſon to his aid, whereas by uniting with him in the condition he was now in, without requiring the ſacrifice of his religion,

religion, he would ſtrengthen the king's party with a body very powerful in the ſtate. I had a conference, to the ſame effect, with the queen-mother: and I perceived that the force of my arguments made ſome impreſſion on them both, at firſt, and that it was the fear of that change which an union with a prince of the reformed religion might produce, which only prevented them from yielding. I did not, however, deſpair of prevailing upon them to ſtrike this great blow, and by the (not only gracious but) free and open manner, in which their majeſties treated with me, I had reaſon to flatter myſelf I ſhould ſucceed. 1586.

I left them in theſe favourable diſpoſitions to go to Paris, to confer with the Swiſs deputies, and brought them to my purpoſe with very little difficulty. It coſt me nothing but a ſmall expence in proviſions, eſpecially wine; for which they promiſed, without any limitation, a body of ten thouſand Swiſs; four thouſand of which were to ſtay in Dauphiny, and the other ſix thouſand to be employed in the ſervice, and at the diſcretion of the two kings. The king of France again aſſured me by Meſſ. de Lenoncourt, de Poigny, and Brulart, that his ſentiments were not altered, and that he paſſionately wiſhed for the union; which was not leſs earneſtly deſired by the king of Navarre: in the diſpatches I received from him almoſt every day, he exhorted me to uſe all my endeavours to ſecure its ſucceſs, and even to ſacrifice for that purpoſe ſome part of his intereſt.

At my return to St. Maur, I gave the king an account of my journey, and aſked what uſe he would make of the ſix thouſand Swiſs, and to what place he deſigned they ſhould go. The king demanded, that they ſhould be brought into the neighbourhood of Paris; and even, if there was a neceſſity for it, ſerve him againſt the league. I foreſaw all the inconveniencies that would attend a project of this kind, and did not yield to this article, but by the expreſs command of the king of Navarre, who thought ſo ſmall a matter ought not to retard their reconciliation. It will be ſoon ſeen whether this article was really of as little importance as was imagined, and what was the conſequence of this imprudent compliance.

The treaty between the two kings being concluded upon the conditions that have been mentioned, I reſolved to depart from court, leaving M. de Marſilliere at Paris, under colour of continuing the negotiation that had been begun: but he had only attended me to Paris,

to

1586. to take the first favourable opportunity of going to Germany, to facilitate, by the assistance of messieurs de Clairvant, and de Guitry, the departure of a body of German troops from thence, which the protestants of those countries had promised the king of Navarre. This design Marsilliere executed very happily. As for me, I staid but eight days at Rosny with my wife; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who was extremely well satisfied with the success of my commission.

Claude Antony de Vienne, lord of Clairvant.

This prince could not resolve to lie idle in Rochelle, and therefore prevailed with the inhabitants to furnish him with twelve hundred foot, two hundred horse, and three cannons; these he gave to the duke de la Tremouille for the reduction of Talmont, which he could not endure to see in the enemies hands. I followed the duke de la Tremouille, with Mignonville, Fouquerolles, Bois-du-Lys, and some other officers.

A city of Lower Poitou.

The town having no fortifications, we seized it without opposition, and began immediately to attack the castle; the walls of which were very strong, but had no works on the outside. Maroniere, who was governor of it, although he did not expect to be attacked, depended upon some speedy supplies that Malicorne had engaged to bring him: which determined us to press the place vigorously. The passage by sea from Talmont to Rochelle is but six hours; I embarked for that place to fetch a supply of powder, with which we were not sufficiently provided, and to inform the king of Navarre, that we should find it very difficult to succeed with so small a number of men. The king soon raised two thousand more in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, and shipped them on board of three vessels, which during three days were in danger of perishing. At length we arrived at Talmont; the three vessels cast anchor there one after another, and the besieged learning that the king of Navarre conducted the attack in person, surrendered the place to him.

John de Sourches, lord of Malicorne.

It was want of money that had prevented Malicorne from bringing supplies to the governor of Talmont; the king of Navarre, therefore, being freed from this fear, drew off his troops, in order to attack Chizai. Fayolle, who commanded there, defended himself bravely. He made good use of a culverine, which was the only piece of artillery he had in the place; nor yielded till the last extremity. I took notice of a singular accident that happened there: the princess Catherine having

In Upper Poitou, upon the Boutonne.

having ſent the ſteward of her houſhold with a letter to the king her brother, a bullet of this culverine went quite through the body of his horſe, and came out at his breaſt, yet the beaſt continued ſtanding near ten minutes after. 1586.

Another ſhot from an arquebuſe was the cauſe of a much greater misfortune: a gentleman charged with a verbal meſſage to the king of Navarre, concerning ſome important affairs, was ſhot dead at the feet of this prince, having only had time to ſay that he came from Heidelberg, from meſſieurs de Clairvant and de Guitry. This officer was ſent to inform the king, that the German horſe, and other proteſtant troops from Germany, were ready to enter France; and to know of him through what place he thought it moſt proper they ſhould march. Some were for their entering France, by Lorrain, where the league was very powerful; others maintained, that they ought to take their route by the Bourbonnois, from thence by Berry and Poitou, and the ſide of the Loire. Meſſieurs de Montmorency and de Châtillon were for keeping them in Languedoc and near the Rhone. Never was ſo great a diverſity of opinions known, and unhappily the worſt prevailed, which was to bring them in through Beauce; doubtleſs, becauſe the king of France was willing to have them near him, that he might make uſe of them againſt the league, or at leaſt to keep it in awe. It is not probable that the king of Navarre would have conſented to this, but the accident that has been related was the cauſe that he was even ignorant of their contentions.

This prince, by a continuance of the ſame good fortune, took Sanzay, and afterwards St. Maixant; the noiſe of five or ſix cannons, which till that time were ſeldom made uſe of in ſieges, produced this effect. He took advantage of his ſucceſs, and ſeeing himſelf reinforced with two hundred horſe, and five hundred foot, which were brought him by the prince of Condé, and the count de la Rochefoucault*, whom he had juſt made colonel-general of his infantry, he believed himſelf ſtrong enough to undertake the ſiege of Fontenay, the ſecond place for ſtrength in Poitou; although he was not ignorant, that in this place there was a brave governor, and a ſtrong garriſon. The governor, whoſe name was la Rouſſiere, reſolved to defend not only the city, but the ſuburb des Loges alſo, which was larger and more magnifi- Other cities of Upper Poitou.

* Francis de la Rochefoucault, prince of Marſillac, ſon of him who was ſlain at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. He was killed in 1591.

cent

1586. cent than the city itſelf, and ſurrounded with a great moat; to which were added ſtrong barricadoes, that cloſed up the entrance of this ſuburb. The king of Navarre ſent la Rochefoucault, at the head of forty gentlemen, to attack the upper end of this ſuburb in a very dark night. I joined meſſieurs de Dangeau, de Vaubrot, d'Avantigny, de Challandeau, de Feuquieres, de Braſſeuſſes, le Chene, and two or three others. We poſted ourſelves at one ſide of the barricadoes, with our pikes in our hands, and our piſtols at our girdles, with a deſign either to throw them down, or leap over them. We were repulſed three times. Vaubrot, Avantigny, and I, in falling, drew five or ſix hogſheads of dung upon us, from which we were apprehenſive we ſhould not ſoon diſengage ourſelves; but our party having at that inſtant forced the works, we got up by means of this effort, and the enemies ſeeing us maſters of the barricade, thought of nothing but retreating, after having firſt ſet fire to it, to protract our purſuit, leſt by following them too cloſe, we ſhould in their confuſion enter the city along with them.

Lewis de Courcillon de Dangeau.

We now took up our lodgings in the fineſt houſes in the ſuburb, where we found all things in great abundance. The only inconvenience we ſuffered, was from the ſmall ſhot of the place, which made the entrance to the king's and our own houſes very dangerous; and the batteries upon the ramparts commanding all the avenues of this ſuburb, it was impoſſible to enter it without being expoſed to continual diſcharges. One day, when I came out of my own houſe to go to the king's, which was the moſt beautiful in the ſuburb, a ball, as I was paſſing thro' the ſtreet, cruſhed my head-piece, juſt as Liberge, my valet de chambre, came up to tie it. I cauſed a rope to be inſtantly faſtened acroſs the ſtreet, and by means of ſome cloaths that were hung over it, prevented the beſieged from ſeeing at leaſt thoſe that paſſed.

We afterwards applied ourſelves without ceaſing to the trenches and undermining. The king of Navarre took inconceivable pains in this ſiege: he conducted the miners himſelf, after he had taken all the neceſſary precautions to hinder ſupplies from entering without: the bridges, avenues, and all the roads that led to the city, were ſtrictly guarded, as likewiſe great part of the country. One night, when I was upon guard with twenty horſe, at the ford of a river, I heard the noiſe of trampling of horſes at a diſtance, which made me conclude I ſhould be attacked. This noiſe ceaſed for ſome minutes, then began again with more violence; and came ſo near, that I prepared for defence.

ſence. I ſuffered the troop to approach within arms length; but when we were juſt ready to fire, I perceived the occaſion of our alarm to be a number of horſes and mares, which had been wandering about this field, and came to water at the river. I was one of the firſt to laugh at this adventure; but in ſecret I was not ſorry that I had given orders to the perſon whom I pitched upon to go for aſſiſtance, not to ſet out till we were engaged in fight. 1586.

At this ſiege, my principal employment was the conduct of the artillery. The mining was ſo far advanced, that we could hear the voice of the ſoldiers who guarded the parapets, within the lodgment of the miners. The king of Navarre was the firſt who perceived this; he ſpoke, and made himſelf known to the beſieged; who were ſo aſtoniſhed at hearing him name himſelf from the bottom of theſe ſubterraneous places, that they demanded leave to capitulate. The propoſals were all made by this uncommon way: the articles were drawn up, or rather dictated, by the king of Navarre, whoſe word was known by the beſieged to be ſo inviolable, that they did not require a writing. They had no cauſe to repent of this confidence; the king of Navarre, charmed with a proceeding ſo noble, granted the garriſon military honours, and preſerved the city from pillage.

A woman of the city having killed a fat hog the ſame day that they had capitulated, hearing that the garriſon had ſurrendered, deviſed a pleaſant ſtratagem, to deprive the rapacious ſoldiers of their prey. She made her huſband hide himſelf, and wrapping the dead animal in a ſheet, laid it, by the help of ſome friends, in a coffin, and by her cries drew all her neighbours about her. The mournful preparations for a funeral gave them to underſtand the cauſe of her lamentations; the prieſts were deceived as well as others. One of them conducted the funeral proceſſion a-croſs the ſuburbs, into a church-yard without the city, by the king of Navarre's permiſſion. The ceremonies over, and the night being come, ſome perſons poſted by this woman near the grave, came to take up the dead animal, and carry it into the city; but they were perceived by ſome ſoldiers, who driving them from thence, diſcovered the truth, and ſeized the prey. One may eaſily imagine the ſecret was not well kept; it was known all over the city: a prieſt, to whom this woman, preſt with remorſe of conſcience, had revealed it, publiſhed the adventure every where.

1586. Charles Echalard, lord of La-Boulaye. Other ſtrong places in the Lower Poitou.

The king of Navarre leaving the lord of La-Boulaye governor in this place; went to take the abbey of Maillezais, the ſituation of which he found ſo advantageous, that he reſolved to make it a regular fortreſs, and ordered me to draw a plan of it. Davailles, a relation of La-Boulaye, was appointed to guard it. His troops took Mauleon likewiſe, and afterwards the caſtle of La-Garnache; from whence monſieur de Genevois * drove his own mother. She retired to Beauvois, a little city upon the ſea-ſide, whither her ſon ſtill purſued her, but falling this time into her hands, ſhe in her turn made him priſoner of war.

I was not preſent at either of theſe ſieges; the melancholy news I received from Roſny obliged me to go thither. During my ſtay at St. Maur, I obtained a protection for my caſtle and eſtate of Roſny, together with neceſſary paſſports for going thither when I pleaſed. It was this liberty that made me eaſy with regard to my wife, at a time when all ſorts of outrages againſt the proteſtants were allowed. I learnt that this town was at that time almoſt wholly depopulated by the plague: my wife had loſt the greateſt part of her domeſtics, and fear having obliged her to fly into the neighbouring foreſts, ſhe had paſſed two days and nights in her coach, and had afterwards taken refuge in the caſtle of Huet, belonging to madame de Compagnac, my aunt. Her joy, when ſhe knew I was ſo near her, gave way to her fears of the danger I incurred by coming amongſt perſons infected with the plague; and thinking to force me to return, ſhe ordered the gates to be ſhut upon me. She had too much occaſion for aſſiſtance and conſolation to be abandoned in that condition; I entered, notwithſtanding her reſiſtance, and ſtaid a month in this houſe, having only two gentlemen, and as many domeſtics, with me: breathing the air of the country in freedom, for the report of the plague kept all troubleſome viſitors from my houſe. I was not wholly uſeleſs to the king of Navarre all this time; my wood-merchant ſtill owed me twenty-four thouſand livres, and I preſt for the payment of it. The perſecution that was declared a-

* D'Aubigné explains this better, vol. III. b. i. c. x. "The lady of La-Garnache, "ſays he, ſiſter to the duke of Rohan, "held the city of La-Garnache, and the "caſtle of Beauvois upon the ſea in neu-"trality. Her ſon, called prince of Ge-"nevois, by his mother's marriage with "the duke of Nemours, ſeized La-Gar-"nache, by means of a correſpondence "he held with the domeſtics. He made "the ſame attempt upon Beauvois, but "he was taken priſoner by his mother. "The reſult of all which was, that the "king of Navarre intereſting himſelf in "procuring his liberty, obtained it, and "by the ſame means the place."

gainſt

gainſt the proteſtants, put me entirely in their power; and the fear leſt this money, together with all my eſtates, ſhould be confiſcated for the uſe of the league, obliged me to be contented with ten thouſand livres. 1586.

As ſoon as the contagion ceaſed, I carried my wife back to Roſny, after having taken the neceſſary precautions to purify the houſe; and left her at the report, that the duke of Joyeuſe, whoſe march had hitherto been ſlow, and his operations very inconſiderable, was advancing haſtily, to drive the king of Navarre from Poitou. This prince had juſt then been repulſed before Niort and Parthenai; and finding it impoſſible to keep all his fortreſſes againſt forces ſo ſuperior to his, he cauſed the greateſt part of them to be raſed and diſmantled, and preſerved only Fontenai, Talmont, Maillezais, and St. Maixant. He afterwards retreated to Rochelle, where I found him.

All theſe places are in Poitou.

The treaty of alliance between the two kings, which was mentioned above, ſeeming to promiſe a more favourable event, the reader is, no doubt, impatient to know the ſucceſs. All was already over; in one moment the whole deſign was overthrown. This proceeding of the court was certainly very uncommon, and will appear a myſtery abſolutely incomprehenſible to thoſe who know not what changes, a prince who delivers himſelf up to irreſolution, idleneſs, and timidity, is capable of aſſuming in affairs of ſtate: nothing is more dangerous than a mind thus fluctuating and undetermined. In difficult ſituations, all things ought to be truſted to chance, nor ought it to be wholly neglected; but after having fixed on a particular deſign, every ſtep that leads to it, ought to be regulated by wiſe and cool reflections. A neceſſary peace cannot be too earneſtly deſired, nor concluded too ſoon; but in critical circumſtances nothing ought to be more carefully avoided, than keeping the people's mind in ſuſpenſe, between peace and war. It was not by maxims like theſe that Catherine's counſellors conducted themſelves; if they formed any reſolution, it laſted but a moment, never held out to the end; and ſo timorouſly was it made, that it afforded even but a very imperfect remedy for the preſent evil. The fault of minds taken up in little trifling intrigues, and in general, of all thoſe that have more vivacity than judgment, is to repreſent to themſelves things that are near, in ſuch a manner, as to be dazzled by them; and ſee thoſe at a diſtance through a cloud: a few moments or days make up their futurity.

1586. To this fault of never being able to reſolve upon any thing, the king, or rather the queen-mother, added another ſtill greater *. This was the uſe of I know not what kind of little affected diſſimulation, or to ſay better, a wretched ſtudy of hypocriſy and deceit, without which ſhe imagined her politics could not ſubſiſt: the firſt of theſe errors concealed from us the misfortune with which we were threatened, and the laſt tied the hands of thoſe who might have aſſiſted us to prevent it. What could we expect but to be ruined by it ſooner or later? Thus it happened to Henry III. through his want of reſolution to make uſe of the remedy that was offered him, by joining his troops with thoſe of the king of Navarre; by which means he might cruſh the enemies of his authority: he neglected to proſecute this deſign, and the conſequence was, that he ſaw himſelf reduced to an extremity which might have been as fatal to the royal name as ſhameful to the memory of this prince.

Catherine had recourſe to her uſual artifices, and thought ſhe performed a great deal, becauſe ſhe endured the fatigue of a long journey: ſhe went into Poitou, and had ſeveral conferences with the king of Navarre † at Coignac, Saint Brix, and Saint Maixant. Sometimes ſhe endeavoured to allure him, at other times to intimidate him with the ſight of the conſiderable forces that were going to pour upon him, and whoſe efforts, ſhe told him, ſhe had hitherto ſuſpended. In a word, ſhe forgot nothing which ſhe thought might induce him to change his religion. This, however, is certain, that it was not without regret ſhe ſaw the league in a condition to oppreſs the king of Navarre, becauſe it was not her intereſt that his ruin ſhould be ac-

* It has been aſſerted, that the intereſt of the true religion had no part in the politics of this queen. Witneſs theſe words which ſhe was heard to ſay, when ſhe thought the battle of Dreux was loſt, "Well! we muſt pray to God then in "French."

† The queen aſking him what he would have? he replied, looking at the young ladies ſhe had brought with her, "There is nothing here, madam, that "I would have." Perefixe's hiſtory of Henry the Great. Matthieu adds, that Catherine preſſing him to make ſome overture, "Madam, ſaid he, there is no overture here for me." Vol. I. book viii. p. 518. This interview was at St. Croix the 25th of September, "He was hunting one day at Saint Brix, and wanting "to ſhew that his horſe was more lively "than two very fine ones belonging to "Belliévre, a herd of pigs behind a hedge "frighted his horſe, who threw him up"on the earth, where he lay ſenſeleſs, "bleeding at the noſe and mouth. They "carried him like one dead to the caſtle. "However, two or three days after he "diſappeared." Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 588.

com-

compliſhed by that means. But what ſecurity did ſhe give this prince, by the raſh and unſeaſonable meaſures ſhe wanted to engage him in? Had he not reaſon to believe, that the propoſal ſhe was conſtantly making him to change his religion, was, at the bottom, but an artful ſnare to deprive him of all aſſiſtance from the proteſtants, to make him countermand the troops that he expected from Germany, to draw him to court, to ruin him, and, after him, all his adherents? I had particular proofs that juſtified theſe apprehenſions; for thoſe conferences at which I was preſent with the king, not affording me the means of clearing my doubts, I held private ones, by his orders, with the ladies d'Uzes, and de Sauves, who were better acquainted with Catherine's inclinations than any other perſons, and by whom I was loved with ſo much tenderneſs, that they always called me their ſon. In order to come to the knowledge of their real ſentiments, I pretended to be well convinced of what indeed I only ſuſpected, and complained that the queen-mother made uſe of all her endeavours to ſacrifice the king of Navarre to the league. Theſe two ladies confeſſed to me in confidence, that they believed religion ſerved Catherine only for a pretence, and that affairs were in ſuch a ſtate, that the king of Navarre could no otherwiſe extricate himſelf from his difficulties, but by the force of his arms. They proteſted to me afterwards, that they ſaw with grief the bad diſpoſitions of the council towards this prince. Theſe words I have always believed to be ſincere, although ſpoke in a court where, next to gallantry, nothing was ſo much cultivated as falſhood. 1586.

Whatever were the queen-mother's * intentions, ſhe returned without obtaining any thing; and Joyeuſe with an army took her place. The conduct of an army entruſted to Joyeuſe was a ſecond myſtery: Was it to mortify the heads of the league, who had better pretenſions to this command than him, or to ruin them entirely, if the new general had ſucceeded? Was it, on the contrary, the diſcovery of his connections with the league, that induced the king to give him a poſt, wherein he was aſſured this ungrateful man would periſh, or at leaſt miſcarry? Or was it only to remove a favourite from his pre- 1587.

* "After a long converſation, the "queen-mother aſking him if the trouble "ſhe had been at was to produce no other "fruit, ſhe who loved nothing ſo much "as peace, he anſwered, Madam, I am "not the cauſe of it; it is not I who "hinders you from ſleeping in your bed, "it is you that prevents me from reſting "in mine; the trouble you give yourſelf "pleaſes, and nouriſhes you; peace is "the greateſt enemy of your life." Perefixe, part i.

ſence,

1587. fence, who had now a rival in his affections; for it is often a mere trifle, that produces effects which are always attributed to the moſt ſolid cauſes: but was it not rather to enhance the luſtre of his favour by an employment ſo diſtinguiſhed? Such was the ſpirit of the court, that conjectures, the moſt oppoſite, were ſupported by equal probabilities. What ſeems, however, to determine in favour of the laſt ſuppoſition, is, that the army which Joyeuſe commanded was compoſed of the beſt forces in the kingdom, was filled with the flower of the nobility, and plentifully provided with whatever could contribute towards rendering it victorious.

Gabriel Prevot of Charbonnieres.

The king of Navarre employed himſelf chiefly in putting Saint Maixant in a condition of defence; he went thither with ſo much haſte and precipitation, that ſinking under his watching and fatigue, he was obliged, in his return to Rochelle, to throw himſelf into a waggon drawn by oxen, where he ſlept as in a bed. To prevent the proviſion with which he had ſtored Saint Maixant from being conſumed, he ordered the two regiments of Charbonnieres, and des Bories, which had been appointed to defend it, to be poſted at La Motte Sainte-Eloi, and there to expect the enemy's arrival. All theſe precautions could not prevent the reduction of this laſt place, and its caſtle, nor that of Saint Maixant, Maillezais, and many others, any more than the defeat of ſeveral companies, amongſt others that belonged to Deſpueilles, which was beat almoſt within ſight of Rochelle. The cruel behaviour of the conquerors made theſe misfortunes ſtill more affecting; all we could do in revenge, was to fall upon the waggons and the ſtragglers, during the marches of this army.

One day, as the duke of Joyeuſe led his army back again from Saintes to Niort, I poſted myſelf with fifty horſe in the foreſt of Benon, near the great road, to wait for an opportunity of ſtriking ſome blow. A ſoldier whom I had directed to climb up a tree, to obſerve the order and motion of the enemy's army, told us, that he ſaw a detachment advancing ſome paces before the firſt battalions. Thoſe who accompanied me were for falling upon this detachment, which they ſuppoſed it would not be difficult to ſubdue, before any aſſiſtance could come up to it. I did not reliſh this propoſal. I remembered a maxim of the king of Navarre's, that to attack a party when the whole army was near, ſeldom ſucceeded; and I reſtrained the ardour of my troop, who burned with an eager deſire to come to blows with them. We ſaw this detachment paſs by, and afterwards the whole army, the batta-

battalions of which we could eaſily count. The laſt ranks marched ſo cloſe, that I was of opinion there was nothing to be done; but as we were ready to make our retreat, the centinel informed us, that he ſaw two ſmall ſquadrons of fifty or ſixty horſe each, that marched at a great diſtance from each other. I would have ſuffered the firſt to paſs by, but it was impoſſible now to reſtrain the impetuoſity of the ſoldiers; we fell upon the firſt with ſuch fury, that we left twelve or fifteen dead upon the place, took as many priſoners, and the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight. But how greatly was I mortified that I had not followed my own opinion, when I found the ſecond troop was compoſed of fifty of the principal officers of the catholic army, with the duke of Joyeuſe himſelf at their head, he having ſtopped at Surgeres, to refreſh himſelf with a collation there. When I gave the king of Navarre an account of this action, he told me ſmiling, that he perceived I was willing to ſpare the duke's ſquadron, on account of my two brothers who were with him. One of them having an inclination to ſee Rochelle, I obtained a paſſport for him, and conducted him every where. I went to Niort ſoon after, where the enemy's army lay, to agree upon terms of a combat that had been propoſed between the Albanois of captain Mercure's company, and a like number of Scots under the command of Ouimes; but the duke of Joyeuſe would not permit it to be executed. 1587. A town in the country of Aunis.

I found this general gloomy and diſcontented, and gueſſed ſo truly the cauſe of his uneaſineſs, that when he told me he ſhould ſoon ſet out for Montreſor, I replied without heſitation, that he could go very eaſily from thence to the court. At theſe words he turned towards my brother, as accuſing him of having revealed what had paſſed. Though he knew that there was nothing in it, he imagined his diſgrace was certain, ſince the report of it had already reached Rochelle; and it was this, I believe, that confirmed him in his reſolution to go and deſtroy, by his preſence, the cabals of his enemies. However, he concealed his ſentiments, and coldly anſwered, that I ſuffered myſelf to be deceived by my too great diſcernment; and endeavoured to perſuade me, that he had no intentions of returning to Paris: but I was ſo well aſſured of the contrary, that I went back immediately to the king of Navarre, to concert with him proper meaſures for drawing ſome advantage from an abſence which would leave the catholic army without leaders; for I did not doubt but many of the general officers would take this journey likewiſe: in effect, Joyeuſe was no ſooner ſet out, In Touraine.

1587. out, than his whole army, already badly diſciplined, lived without order and obedience.

The king of Navarre, who had ſecretly aſſembled twelve hundred men, which he had drawn out of his garriſons, fell ſo ſeaſonably upon the companies of Vic, of Bellemaniere, the marquis of Reſnel, Ronſey, and Pienne, and even upon that of the duke of Joyeuſe, that finding part of them in bed, and part at the table, he cut them all in pieces. He oftener than once alarmed the whole army, which was now under the command of Lavardin. He followed it to la Haye in Touraine, and found means to keep it, as it were, beſieged during four or five days. If on this occaſion he had had forces ſufficient to have enabled him to keep his poſt longer, it is my opinion, that hunger would have delivered the whole army into his power, the ſoldiers ſpreading themſelves over the villages, and neglecting their ſafety to get proviſions. We paſſed the river, and ſurprized them every moment.

Upon the confines of Poitou.

During this ſhort ſpace of time, we killed and took above ſix hundred men. With ſix horſe only, I went into a village full of ſoldiers; they were ſo accuſtomed to be beaten, that I ordered the arms of thoſe who were at the tables, and upon the beds, to be ſeized, and their matches to be put out, without their offering to repulſe us, although they were forty in number. I brought them to the king of Navarre, and they enliſted in his troops.

The count of Soiſſons *, who was diſcontented with the court, had long given the king of Navarre hopes, that he would come over to his party, and this prince neglected nothing that could keep him in this favourable diſpoſition. The negligence of the catholic army afforded them both the opportunity they waited for. The count of Soiſſons took the road towards the Loire, and the king of Navarre ſent all his troops to Roſiers to facilitate this prince's paſſage over the river. They ſerved him likewiſe to ſeize the baggage of the duke de Mercœur; the great convoy that eſcorted it, was attacked ſo ſuddenly near a bank, that they ſurrendered without ſtriking a blow, and the baggage, which was extremely rich, was entirely pillaged. My part of the

* Charles of Bourbon, fourth ſon of Lewis I. prince of Condé, who was ſlain at Jarnac, and brother to Henry I. prince of Condé, of Francis, prince of Conti, and the young cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, but by another mother, Frances d'Orleans de Longueville.

booty amounted to two thousand crowns. My brothers were no longer in this army; I had obtained a passport for them to leave la Haye. 1587.

This service was repaid by another of the same kind; they procured me a passport for Paris, whither a pressing occasion called me. At this time the persecution against the protestants was at its height. On which side soever they turned, inevitable ruin awaited them: in the villages, where every one became a soldier, in order to pillage, their houses could not secure them from the fury of their persecutors; and in Paris, and other great cities, they were exposed to rigorous searches, which the zeal of religion inspired, and the desire of being enriched by their spoils made but too severely executed. Princes will often see themselves subjected to misfortunes like these, while they know not how far their rights * and duties with regard to religion extend. They cannot punish with too much severity, a crime by which nature, society, or the laws, are wounded. A religion that is capable of authorizing such actions, becomes necessarily the object of all the rigour of their justice; and then only is religion subjected to the power of crowned heads; but their jurisdiction does not extend over consciences, in that precept that regards our love of God, the different comments of which form the difference of religions. The sovereign Lord of all reserves to himself whatever relates to speculation, and leaves to princes all that tends to destroy the common practice of it. Ignorance, or contempt of this maxim, was the cause of great misery to the protestants: those whose estates were large enough

* 'Tis true, it never has been demonstrated, that religion obliges sovereigns to persecute those who make profession of another faith, but this does not hinder the maxims which the duke of Sully establishes here from being very dangerous, in that they seem to discharge kings from that indispensable obligation they are under to preserve the true religion; an obligation which includes that of making the worship, and all the exterior practices of it, to be exactly observed; which is equally conformable to the principles of a wise politics, as to those of religion; a fatal experience having but too well shewn, that it is much more necessary to prevent all disputes upon matters of religion, than to silence them when they are begun. After the confession monsieur de Sully so often makes in his Memoirs of that spirit of revolt, and independence, which conducted all the steps of the calvinist party in France, it is strange he is not sensible that, according to his own maxims, this body deserved to suffer all the rigour of the law. This place, in my opinion, sufficiently justifies what I have said in the preface to this work, that it is more proper to relate all the author's sentiments in theology, than to suppress them. It is not possible to understand his meaning here upon the subject of charity. Obscurity is generally a proof of false principles, and weak reasoning.

1587. to admit of their living in Paris, chose that as the least dangerous way, because of the ease with which they could keep themselves unknown in a city so full of tumult and confusion.

My wife had retired thither some time, having used the precaution to take a borrowed name; to her was added, besides the common misfortunes, that of being far advanced in her pregnancy, during which she wanted all kinds of conveniencies. When I supposed she drew near her time, the apprehensions of what might happen to her in this condition, made me resolve to take a journey to Paris. I found her just delivered of a son, to whom I gave for godfather the lord of Rueres, then a prisoner in the goal of the parliament, and the child was carried from the baptismal font to church, by a citizen named Chaufaille and his wife; for the protestants did not cease to meet in churches, and hold assemblies, notwithstanding the severe informations that were made against them. At this very time, several women were burnt upon that occasion; the dangers I ran myself were extremely great, and I avoided them only by not being known, which was indeed an amazing instance of good fortune.

At last the number of spies increasing in all parts of the city, the search was so diligent that nothing could escape. I did not think it possible to stay any longer in Paris, without exposing myself to evident danger. I left it therefore alone, and in disguise, and fled to Villepreux; and from thence I took a bye-road to Rosny.

The duke of Joyeuse had been received in Paris with praises and acclamations, which ought to have made him blush in secret for not having deserved them. They did not, however, hinder him from being sensibly affected with the defeat of his army, of which he was soon informed. He endeavoured by all possible means to make satisfaction for this loss, which in the disposition the king was in with regard to him, was not a difficult task. His arrival had disconcerted all the secret practices of his enemies, and his favour * with Henry was risen to such a height, that he could refuse him nothing. All the courtiers attached themselves to him, and he set out again for

" * In his embassy to Rome, he was " treated as the king's brother: he had " a heart worthy of his great fortune. " One day having made the two secreta- " ries of state wait too long in the king's " anti-chamber, he excused himself by " resigning up to them a hundred thou- " sand crowns which the king had just " given him." Notes upon the Henriade.

Guyenne

Guyenne with the flower of the French nobility, while ſeveral other bodies of troops, taking ſeparate ways, aſſembled at the rendezvous he had appointed for them. 1587.

These different marches of the troops made the roads ſo dangerous, that I found no other means of returning to Rochelle, but by altering the date of my paſſport, which was expired. By this little fraud I got ſafe to the king of Navarre, whom I found employed in taking meaſures to prevent the dreadful ſtorm he ſaw ready to burſt upon him. He drew together all the ſoldiers he could find in Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, and ſent orders to the prince of Condé, the count of Soiſſons, meſſieurs de Turenne, de la Trémouille, and Rochefoucault, to join him with all the forces they had: yet, with all theſe ſupplies, his troops were greatly inferior to thoſe of the duke of Joyeuſe. They only ſerved to put him in a condition of opening a way through Guyenne, Languedoc, and the Lyonnois, towards the ſource of the Loire, where he depended upon meeting the German auxiliaries. He made uſe of all his endeavours to accompliſh this junction, before the troops of Joyeuſe were all joined. This prince, therefore, advanced with his army towards Montlieu, Montguyon, and la Roche-Chalais *, but always cloſely followed and watched by the enemy's general, who having penetrated into his deſign, thought he ought not to wait for the arrival of the marechal de Matignon, nor of ſeveral other regiments that were coming to join him, leſt he ſhould loſe an opportunity, which he might never be able to recover. His forces were already ſo much ſuperior to the king of Navarre's, that this reſolution could not be accuſed of raſhneſs and temerity; and the king, who never hazarded a dangerous action, but when obliged to it by neceſſity, inſtead of ſeeking the battle, thought of nothing but how to get the river between them, that he might purſue his march without oppoſition, and gain the Dordogne, upon which he had ſeveral ſtrong forts which might ſtop the enemy's purſuit.

With theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides, the king of Navarre arrived at the paſs of Chalais and Aubeterre. It was of great importance to him to gain Coutras †, a poſt that might favour this paſſage, and no leſs to Joyeuſe to hinder it. He ſent Lavardin to

* Cities upon the borders of Saintonge, of Guyenne, and Perigord, as were Chalais, and Aubeterre.

† Coutras, a city of Guyenne, upon the borders alſo of Perigord, at the confluence of the rivers of Lille and Droume.

1587. poſſeſs himſelf of it; but la Trémouille, being more diligent, prevented him, and maintained himſelf in it, after a very ſharp ſkirmiſh. The king of Navarre reſolved to take advantage of this poſt to attempt the paſs, and marched thither in the night, reſerving to himſelf the care of conducting the troops over, and left that of the baggage, particularly the artillery, to Clermont, Bois-du-Lys, Mignonville, and me. As it was neceſſary to make uſe of all poſſible diſpatch, we ſet ourſelves to work immediately, having the water up to our knees. One half was already got to the other ſide of the river, when the ſcouts, whom the king of Navarre had ſent during the night to make diſcoveries, returned with ſome priſoners they had taken, and informed us, that Joyeuſe having reſolved to force the king of Navarre to a battle, had marched all night, and would be up with him at furtheſt by ſeven or eight o'clock in the morning. This intelligence convinced the king that our labour was not only uſeleſs, but extremely dangerous, becauſe if found by the enemy employed in paſſing the river, that part of his troops which ſhould remain on this ſide of it muſt be inevitably defeated, as it could receive no aſſiſtance from the troops on the other. Thoſe who had already got over, were ordered to return immediately. Our labour was now redoubled, and to add to it, we loſt Mignonville *, for whom the king had occaſion. Although we were extremely weakened by the fatigue we had ſuffered, yet that did not hinder the king from pointing out to us an eminence, upon which he expreſſed a wiſh that his artillery could have been placed, but durſt not hope that we ſhould have time to gain it. In effect, we already diſcovered the enemy's van. Luckily Joyeuſe, who without doubt was not ſufficiently acquainted with the ground, or ſuffered himſelf to be too far tranſported by his ardour, had given orders for fixing his artillery in a place ſo low, that afterwards finding it would be uſeleſs, he cauſed it to be removed, and by that means gave us leiſure to place our own. It muſt be confeſſed, that this general, by ſome means or other, drew but little advantage from his artillery, and that this was one of the chief cauſes of his loſing the battle. This ſhews, that there is nothing more neceſſary for the general of an army, than an exact and piercing ſight, which ſhortens diſtances, and prevents confuſion. I never knew a general that poſſeſſed this quality in an equal degree with the king of Navarre †.

* Mignonville, who was ſlain ſoon after before Nonancour, when Henry IV. ſtormed that city. He was marechal de camp, and an excellent officer. Henry had a great number of ſubaltern officers of uncommon merit and abilities in his army; ſuch were Montgomery, Bellezuns, Montauſier, Vaudoré, des Ageaux, Favas, whom the hiſtorians, ... this battle, have mentioned with honour.

† Le Grain makes him pronounce this military harangue to his ſoldiers, "My

THE

1587.

The * battle was already begun, before our artillery, which consisted only of three pieces of cannon, was fixed, and we had soon occasion for it. The troops in monsieur de Turenne's quarter behaved very ill; that of la Trémouille was forced the first shock, which was beginning to throw the whole army into disorder. The catholics cried out victory; and indeed they wanted but little of being victorious; but at the same moment our artillery began to play, and so terrible † was the fire, that every discharge carried away twelve, fifteen, and sometimes five and twenty men. It put a stop immediately to the impetuosity of the enemies, and reduced them to such an extremity, that seeking to avoid the fire, they dispersed, and offered only a disorderly and ill-sustained body to the efforts of the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the count of Soissons, who scoured the field at the head of three squadrons. These three princes ‡ performed prodigies of valour in this battle; they overthrew all that opposed them, and striding over the bodies of the dead to meet new dangers, their arms were all batter'd with blows. The face of things was changed in an instant, and the death of the catholic general ‖ gave the protestants a complete victory.

" friends, behold here a prey much more " considerable than any of your former " booties; it is a bridegroom, who has " still the nuptial portion in his pocket, " and all the chief courtiers with him." Dec. of Henry the Great, book iv.

* It began the 20th of October, at nine o'clock in the morning, and was ended at ten. The victory was complete, five thousand of the enemy were left dead upon the place, and five hundred taken prisoners. In the king of Navarre's army, there were but very few soldiers slain, and not one prisoner of distinction. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Mem. of du Plessis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 533. Father Daniel, in his history of France, vol. IX. 4to. gives an exact description of the battle of Coutras. I could have wished to have transcribed the whole article here.

† The first fire of the artillery, says " le Grain, carried off seven captains of " the regiment of Picardy, the best and " most warlike in the duke's army." Book iv.

‡ All I shall say to you," said the king of Navarre to them " is, that you " are of the house of Bourbon, and, please " God, I will shew you, that I am your " eldest brother."

His valour was that day far superior to all the others. He wore a plume of white feathers on his helmet, to make himself remarkable. Some of his friends throwing themselves before him, to defend and cover his person, he cried, " Give me room, I " beseech you; you stifle me; I would " be seen." He forced the first ranks of the enemy, took several prisoners with his own hand, and cleaved an officer named Château Regnard, cornet of a company of foot, saying, Yield thee, Philistine. Perefixe, ibid.

‖ Slain in cold blood, by la Mo[illegible] St. Henry; others say, by two captains of [illegible], named Bordeaux, and Defenticux.

As

1587. As ſoon as I beheld the enemy fly, I abandoned the cannon, which were now uſeleſs, and mounting a horſe which Bois-breuil kept ready for me behind the artillery, I flew to learn tidings of my brothers, and I had the conſolation to hear, that neither of them had been in the battle. I met the king of Navarre buſy in diſperſing * the fugitives, and completing his victory, which he did, not thinking himſelf ſecure while there remained any to oppoſe him. The bodies of Joyeuſe and St. Sauveur † his brother, were drawn from beneath a heap of carcaſes, and laid upon a table in the hall of the caſtle of Coutras, and a coarſe ſheet thrown over them ‡.

* Some perſons ſeeing the fugitives halt, came and told him, that the marechal de Matignon's army was in ſight: he received thoſe tidings as a new ſubject of glory, and turning courageouſly to his men, Let us go, my friends, ſaid he: two battles in one day, is what has never before been ſeen. Pereſixe, ibid.

† Claude de Joyeuſe, the youngeſt of ſeven ſons of William duke of Joyeuſe.

‡ The following is an anecdote, the truth of which I cannot anſwer for. However, the reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee it here; I met with it in the Memoirs of Amelot de la Houſſaye, vol. II. p. 443. who relates it as drawn from the hiſtory of the lords of Enghien, by Colins. This author ſpeaks thus, "The king of Navarre gained the victory, to the great "ſatisfaction of the king of France, who "ſecretly correſponded with the victori-"ous army, through the faithful interpo-"ſition of the marquis of Roſny, of the "houſe of Bethune, now duke of Sully, "who remained unknown at Paris." This author ſeems to have been acquainted with the duke of Sully's ſecret negotiations with Henry III. already mentioned; but he is miſtaken in this, that theſe negotiations produced no effect, ſince the duke of Joyeuſe was ſtill highly favoured by this prince, at leaſt if we may believe monſieur de Sully, who ought to know better than any other: And that Sully could not be at Paris, becauſe he was at the battle; and that even the laſt journey he took there, ſome time before, had no other motive than the deſire of ſeeing and aſſiſting his wife.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK III.

THAT the proteſtant party might have derived great advantages from the victory of Coutras, and that they did not, is equally true. I am ſincere enough to confeſs, that the king of Navarre did not, upon this occaſion, do all he might with a victorious army, and maſter of the field: if he had advanced to meet the foreign auxiliaries, nothing could have prevented their junction; and, after a ſtroke ſo important, his party would have at leaſt been equal to the catholics. 'Tis certain, that the true value of a moment is never known, the wiſeſt are deceived *. The ambitious deſigns, and ſelf-intereſted views of the ſeveral leaders in the victorious army, ſnatched from the king of Navarre the fruits of his victory; but this is a truth few people are acquainted with. 1587.

THE prince of Condé being ſeduced by the advice of Trémouille, thought the time was now come, when he could execute the bold

* Our beſt hiſtorians agree in theſe two things, that the king of Navarre knew not how to take advantage of his victory, and that he did not do all he might have done. D'Aubigné is almoſt the only perſon who exculpates this prince's officers, and lays the blame wholly upon him. Vol. III. b. i. c. xv.

ſcheme

1587. ſcheme he had long before meditated, which was to diſmember the crown of France of Anjou, Poitou, the countries of Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, to compoſe of them an independent ſovereignty. With this view, he haſtily withdrew the troops he had brought to the general army, and turned all his thoughts to the reduction of Saintes and Brouage, which he flattered himſelf he ſhould be maſter of at the firſt alarm; and that afterwards, nothing would be able to oppoſe him. So true it is, that ambition reſembles that bird in the fable, who has a ſtrong wing, and an inſatiable hunger *.

* The duke of Sully does not agree here with d'Aubigné, du Pleſſis Mornay, and the author of the life of the duke of Bouillon; it is probable he had better memoirs than them all, with regard to the deſign he attributes to the prince and the duke on this occaſion; but I am afraid, there was ſome prejudice and paſſion on his ſide. In my opinion, monſieur de Thou is better able than any other perſon to decide this queſtion: ſpeaking of the conſequences of the battle of Coutras, he ſays, that a council being aſſembled to deliberate upon what meaſures were neceſſary to be taken, the prince of Condé propoſed, that they ſhould go to meet the foreign troops along the ſide of the Loire, and ſecure them a paſſage over this river, by ſeizing Saumur; that this advice was not followed, for reaſons which he relates, and which are very bad; and it was agreed only, that the prince of Condé ſhould go, with what troops they could ſpare him, to join to the German army towards the ſource of the Loire, taking his way thro' the heart of Angoumois and Limoſin. That the king of Navarre, on his ſide, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by the greateſt part of the nobility of Poitou and Saintonge, marched towards St. Foi in Agenois, from whence he took the rout to Pau, leaving the conduct of his little army to the viſcount de Turenne; who not willing to let the ſoldiers be idle, beſieged Sarlat in Perigord, deſigning at leaſt to lay it under contribution, if he could not take it. This is what de Thou ſays, to which may be added, a very important circumſtance, and at the ſame time a very true one, ſince neither the duke of Bouillon, nor his apologiſts, could contradict it: which is, that it was the viſcount himſelf who rejected the prince of Conde's prudent advice. From all this it follows, that the prince of Conde was not guilty of what he is here accuſed of, which is further confirmed by d'Aubigné, who adds, that it was upon a promiſe the king of Navarre made him to join him ſoon, that he advanced to Angoumois, where he waited a long time to no purpoſe. The prince, however, is not cleared of having had likewiſe views of independence, of which no hiſtorian doubts.

Although the viſcount Turenne appears to have acted upon this occaſion in conſequence of the reſolution of a general council; yet, in my opinion, we are not the leſs authorized to think diſadvantageouſly of him. It is bad reaſoning in Marſolier to grant on one ſide, that he was inſtigated by his ambition to wicked deſigns, and on the other ſide to complain, that thoſe deſigns are ſuppoſed the motives of his conduct. This is to deſtroy the idea he would give us of the duke of Bouillon, as of the greateſt politician of his time. Theſe raſh judgments are condemned by religion, but are allowed by the laws of hiſtory; and political conjectures are often reduced to this foundation alone.

As for what has been ſaid in the ſame place againſt the count of Soiſſons, it is, and will be ſtill more ſupported hereafter by unanſwerable proofs. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Memoirs du Pleſſis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. chap. xv. Marſolier's Hiſtory of Henry duke of Bouillon, vol. I. book iii.

The

1587.

The viſcount Turenne having the ſame deſigns upon the Limoſin, and Perigord, where he already poſſeſſed great eſtates, purſued the ſame conduct with the prince of Condé; and obliging all his troops (which alone compoſed one third of the army) to follow him, led them to the ſiege of Sarlat, ſoothing them with hopes that this expedition would enrich even the meaneſt ſoldier. He fully juſtified the proverb, that great promiſers perform the leaſt: the check he received before this little paltry town, ought to have convinced him in time of the vanity of his pretenſions. The viſcount had no one to accuſe but himſelf for this misfortune; as for the king of Navarre, he had acted quite contrary to his advice.

The count of Soiſſons concealed his deſigns with more art; however, it is certain, that his new attachment to the king of Navarre was not ſincere, and that it was intereſt alone which induced him to it. He had gained the heart of the princeſs Catherine, the king's ſiſter, and he was continually expreſſing to this prince, the earneſt deſire he had of uniting himſelf more cloſely to him by marriage; but this deſign concealed another too ſhameful for him to ſuffer to appear. His pretenſions by this marriage were, to ſubſtitute himſelf in the place of the king of Navarre; and as he ſaw no probability that this prince, having the pope, Spain, and the French catholics for his enemies, ſhould ever accompliſh his deſigns, he depended upon enriching himſelf with his ſpoils, and upon gaining, at leaſt, the great eſtates which make up the apenage of the houſe of Albret on this ſide the Loire. Such being his intentions, he took care neither to aſſiſt him with his advice, or his arm, to puſh his laſt victory further; on the contrary, he ſeized that moment to preſs him ſo earneſtly to allow him to go to Bearn to viſit the princeſs his ſiſter, that the king, ſeeing himſelf in a more deſtitute condition than if he had loſt the battle, thought he was obliged, in gratitude for the aſſiſtance the count had given him, to grant him this ſatisfaction. He himſelf was alſo dragged thither (and the count was not ignorant of it) by a paſſion which had always been the weakneſs of this prince. Love called him back to the counteſs of Guiche, to lay at her feet the colours he had taken from the enemy, which he had cauſed to be ſet apart for that purpoſe.

Accordingly they took the road together to Bearn. Happily this unſeaſonable journey did not produce all the diſadvantages that might have been reaſonably expected from it: it was ſo far of uſe

1587. to the king of Navarre, as to give him a more perfect knowledge of the perſon on whom he was going to beſtow his ſiſter. The count of Soiſſons could not ſo well diſſemble his ſentiments, but that the king gueſſed at ſome part of them; and a letter, which he received from Paris, fully revealed them. By this letter he was informed, that the count of Soiſſons had taken this ſtep purely at the inſtigation of the eccleſiaſtics, who had fallen upon this ſtratagem to deprive him of all his poſſeſſions: that the count had ſolemnly ſworn to them, as ſoon as he had married the princeſs, he would bring her with him to Paris, and abandon for ever the party of his benefactor, and afterwards concert meaſures with them to finiſh the reſt. The king of Navarre received this letter at his return from hunting, when he was juſt ready to fall into the ſnare that was laid for him; and it gave him an averſion to the count, which nothing was ever able to remove. He broke with him, and regretted too late, that he had abandoned himſelf to his advice.

I had not the mortification of being a witneſs to all theſe reſolutions which were taken after the battle of Coutras, and which I ſhould in vain have oppoſed. Some days before theſe extravagant and ſenſeleſs ſchemes had poſſeſſed the minds of the principal officers in our army, the king of Navarre took me aſide, in a garden, and aſked my opinion concerning the condition into which this laſt action had put his affairs. I told him, that I thought it neceſſary he ſhould march immediately with all his force towards the ſource of the Loire, to receive the foreign ſupplies, or, what would anſwer the ſame end, to facilitate their paſſage, by taking poſſeſſion of all the towns on this ſide of the river; and which, except Poitiers and Angoulême, which he might leave, ſeemed not difficult to be won. By this means he would at leaſt ſecure to himſelf the fineſt and beſt provinces, from whence he could not be driven in a ſhort time, nor by very inconſiderable forces.

Lewis de Hariai, lord of Montglat.

The king of Navarre approved of this advice, and appeared reſolved to follow it exactly. He told me, that he had juſt ſent Montglat to the foreign army, and that ſince he could not go to put himſelf at the head of it, he ardently wiſhed the prince of Conti * would accept of that charge; having received letters from this prince, in which he offered to aſſiſt him in perſon: and he added that, under

* Frances de Bourbon, prince of Conti, ſecond ſon to Lewis I. prince of Condé, and Eleanora de Roye. He died in 1614, leaving no children by his two marriages.

pretence

pretence of going to the royal army, the prince of Conti might join the auxiliaries without danger. The king then left to me the care of prevailing upon the prince to take this ſtep, and recommended to me to uſe all my endeavours to ſecure the ſucceſs of it. 1587.

I set out from the army, charged only with a letter of three lines, and ſending my equipage to Pons, paſſed through Maine; where I expected to have found the prince, by means of the acquaintance I had with the governors of thoſe places through which he muſt paſs. I learnt, at my arrival, that the prince of Conti ſet out by himſelf two days before: and had not ſo well concealed his march, but that his intelligence with the foreigners was ſuſpected, which was the cauſe that the roads were filled with the detachments which were ſent after him; and therefore I was obliged to take a circuit, in order to join him, and to paſs by Roſny; from whence coming to Neauſle, I was there informed of what had happened. The Germans entering without order, and without guides, into provinces unknown, ſtopped by large rivers, harraſſed continually by the troops of the league, had at length been totally defeated at Auneau *: that the Swiſs, to avoid the like misfortune, had enliſted, to the number of twelve thouſand, in the troops of the league: that the king of Navarre was at Bearn, his forces unemployed, and diſperſed on all ſides.

This mournful news ſtopped my journey, and rendered my commiſſion uſeleſs. Nothing now remained for me to do, but to turn back to Roſny; where, while I ſecretly deplored the fatal conſequences of our bad conduct, I feigned, for my ſecurity, to take part in the public rejoicings, for the defeat at Auneau. I viſited my eſtates in Normandy; and while I was expecting thoſe remedies, which time,

* See a detail of this in de Thou, book lxxxvii. D'Aubigne, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 537. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. p. 39. and particularly the Memoirs of the league, vol. I. where it is obſerved, that at the time this army was encamped near the river Yonne, Montglat came from the king of Navarre, to deſire the commanders of it would march towards the ſource of the Loire, where he would put himſelf at their head; but they did not think proper to do ſo. The leaders were, the baron d'Onau, or Dona, Guitry, Clervant, Beauvois la-Nocle, &c. If they had obeyed this order, the king of Navarre, then returning from Bearn, would have had time to join them with all his troops, and the army would not have been defeated. Davila, in his eighth book, relates the duke of Guiſe's reply to the duke of Maienne, who was terrible at the danger of attacking an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number: "Thoſe, ſaid he, "that do not care to fight, may ſtay "here. What I cannot reſolve upon in "half an hour, I never reſolve on my "whole life."

1588. and the king of Navarre's return might bring to our calamities, I learnt that this prince had left Bearn, and I went to join him at Bergerac, where the news of the taking of Caſtillon conſoled him a little, amidſt ſo many cauſes for affliction. The ſiege of this place had coſt the duke of Maïenne a million of crowns, and the viſcount Turenne retook it for leſs than two.

Upon the Dordogne.

By means of a ladder of cords.

A LITTLE time afterwards, we were informed of two accidents that were likely enough to change the face of affairs; one was the death of the prince of Condé *, a death as ſudden as tragical: the impriſonment of ſome of his chief attendants, and the puniſhment of one of his domeſtics †, who was torn to pieces by four horſes, left no room to doubt that he died by poiſon. The news of the populace riſing ‡ at Paris, and barricading the ſtreets, and of the king's depar-

Thurſday May 12.

* Notwithſtanding the ſecret jealouſy that ſubſiſted between the prince of Condé and the king of Navarre, yet the king was extremely afflicted for his loſs, and ſhutting himſelf up in his cabinet with the count of Soiſſons, he was heard to ſend forth great cries, and to ſay, "That he "had loſt his right hand." Perefixe, Hiſtory of Henry the great, part I. This prince was called Henry, and was ſon to Lewis of Bourbon, firſt prince of Condé. He had no children by his firſt wife; after whom he married Charlotte Catherine de la Trémouille, whom at his death he left three months gone with child. It is a great error which was ſpread among the people, that Henry of Condé, the twelfth of that name, was born thirteen months after the death of his father. He was born the 1ſt of September following.

† The name of this domeſtic was Brillant. One of his pages was executed in effigy. The princeſs herſelf was comprehended in this accuſation. René Cumont, the lieutenant-particulier of St. Jean, commenced a proceſs againſt her, which was ſuſpended on account of the birth of Henry II. prince of Condé. After ſix years impriſonment, the princeſs preſented a petition to the parliament of Paris, who brought this affair before their tribunal, and acquitted Charlotte Catherine de la Trémouille of the crime of which ſhe was accuſed. The prince of Condé died at St. John d'Angely, March the 5th, 1588, aged thirty-five years. De Thou, book xc. Moriſot, I know not upon what authority, ſays, that the death of the prince of Conde might be occaſioned by a wound he received in his ſide, by a lance, at the battle of Coutras. Henry Magn. cap. xii. p. 27.

‡ I ſhall not give a detail of it here, as it would be too long, and may beſides be found in a great many other books. It is ſufficient to ſay, that Henry III. to prevent the dangerous deſigns of the league, having ordered about ſix thouſand troops, the moſt part Swiſs, to enter Paris, and ſpreading them in different quarters of the city, the people roſe, and being kept together by ſome of the chiefs of the league, fortified themſelves in the ſtreets, repulſed the ſoldiers, diſarmed the Swiſs, defeated the king's guards, and carried the barricades within fifty paces of the Louvre, &c. Henry III. ſeeing himſelf ready to be beſieged in the Louvre, and not willing to expoſe himſelf to the violence of an enraged populace, went out privately by the Tuileries, and the ſuburb Mantmantre, from whence he got to Chartres. The affair was afterwards turned into a negotiation, between the queen-mother, and the duke of Guiſe, and the abſolute deciſion of it remitted to the ſtates of Blois.

I obſerve, after d'Aubigne, that it was ture

ture from that city, followed ſoon after, and was ſpread every where by the courier, who was ſent with an account of it to the duke of Epernon. To this abject condition a king ſaw himſelf reduced, who neither knew how to prevent, to ſtifle, or to divide factions, who amuſed himſelf with conjecturing, when he ought to have acted, who exerted neither prudence nor fortitude, nor was even acquainted with the characters of thoſe whom he commanded, nor thoſe that were 1588.

very fortunate for Henry III. that his troops ſeized and kept poſſeſſion of the ſuburb St. Honore, and the back of the Tuilleries; and that no one of the league thought of ſeizing theſe quarters. Thoſe who guarded the gate of Neſle, fired at a diſtance upon the king's troop, and ſeeing the ferry-boat of the Tuilleries approach, in which they ſuppoſed the king to be, cut the cable. Chronol. Noven. tom. I.

Henry III. was on his ſide guilty of a much greater fault, in forbidding Grillon, colonel of the French guards, to take poſſeſſion of the ſquare Maubert, and the quarter of the univerſity, and by hindering his ſoldiers from firing upon the populace; who, by a ſtep more firm and ſeaſonable, might have been retained in their duty. The duke of Guiſe waited ſix whole days at Soiſſons, not daring to come to Paris, contrary to the king's orders, which were ſignified to him by Bellievre, in two letters that he ſent him at different times by the poſt. They were to blame, as Matthieu the hiſtorian alſo obſerves, vol. I. book viii. for not ſending theſe letters by an expreſs to the duke of Guiſe; for the duke imagined, that he might elude this order, by denying he had received the letters, as in effect he did at the queen's palace, in the preſence of the king and Bellievre, to whom he proteſted, with deep oaths, that they were never delivered to him. This fault was not committed thro' negligence, but becauſe they had not five and twenty crowns to ſpare to pay the courier for his journey.

Henry III. was adviſed by the duke of Epernon, to ſuffer his guards to aſſaſſinate the duke of Guiſe as he came to the Louvre; and this prince, they ſay, would have engaged la Gueſle and Villequier in the deſign, but they diſſuaded him from it.

It is reported alſo, that the ſame day, wherein the ſtreets were barricaded, Alphonſo d'Ornano aſſured him, he would bring him the head of the duke of Guiſe, if he would permit him. In a word, it is thought, that the king did not make uſe of half the precautions he might have done, informed as he was of all the deſigns of the league, having himſelf narrowly miſſed being taken as he was going to Vincennes; and had juſt been convinced by what had happened at the impriſonment of la Morliere, a famous leaguer, that the people only waited for an opportunity of inſulting him. The king's council acted without compariſon better in that affair of la Morliere, than on the day of the barricades. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Satyr. Menip.

The duke's deſign in this enterprize has given riſe to great diſputes, which I cannot here enter into a detail of; in this, as in all other dubious matters, much has been ſaid pro and con. Thoſe who will have it, that he intended to carry, or ſuffer the people to carry things to an extremity, to ſeize the king's perſon, in a word, to put the crown upon his own head, ſupport their aſſertions by ſome writings of great conſequence, to which I am obliged to refer the reader. See the firſt vol. of the Memoirs of the league, and the vol. marked 8866, in the king's library: the chief of which are, A letter written to him by the ducheſs of Lorrain, after the victory of Auneau, in which ſhe adviſes him to make uſe of the preſent opportunity to declare himſelf king, &c. A letter written by the duke himſelf the next day after the fortifications in the ſtreets of Paris, to the governor of Orleans, wherein are theſe words, "I have vanquiſhed the Swiſs, cut in "pieces part of the king's guards, and neareſt

1588. neareſt his perſon. The revolutions which happen in great ſtates, are not produced by chance, or the caprice of the people; 'tis a weak and diſorderly government that cauſes rebellions, for the populace never riſe through a deſire of attacking, but an impatience of ſuffering.

" hold the Louvre ſo cloſely inveſted, that " I ſhall be able to give a good account of " thoſe that are within. This victory is ſo " great, that it will never be forgot," &c. Many other letters, in which he mentions the king very diſreſpectfully, and the princes of the blood with the utmoſt contempt; to this they add, the diſcontent the duke diſcovered, and the reproaches he made the queen-mother, for having amuſed him with conferences, while his prey eſcaped him. In fine, the writings that were, ſay they, publiſhed by his commands; wherein was attempted to be proved, the pretended right the houſe of Lorrain had to the crown, not to mention an infinite number of other pieces, which were indeed but ſo many ſatirical libels againſt Francis duke of Guiſe, reproaching him with having attempted to aſſert his chimerical claims upon Anjou and Provence; and the cardinal his brother, with endeavouring to make himſelf ſovereign of Metz, under the protection of the emperor, a project which the vigilance of Salcede prevented the execution of; but he loſt his head for it: and for having treated about religion with the king of Spain, at the council of Trent, without his maſter's participation. The greateſt part of theſe writings are ſtill in every body's hands.

For the duke's juſtification they bring thoſe arguments made uſe of by himſelf in a letter, or a ſort of manifeſto, which he drew up the ſame day, being the 13th of May. He there declares, that the report of the king's intention to fill the city with foreigners, and to fall upon the citizens with them, was the true cauſe of the populace riſing; that, inſtead of ſupporting them, he had made uſe of his utmoſt endeavours, till two hours after midnight, to calm the tumult; that he had preſerved the Swiſs, and prevented the maſſacre; that he had intreated the rebels to reſpect the royal authority; and that, far from attempting any thing againſt the king's perſon, " I " might, ſaid he, have ſtopped him a " thouſand times, if I had been inclined " to do ſo," &c. Add to this, that in treating with the queen-mother, he required nothing but the deſtruction of the proteſtants, and that religion ſhould be ſecured; and declared likewiſe, that it was not in his own name he treated, but in that of the cardinal of Bourbon, whoſe intereſts he ſupported againſt thoſe of the king of Navarre, and the other princes of the blood.

I do not find it ſufficiently proved againſt the duke of Guiſe, that his deſign was to place himſelf upon the throne, after the death of Henry III. and the cardinal of Bourbon; and this is very extraordinary. What ambitious man, and in his place, could have reſiſted the ſuggeſtions of the pope, the king of Spain, and a great part of Europe, who all conſpired for his elevation? See the duke of Parma's opinion of this event, Davila, book ix. " The duke of " Guiſe made ſhew of doing too much, " and in reality did too little: he ought " to have remembered, that whoever " draws his ſword againſt his prince, ought " to have that inſtant thrown away the ſcab- " bard." Sixtus V. when he received the " news, cried out, " Oh that preſumptuous " duke, and that weak king." " The earl " of Stafford, ambaſſador from England, (I relate this anecdote in the words of le Grain, book iv.) " being adviſed to take a " ſafe-conduct from the duke of Guiſe, I " will have no other ſecurity, ſaid he, " than the law of nations, and the pro- " tection of the king to whom I am ſent, " whoſe ſervants and ſubjects you and the " duke of Guiſe both are." The firſt preſident de Harlay anſwered the duke of Guiſe with the ſame firmneſs, That in the king's abſence, he would take his orders from the queen-mother.

There is one piece upon the different conduct of the league and court, before and after the mutiny in Paris, that deſerves to

The

1588.

The juſt reſentment that filled the heart of the king of Navarre, for an inſult ſo cruel, offered to one of his own blood, and which, in ſome degree, reflected a diſgrace upon all crowned heads, effaced in a moment the remembrance of Henry III's injurious treatment of himſelf. He declared his affliction at it in his council, who all with one voice approved of his reſolution to aſſiſt and defend the king of France; and he ſent his ſecretary immediately to this prince, to aſſure him, that he might diſpoſe of his perſon and troops.

The count of Soiſſons, whoſe mind was engroſſed by perpetual chimeras, looked upon this event as a ſtroke of fortune, which by ridding him of all his rivals, would give him the chief ſway in the council, and court of Henry III. Changing therefore his battery in an inſtant, he reſolved to go and offer his ſervice to this prince; and to give himſelf more conſequence with him, he ſought dependents in the court of the king of Navarre, and from amongſt his moſt affectionate ſervants, whoſe fidelity he did not ſcruple upon this occaſion to tempt. The king of Navarre, though he was pretty ſenſible of all the baſeneſs of this conduct, diſſembled his ſentiments of it; and reflecting that it would be of me to him to have ſome perſon with the count of Soiſſons, in whom he could confide, to watch all his motions, and ſtudy the new ſyſtem he purſued at court; he commanded me to give ear to this prince's diſcourſe, and to affect a zeal for him that I was very far from feeling. The count of Soiſſons ſuffered himſelf to be eaſily deceived; he congratulated himſelf for having gained me, and treated me with a diſtinction that did not fail to raiſe me ſome enemies, who envied me the ſhare I poſſeſſed of his favour. I accompanied him in his journey, after having received inſtructions from the king of Navarre, and concerted with him thoſe meaſures which his ſervice required me to take upon this occaſion.

During our whole journey, the count continually entertained me with the favour, the magnificence, and the honours that waited him at court. The king of Navarre, he thought, would not even attempt to rival him: amidſt all the ſtrokes of vanity, and inſupportable

be read, and is entitled, The Verbal Proceſs of Nicolas Poulain, the mayor of Paris, upon the league, from 1585 to 1588. This Nicolas Poulain, who ſecretly favoured the king's party, often gave good advice in this affair, which was never followed. This piece of ſecret hiſtory is to be found in the firſt vol. of the Journal of Henry III's reign, p. 132, and following.

pride

1588. pride which escaped him, there mingled, without his perceiving it, a kind of bitterness against the king of Navarre, that sufficiently discovered the hatred and antipathy he bore him. I could neither submit to flatter his inclinations, nor to approve of his ridiculous schemes; and all my answer was, that I foresaw the disunion of the royal family, which had been already the cause of so many misfortunes, would bring France at last under the power of the house of Austria, after it had made them destroy each other. A discourse more soothing would have been more to his taste; but mine, however, seemed to bear the marks of a sincere attachment to him, which could not fail of pleasing.

We arrived at Nogent-le-Rotrou, and afterwards at Mante, where the king of France was. We found him in that restless and unquiet disposition of mind, which a violent resentment occasions, and filled with confusion for the affront he had so lately suffered. Notwithstanding all this, he was so incapable of taking the advantage of the change in his affairs*, that even at that very time he made the duke of Epernon admiral, and soon after gave him the government of Normandy, vacant by the death of the marechal Joyeuse. The count of Soissons was received in a manner so different from what he expected, that there needed no more to convince him of the folly of his great projects. The king addressing himself to me, asked me if I had quitted the king of Navarre's party? I evaded this perplexing question, by telling him, that in coming to offer my service to his majesty, I did not think myself separated from the king of Navarre, because I was assured, that that prince, whose interests were the same with his, would in a little time do the like. I found this answer did not displease the king; but being surrounded, and carefully observed by persons, on whose countenances it was easy to read the uneasiness which my discourse gave them, he concealed his sentiments. The weakness of this prince was indeed incomprehensible: his real enemies could not be unknown to him, after the audacious manner

* It is believed, that if Henry III. had acted with more prudence and steadiness, he would have been still able to retrieve his affairs. It is certain, that the Parisians, in great consternation at his leaving Paris, sent deputies to him at Chartres, to intreat him with every kind of submission to return to that city; and to render this deputation more affecting, they made the capuchins walk in procession, and enter the cathedral with the instruments of the passion, crying *Misericordia*. The king received them with that air of majesty and authority necessary upon this occasion. He shewed great favour to the deputies from the parliament, which had not been any ways concerned in the affair of the barricades; the others he threatened with a resolution never again to enter Paris, and to deprive it of its charters, and sovereign courts; at which they were so greatly alarmed, that the duke of Guise was obliged to exert all his art and credit to pacify them.

in

in which they had ſo lately taken off the maſque; but ſtill feigning ignorance, he again delivered himſelf up to the queen-mother *, and through her to his perſecutors, with whom ſhe reconciled him. Perhaps, however, this laſt ſtep was in this prince but a ſtroke of the moſt profound diſſimulation; for the bold † action he committed 1588.

* In the circular letter that Henry III. ſent into the provinces, after the action of the barricades, and which began thus, "Dear and well beloved, you have, as "we ſuppoſe, heard the reaſons that in-"duced us to leave our city of Paris, the "13th of this month," &c. This prince ſpeaks more like a ſupplicant than a king; he defends his deſign of introducing a foreign garriſon in Paris, and doubts of the fidelity of the Pariſians. He gives a falſe and bad colour to his flight, and declares that he is ready to begin the war againſt the huguenots, at the head of the league. MS. of the royal library, number 8866, 8891.

The author means the conferences which the queen-mother held, by this prince's command, with the cardinal of Bourbon and the duke of Guiſe; to which were alſo admitted, as I find in vol. 8906, of the manuſcripts in the royal library, the lords de Lanſac, Lenoncourt, Des-Chateillers, and Miron, firſt phyſician to his majeſty, who had been employed in carrying meſſages between the two parties on the day of the barricades. Theſe conferences were held at Chalons, at Sarry, a houſe belonging to the biſhop of Chalons, at Nemours, &c. The league made moſt extravagant demands there, ſuch as the entire abolition of the pretended reformed religion, the diſmiſſion of all the calviniſt officers, even if they abjured; the publication of the council of Trent, the inquiſition, &c. and at laſt obtained all they demanded by the edict of July 21, which was given in conſequence of thoſe conferences. Memoirs of the league, vol. I. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. Chron. Noven. vol. I. and others.

† The death of the two brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guiſe, whom this prince caused to be murdered in his own apartments, by his guards, the 23d of Dec. at Blois, where he held the ſtates. See this murder in the ſame hiſtorians, with a relation of the proceedings and intrigues of both parties in the ſtates of Blois. The cardinal of Bourbon was kept priſoner, the other brothers of the duke of Guiſe fled.

The duke of Guiſe periſhed as the admiral Coligny did; preſumption hindered them both from fearing the danger with which they were threatened. The duke heeded none of the warnings that were given him; it is ſaid, that the marchioneſs of Noirmoûtier, the ſame lady who made ſo much noiſe under the name of madam de Sauves, came on purpoſe to paſs the night with him; and neither by arguments or intreaties, could hinder him from going the next day to the council.

Some perſons took upon them to juſtify Henry III. for this action, among others the cardinal de Joyeuſe, in a long memorial upon this ſubject, which he ſent from Rome, where he then was. Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175. But the moſt judicious of our hiſtorians, and even thoſe who have carried the privilege of the royal authority furtheſt, all deteſt it. "The ſhocking circumſtances of "the murder of the Guiſes," ſays Perefixe, "appeared horrible, even in the "eyes of the huguenots, who ſaid, that "it too much reſembled the maſſacre of "St. Bartholomew." On the other ſide it cannot be denied, that Henry III. had no other way of preſerving the crown in his houſe, and perhaps on his own head; for there is not the leaſt probability in what Villeroy aſſerts in his Memoirs, vol. I. p. 25. that the king, without taking that courſe, might have made himſelf maſter of the deliberations of the ſtates of Blois, and have obliged them to comply with his will.

1589. againſt the ſtates of Blois, gives us room to believe, that his revenge was never one moment out of his thoughts: and if one might form any judgment of this aſſembly, in all appearance, every individual that compoſed it, had each a ſecret object in view, to which all their deſigns tended, and which ſucceſs diſcovered in ſome, and diſappointment concealed in others.

The death of Catherine de Medicis, which happened ſoon after * the aſſaſſination of the duke of Guiſe; did not afford Henry III. more

In this alternative one cannot help lamenting the conſequences of bad conduct in a prince, which reduces him to ſuch a ſad neceſſity. He was himſelf a fatal example of this truth, that he who ſtrikes with a knife, ſhall periſh by a knife.

The duke of Guiſe was almoſt adored by the catholics, eſpecially the people, who called him always, *Our great man.* He had a ſcar on the left cheek, below his eye, which only ſerved to make him more reſpected, becauſe he received it fighting againſt the huguenots, at the battle of Chateau-Thierry, by a piſtol-ſhot from a German trooper. He was, on the contrary, ſo hated by his own family, whom he treated with an inſupportable inſolence, and ſeverity, that we are aſſured his relations, and even his own brothers, through fear of falling under the power of a tyrant, were the perſons that ſent Henry III. the moſt certain intelligence of his actions and deſigns; an intelligence which was ſuſpected by the prince, as that given to the duke by many of the courtiers concerning the king's violent reſolution againſt him, was by him; for they both imagined from thence that the deſign was to prevail upon them to quit the party, and break with the ſtates of Blois, in which each of them would have found his account. Henry III. at firſt deſigned only to arreſt the duke of Guiſe, but he found it would be dangerous, and ſtill more to make him priſoner; therefore he determined to have him poignarded. Both the bodies were conſumed in a fire, the bones burnt in a low hall of the caſtle, and the aſhes thrown into the air.

The king of Navarre, who had no hand in this aſſaſſination, was the perſon that gained moſt by it. In all appearance, while the duke of Guiſe lived, he would never have obtained the crown. We are aſſured alſo, that there were then great deſigns formed between France and Spain, not only to extirpate the proteſtant party, but even to dethrone Elizabeth, which the event of the barricades, followed by the death of the duke of Guiſe, was only able to hinder the execution of. The king of Navarre lamented the fate of the duke of Guiſe, without blaming Henry III. "I always, "ſaid he, foreſaw, and ſaid, that meſ- "ſieurs de Guiſe would never undertake "the enterprize they had conceived, and "bring it to an iſſue, without endanger- "ing their lives." Cayet, vol. I. fol. 114. Several other perſons were of the ſame opinion. "Curſed be Lorrain," ſaid Hubert de Vins, in the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, "for his ſtupidity in ſuppoſing, that "a king, whoſe crown he was attempt- "ing to take away by diſſimulation, would "not likewiſe diſſemble with him, to take "away his life." "Since they are ſo near "each other," ſaid madam de Fourbin, the ſiſter of de Vins, "we ſhall hear the very "firſt day, either one or the other has "ſlain his companion."

The tragical events of the year 1588 have appeared to ſome to verify the prediction of Regiomontanus, and other aſtrologers, that this year would be the climacteric of the world. I find in it only a new confirmation of the folly of this ridiculous ſcience.

* In the opinions of thoſe who have beſtowed ſo many praiſes upon this princeſs, liberty

liberty to follow his inclinations, which led him to unite himself with the king of Navarre. The league was not extinct with the duke of Guise: he had the minds of the people to calm, the grandees to regain, the pope to appease, and Spain to keep in bounds, and the displeasure of all the catholics to assuage, who, after this execution, were very well disposed to question his religion. 1589.

HENRY, like all weak men, magnified these difficulties; he flattered himself he should reduce every thing to order by mildness; and therefore publicly asserted his privilege, explained his reasons for what he had done, and loudly justified his conduct. He ought to have employed arms alone against a party, which had no longer any respect for the royal authority; and instead of increasing the presumption of the populace (who in power are no less insolent, than abject in obedience) by a moderation which can only be ascribed to weakness, he ought to have declared himself boldly the assailant, and sought for vengeance like a king. Had he acted in this manner, conjunctly with the king of Navarre, he might, in all probability, have prevented the loss of Orleans, and an infinite number of other * places; nor had he been at last reduced to the cities of Blois, Beaugency, Amboise, Tours, and Saumur.

I WAS either a witness to all these events, or was soon informed of them at Rosny, whither I had retired, as to a place, where I could

it seemed sufficient to merit the title of a politician, that she knew how to engross the management of all affairs, and to keep herself in possession of authority; but when one reflects, that these supposed abilities, which consisted, however, in making use of unworthy means, and contemptible artifices, brought things at last to such an extremity, that neither she, nor any other, knew any longer what remedies to apply to them; it may be justly asserted, that the quality of a politician did not compensate for the numberless faults she committed. It is believed, that the fatal consequences which she apprehended would attend the murder of the Guises, in which she had no part, the cardinal of Bourbon's reproaches, the horror of the present time, and perhaps the stings of her conscience, hastened her death, which happened the 5th of January, 1589. She was forgot soon afterwards. De Thou, book xciv. Her last advice to her son was, to put an end to the persecution against the protestants, and to establish an entire liberty of religion in France. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 132. Brantome's prejudices against this queen renders all he has said to her disadvantage very doubtful, vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 31, and following. Varillas is not more to be believed; when he says, that her death was occasioned by her grief for the murder of the duke, whom she was very fond of. Siri praises her like a foreigner, who was not well acquainted with the affairs of our court in that time; for he came to France long after the death of that queen. Memoirs of Recon di Vittorio Siri, vol. I. p. 26.

"* 'Tis a puff of wind," said Henry III. speaking of these cities, "which has "thrown down a pack of cards."

1589. eaſily obſerve whatever paſſed at court. I left it as ſoon as I thought it was neceſſary to give the king of Navarre an account of theſe tranſactions. He had not been a little perplexed himſelf during this interval, in unravelling and overthrowing the ſchemes of the viſcount Turenne; who putting himſelf in the prince of Condé's place, continued all his projects for himſelf, and acted in the ſame manner by the king of Navarre, as the duke of Guiſe did by Henry III. In an aſſembly of the proteſtants, held at Rochelle, he boldly declared, that France, in the preſent conjuncture, could not poſſibly avoid ſeeing her monarchy diſmembered; and he gave them to underſtand that, in the diviſion which would be made of it, he would not forget himſelf. The king of Navarre complained of this conduct in the ſame aſſemblies; and to engage the proteſtants more firmly to his perſon, he joined his actions to
In Poitou. words, ſeized upon Garnache, and took Niort by ſtorm, after a bloody and furious battle. It was at his return from this expedition, that he fell dangerouſly ill * at la Mothe-Frêlon.

I took my way through Blois, in order to form my laſt conjectures by the ſituation in which I ſhould find the court. Although I made uſe of all poſſible precautions to avoid being diſcovered by any perſon; yet the marquis of Rambouillet ſeeing me paſs through the ſtreet, knew
Nicholas d'Angennes. me, though wrapt up in my cloak, and ordered me to be watched to my lodging. The marquis was a man of ſtrict honeſty, and had always the good of the ſtate in view, without any conſiderations of ſelf-intereſt: he conceived, that it belonged to him to draw ſome advantage from this rencounter, to make one more effort upon the king's mind, and prevail upon him at length to throw himſelf into the arms of the king of Navarre. He found him in ſuch a diſpoſition as he wiſhed, and the king was the rather induced to employ me upon this occaſion, as he remembered I had already been ſent to him on that buſineſs. Rambouillet coming to me by his order, we concerted together what was neceſſary to be done; after which he preſented me to his majeſty, who confirmed to me himſelf his intentions. The many ineffectual engagements into which he had entered with the king of Navarre, made me

* He left St. Hermine, in Lower Poitou, in the month of January, to go and aſſiſt Garnache, which was beſieged by the duke of Nevers. Du-Pleſſis-Mornay led his troops, and he himſelf marched on foot, as if he was ſhooting. He over-heated himſelf, and was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, attended with a fever, which obliged him to ſtop at the firſt houſe he came to, which belonged to a gentleman called la Mothe-Frêlon. Du-Pleſſis perſuaded him to be let blood, which cured him. Life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, book i. p. 125.

think

think it neceſſary to aſk him for a credential letter to that prince; but he denied this requeſt, out of an apprehenſion that this letter might fall into the hands of the nuncio Moroſini *, or the duke of Nevers, to whom, he ſaid, notwithſtanding the eſteem he had for me, he ſhould be obliged to deliver me, if I was diſcovered in Blois. I gave up this point, therefore; but afterwards demanded, for the ſecurity of the king of Navarre, that when he ſhould enter a country full of his enemies, a town might be given him, that would afford him a free paſſage over the Loire. This, for the ſame reaſon, was not granted. I did not attribute theſe refuſals to any bad intention of the king's, but only to the fear he was in of thoſe two men, upon whom he had voluntarily made himſelf dependent. I did not, however, believe, that the king of Navarre, without this laſt article was yielded to, would advance with his troops as far as Blois. But this difficulty was removed by Brigneux, the governor of Beaugency, whom I viſited before I went away. After telling me, that he ſaw, with grief, this place, like the reſt, would be infallibly loſt by the meaſures the king purſued, he offered to reſign the care of it to me, or to Rebours, or any other officer the king of Navarre ſhould approve; adding, that he choſe rather to reſign his poſt, and follow this prince as a volunteer only, than to continue in Beaugency, where his advice was not regarded. 1589.

After this aſſurance, I returned immediately to the king of Navarre: this prince liſtened to me attentively, but not being able to ſuppreſs thoſe doubts, which his frequent diſappointments from the king of France had inſpired him with, he often aſked me, with an unquiet tone of voice, and irreſolute action, if I now really thought the king of France ſincere? I proteſted to him that I believed he was; and added the engagement of Rambouillet. "Well then, replied the king, I will "not take his towns, while he continues to treat faithfully with me;" for he had taken Châtelleraud that very day. "Return then, added "he, and carry him my letters; for I neither fear Moroſini nor

* John Francis Moroſini, biſhop of Breſce. Lewis de Gonzague, duke of Nevers. Sixtus V. had juſt then publiſhed a bull of excommunication againſt Henry, which this prince uſed his utmoſt endeavour to get recalled. This pope, who was ſaid to be equally fit to govern a great kingdom as to be the head of the church, ſecretly approved of that juſtice which the king of France had executed upon the duke of Guiſe; but he could not pardon him for involving a cardinal in it. See in Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175. the cardinal de Joyeuſe's letters already cited. Sixtus V. foretold, that the league would reduce Henry to the neceſſity of applying to the king of Navarre and the huguenots for aſſiſtance.

"Nevers."

1589. " Nevers." Accordingly he made me go with him that moment to " breakfaſt in his cloſet; and I took poſt again for Blois.

The king of France, who did not doubt but the king of Navarre's anſwer would be ſuch as he deſired, had, through impatience, advanced as far as Montrichard, with all his train. I found all the lodgings in this little place either taken up or beſpoke, ſo that as I arrived very late, I began to think I ſhould be obliged to paſs the night in the ſtreet: luckily Maignan found out the marquis of Rambouillet's lodgings, and he provided me with thoſe that had been deſigned for one of my brothers, who was then at Tours. At midnight I went to the king, who waited for me in a garret of the caſtle. He approved of, and ſigned every thing, even to the paſſage over the Loire; and would have had me to ſet out again that ſame night. The report of a treaty between the two kings had already reached Châtelleraud, when I arrived there; and was ſo paſſionately deſired by the people, that as ſoon as I appeared, they loaded me with a thouſand bleſſings.

In the Upper Poitou.

The king of Navarre was already gone from thence. This prince, who depended upon nothing but his ſword, being informed that the league had entered Argenton, marched haſtily thither, and arrived ſo ſeaſonably, that he forced the troops of the league to diſlodge, before they had received the ſupplies neceſſary to maintain them there. He left Beaupré governor in this place, after I had viſited the caſtle, and put it into a condition of defence.

Philip Mornay, lord of Pleſſis-Marly.

The fatigue I had ſuffered from ſo many ſucceſſive journeys, threw me, at my return, into a continued fever, which confined me to my bed twelve days. Du-Pleſſis took advantage of this accident, to deprive me of the honour of a treaty which he had only the trouble of drawing up, and in which the marquis of Rambouillet * had as great a ſhare as himſelf. This treaty was ſigned at Pleſſis-les-Tours, to the great ſatisfaction of the two kings. Saumur was the place of ſecurity that was agreed upon, and Du-Pleſſis did not fail to procure the government of it, as a fit reward for him to whom they were obliged for the ſucceſs of the treaty.

* It is but juſt to inform the reader, that theſe facts are related very differently in the life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, book i. p. 131; but to which of the writers moſt credit ought to be given is not eaſy to decide.

This

1589.

This proceeding appeared to me so extremely unjustifiable, that I complained loudly of Du-Plessis, and even of the king of Navarre himself, who had bestowed the fruit of my labour upon another. The count of Soissons, who never had any regard to the general interest, or took part in the public joy, made use of this circumstance to endeavour to engage me in his new designs; and my two brothers, on the other side, pressed me earnestly to attach myself wholly to the party of the king of France: but I rejected this proposition, nor was my fidelity to my prince to be shaken by all the efforts that were made to seduce me. When I reflected also, that the government of Saumur would have obliged me to a constant residence there, and by consequence have removed me always from the king of Navarre, I found, that what had appeard an act of injustice, was, in reality, a favour, which merited my acknowledgment.

Nothing now remained for the two kings to do, but to have a conference together, in order to concert their future enterprizes. For this purpose, the king of Navarre set out from Plessis-les-Tours. Still assaulted by some remains of distrust *, which he could with difficulty suppress, he stopped near a mill, about two leagues from the castle, and would know the opinion of each of the gentlemen that composed his train, upon the step he was going to take. I was amongst them, and the remembrance of the injustice, as I then thought it, which he had offered me, keeping me silent: the king of Navarre turning to me, "You say nothing, said he; what are your thoughts of the matter?" I answered, in few words, That it was true, the step he was taking was not without danger, because the troops of the king of France were superior to his; but that I looked upon this to be one of those circumstances, in which something ought to be left to chance; and that as for the rest, one ought to continue one's self with using all the precautions which prudence could suggest. This prince pausing for a few moments, then turning towards us, "Let us go on †, said he, my resolution is fixed."

* "His old huguenot officers, they say, "were afraid, that at a time when treachery was so necessary to Henry III. to "extricate him out of the labyrinth into "which the action he had committed at "Blois had introduced him (for he had "been excommunicated by Sixtus V.) he "would not scruple to purchase his absolution at the price of the king of Navarre's life." Perefixe, ibid. This prince had often himself said, as de Thou relates, "That he never went to the king's closet "but through the midst of two armies, "ranged on each side."

† He wrote to Du-Plessis-Mornay, in these terms: "Monsieur Du-Plessis, the

The

1589. The king of France came into the field to meet the king of Navarre, and the joy of an union which had been ſo ardently deſired, drew together ſo great a concourſe of people, that the two kings continued above a quarter of an hour, at the diſtance of fifty paces from each other, without being able to approach nearer: at length the croud giving way, they embraced with equal ſatisfaction on both ſides *, and took the road together to Tours, where the king of Navarre lay one night, and then returned to his quarters at Maillé. As for me, I ſtaid at Tours, being detained by a great number of my friends and relations, whom I found there, and fixed my reſidence in the ſuburb St. Symphorien.

The duke of Maïenne, who had taken arms to revenge the death of the duke of Guiſe, and to ſupport the intereſt of the league, had no deſign to leave us long in quiet, but marched with his whole army towards this city. The king, who had walked as far as Marmoutier, unarmed, and attended only by twenty horſe, narrowly eſcaped being taken, and was obliged to return precipitately to Tours. The ſuburbs having no other intrenchments than ſome ſlight barricades, erected in haſte, by ſix or ſeven regiments of royaliſts, who defended them, I quitted the ſuburb of St. Symphorien, and ordered all my equipage to be carried into the city. My conduct was by the officers taxed with timidity; but it was not long ere it was ſufficiently juſtified.

An abbey near Tours.

The duke of Maïenne attacked the ſuburb. He was ſtopped ſome moments by means of five or ſix houſes, on the top of the hill, where our people had poſted themſelves; but they were ſoon obliged to abandon them, in order to intrench themſelves behind the barricades, where expecting ſoon to be aſſaulted, they made uſe of this interval to ſnatch a haſty refreſhment.

I met the king at the gate of the city, and making me enter, he told me, that he believed it would be in vain to endeavour to defend the ſuburbs. In effect, the barricades could not reſiſt the enemy's cannon; they were forced at the firſt onſet, and as they had no ditch to ſupport them, their retreat into the city was ſo confuſed, and ſo much

" ice is broken, not without many warn-
" ings, that if I went I ſhould be a dead
" man: I paſſed the water, recommend-
" ing myſelf to God," &c,

* At the bridge of La-Motte, a quarter of a league from Tours: " Courage, my
" lord, ſaid Henry IV. to Henry III. two
" Henry's are worth more than one
" Charles." Matthieu, ... I. p. 152. The duke of Maïenne's name was Charles.

expoſed

exposed to the enemy, that I am surprized all the soldiers in the suburbs were not either taken or slain, and that the enemies did not even enter the city along with them. Two pieces of cannon would have been sufficient for that purpose. I saw the flight of our people from the convent of Jacobins, which looked over the walls of the city; and fearing that the danger would increase, I ran with my two brothers to the gate, to which they all prest tumultuously, and by means of some intrenchments we ordered to be made, rendered their retreat more secure, and with a little time and order, they all entered; after which we closed up the gate, and set a strong guard over it. 1589.

It was no longer doubted, but that the city would be besieged in form. I joined Châtillon, and some others, and we went to intreat the king to confide some important post to our care; he gave us the Isles *, and we laboured there without ceasing from that moment, till the next morning, that the king came to visit our work. He addressed himself to me, and praised our diligence greatly, but it was useless; for at the first news of what had happened, the king of Navarre marched hastily with his troops to Tours, and appeared in three hours before the city. The duke of Maïenne would not wait for him, but retreated, after plundering the suburbs, and the neighbouring places. A service of this importance gave great hopes of what an alliance between the two kings might produce, and made the inhabitants of Tours look upon the king of Navarre † as their deliverer.

The two kings continued together eight or ten days, after which they separated for the expedition that had been projected on the city of Poitiers. While they carried on the works there, the king of Navarre sent me with three hundred horse, and a like number of arquebusiers, to whom he also gave horses, to defend Chartres, it having been discovered, that Maintenon was secretly endeavouring to possess himself of this city, in the name of the league. I provided myself with rope-ladders, petards, and other instruments, and came directly to Bonneval, without taking any refreshment that whole day. Some prisoners whom we took for a detachment of twenty-five troopers, informed us, that the enemy had a party of four hundred horse in

Lewis d'Angennes, lord of Maintenon.

A town upon the confines of Perche.

* Read the Isle. This quarter, which is inhabited only by watermen, and the meanest people, is of great consequence to the defence of Tours.

† Henry IV. highly extolled the behaviour of Henry III. who shewed great courage upon this occasion. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 589.

1589. —de Montgomery of Lorges.

the field, with Broſſe Saveuſe * at their head; and that Reclainville † who led the twenty-five troopers, had taken us for a body of a hundred and twenty horſe, with which Lorges had juſt ſurprized Châteaudun. We concluded from this account, that the party of four hundred horſe wanted to come up with us; and we, on our ſide, having the ſame deſire, left our arquebuſiers to purſue the road to Chartres leiſurely, and taking ours through the little hills, in order to reach the enemy's ſquadron, we met them on the top of a ſmall hill, which each party had climbed up on his own ſide; ſo that we neither ſaw them, nor they us, till we were within two hundred paces of each other.

May 18. We came to blows immediately, and with ſo much fury, that by the firſt ſhock forty of our men were thrown to the ground. I was of this number, together with Meſſ. de Châtillon ‡, de Mouy, de Montbazon, d'Avantigny, and de Preſſaigny. Happily I had received no wound; my horſe, who was only cut in the jaw, got up again, and I found myſelf ſtill on his back. Perhaps there never was an action of this kind of combat, more furious, obſtinate, or more bloody. Four or five times we returned to the charge, the enemies rallying again the moment they were put into diſorder. I had two ſwords broke, and was obliged to have recourſe to a pair of piſtols loaded with ſteel balls, againſt which no arms were proof. Our enemies finding they had loſt two hundred of their men, left us at laſt in poſſeſſion of the field of battle.

We were not in a condition to enjoy the fruits of our victory: extreme wearineſs, and the pain of our wounds kept us motionleſs. A little reſt was all we wiſhed for, when a heavy rain fell, which, mixing with our ſweat, wet us over in an inſtant; for we were obliged to cover our arms with our cloaths: and to complete our misfortunes, we learnt that the duke of Maïenne was at our heels. In this melancholy ſituation, a council being held, it was reſolved, notwithſtanding the condition we were in, that we ſhould march all night, and endeavour to get back to Beaugency. We arrived there, almoſt ſpent with fatigue and thirſt. My ſtrength being quite ex-

* Charles de Tiercelin, and Anne his brother; the eldeſt was called Saveuſe, and the youngeſt de Broſſe.

† Lewis de Alonville, lord of Reclainville, or l'Arclainville, who commanded in Chartres for the duke of Maïenne.

‡ Francis de Châtillon, the admiral's ſon, the leader of the troop. Iſaac Vaudré de Mouy. Lewis de Rohan, duke of Montbazon.

hauſted,

hauſted, all I could do was to ſink down upon a bed, nor was it poſſible to awake me to take any nouriſhment. 1589.

The report of this battle being ſpread every where, the king of Navarre came to Beaugency to viſit us, and expreſſed himſelf highly ſatisfied with our behaviour. Saveuſe being among the priſoners, was brought before him, and the king, who, from the ſame principle of generoſity careſſed the brave, and compaſſionated the unfortunate, endeavoured to conſole him, by praiſes on his conduct, and every kind of good treatment. But Saveuſe knowing that a great number of his relations, and almoſt all his friends, periſhed in the fight, his grief for their loſs, the ſhame he felt at being vanquiſhed, and the dangerous wounds he had received, inſpired ſuch an extreme deſpair, that he became delirious, and died in the frenzy of a raging fever, without ſuffering his wounds to be dreſt. The king of Navarre made us ſet out for Châteaudun, where eight days reſt entirely obliterated all remembrance of our paſt fatigues.

I was upon the point of leaving this place, when a courier brought me news that my wife was dangerouſly ill. I flew to Roſny, with Dortoman, firſt phyſician to the king of Navarre, whom this prince ordered to accompany me. All this canton was in the intereſts of the league; and one of my brothers *, who had taken poſſeſſion of my houſe, the ſame wherein my wife lay ill, had the cruelty to draw up the bridge, and refuſe me entrance. Pierced to my inmoſt ſoul with a treatment ſo inhuman, I ſwore I would enter, or periſh in the attempt, and already began to apply ladders to the walls, when my brother, who did not perhaps expect ſo much reſolution, ordered the gate to be opened.

Nicholas Dortoman, a native of Arnheim.

The only conſolation I had was to find my wife ſtill alive, and to receive her laſt embraces: all remedies were ineffectual, and ſhe died four days after my arrival. The loſs of a wife ſo dear to me, and whoſe life had been expoſed to ſuch cruel viciſſitudes of fortune, ſhut my heart during a whole month to every other paſſion but grief. I heard with inſenſibility the progreſs of the arms of the two kings, which at any other time would have inflamed me with an ardent deſire of ſharing in their dangers and glory; for it was about

* This is certainly the eldeſt, who was called the baron of Roſny.

1589. this time, that they took Gergeau, Pluviers, Eſtampes, Chartres *, Poiſſy, Pontoiſe, the iſle of Adam, Beaumont, and Creil. Every little inconſiderable town boaſted of having ſtopped her king, who found nothing but revolt and diſobedience over all his dominions. He was now ſenſible of the great advantage he drew from the king of Navarre's aſſiſtance. As for this prince, he was as prodigal of life as if he had been weary of it: wherever there was moſt danger, there was he to be ſeen at the head of his ſoldiers. In one of thoſe many encounters he had to maintain, at the very moment when, to reſt himſelf, he was leaning upon Charbonniere, this colonel was, by a muſket-ſhot, laid dead at his feet.

I AWAKED as from a deep ſleep at the news † of the two kings holding Paris beſieged; and leaving a place where every object I ſaw renewed my affliction, I went to join the army. It was here that I ſoothed that grief which ſtill filled my heart, by expoſing myſelf careleſly in all the ſkirmiſhes we had with the enemy, then more frequent than ever, particularly in the field, which was called the Scholars meadow. The king of Navarre perceived my deſign, and obſerving that Maignan, my equery, whom he often ordered to go to me, and force me away, durſt not do it, he deſired him only to tell me, that he wanted to ſpeak to me.

SCARCE had he uttered one word, when he was interrupted by a gentleman, who whiſpered ſomething in his ear, and left him immediately. The king of Navarre, amazed at what he had heard, called me again inſtantly, and told me an aſſaſſin had dangerouſly wounded the king of France with a knife ‡: then mounting his horſe,

* Towns in the neighbourhood of Paris, in the iſle of France, la Beauce, and l'Orleans. See an account of this in the hiſtorians.

† If we may believe Matthieu, vol. II. p. 3. theſe two kings were greatly diſſatisfied with each other. Henry III. could not conceal his jealouſy of Henry IV. who, far from expecting to reign, reſolved to retire as ſoon as he had re-eſtabliſhed the king upon his throne.

‡ By James Clement, a jacobin monk, born in Sorbonne, a village in Burgundy. He was introduced by la Gueſle, the ſolicitor-general, into the king's chamber, as having a letter of great conſequence to deliver to him. This prince, who had a great kindneſs for monks, roſe from the cloſe-ſtool upon which he was ſitting, having already read part of the letter, when the aſſaſſin ſtruck him in the belly with a knife, which ſhe left ſticking in the wound. The king drew it out, and wounded the jacobin with it in the forehead, who was immediately killed by the gentlemen of his chamber. His body was burnt, and the aſhes thrown into the Seine. The hiſtorians have not forgot to obſerve, as a circumſtance at that time not doubted of, that Henry III. was murdered in the ſame

and

and attended only by five and twenty gentlemen which were about him, took the road to St. Cloud, which was the king's quarters. At his entrance into this prince's apartment, he found he had juſt received an injection, which came away again without either pain or blood. The king of Navarre approached his bed, amidſt all the agitation and grief that the ſincereſt friendſhip could inſpire. The king comforted him with aſſurances, that his wound would have no bad conſequences, and that God would prolong his life, that he might be in a condition to give him new proofs of his affection. The wounded monarch pronounced theſe words in ſuch a manner, as removed part of the king of Navarre's apprehenſions, who ſeeing likewiſe no appearance of any 1589.

houſe and (if we believe them) in the ſame chamber, place, and month, where ſeventeen years before that prince had aſſiſted at the council, in which the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew was reſolved upon. Monſieur Bayle ſeems to have given credit to this anecdote, which is now proved to be falſe, the houſe at the time of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew not being built. Henry III. died in the night between the ſecond and third of Auguſt, aged 38 years. "James Clement being at St. Cloud, ſome perſons, who ſuſpected him, went at night into his chamber to obſerve him. They found him in a profound ſleep, his breviary before him, open at the article of Judith. He faſted, confeſſed himſelf, and received the ſacrament before he ſet out to aſſaſſinate the king. He was praiſed for this action at Rome, in the chair where Henry the third's funeral oration ought to have been pronounced. At Paris, his picture was placed on the altars with the euchariſt. Cardinal de Retz relates, that on the anniverſary day of the barricades, in the minority of Lewis XIV. he ſaw a gorget upon which this monk was engraved, with theſe words underneath, St. James Clement." Notes upon the Henriade.

"The king of Navarre," ſays Victor Gayet, Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 223. "kneeled at his bedſide, ſighs and tears "not permitting him to ſpeak a word. "He took his majeſty's hands between "his, and kiſſed them. The king, perceiving that he was ſilent through the "ſtrong emotions with which he was agitated, embraced his head, kiſſed him, "and gave him his benediction. Had not "the knife been poiſoned, the wound "would not have been mortal; for it was "not deep, and had not reached the inteſtines, fol. 217. Bourgoin, prior of "the jacobins, was tore to pieces by four "horſes. They could extort nothing but "theſe words from him, *We have done "what we could, but not what we would "have done*; which made it be believed, "that Henry IV. was deſigned to have "been aſſaſſinated at the ſame time. The "ſieur de Rougemont was arreſted, for "having deſired to ſtrike the blow himſelf." fol. 228. He died like a good chriſtian. "He forgave his enemies, and "even Clement himſelf," ſays Matthieu the hiſtorian. See, in the hiſtorians, a fuller account of his death. His character may be collected from what is ſaid of him in theſe Memoirs. He was called, at his baptiſm, Edward Alexander, by Edward VI. king of England, and Antony king of Navarre; but Catherine made him afterwards aſſume the name of his father.

It is ſaid, that ſeventeen or eighteen perſons having gathered up the aſhes of Clement, which the wind had diſperſed, getting into a boat with theſe aſhes, the boat was ſwallowed up by the Seine, and all that were in it.

dau-

1589. dangerous ſymptom, left him to his repoſe, and returned to his quarters at Meudon.

My lodgings were at the bottom of this caſtle, in the houſe of a man named Sauvat. After I had attended the king of Navarre to his apartment, I went home to ſup, and had juſt placed myſelf at table, when I ſaw Ferret his ſecretary enter, who ſaid to me, "Sir, the king "of Navarre, and perhaps the king of France, deſires you will come "to him inſtantly." Surprized at theſe words, I went with him immediately to the caſtle; and as we walked, he told me that Dortoman had informed the king of Navarre, by an expreſs, that if he would ſee the king of France alive, he had not a moment to loſe.

I went directly to the king of Navarre's apartment, where while our horſes were ſaddling, he did me the honour to conſult me upon the preſent conjuncture. So many different thoughts preſented themſelves to my mind that moment, that I continued ſome time ſilent, nor was the king in leſs agitation. It was not the event of a little negotiation, the ſucceſs of a battle, or the poſſeſſion of a ſmall kingdom, ſuch as Navarre, that employed his thoughts, but the greateſt monarchy in Europe. But how many obſtacles had he to ſurmount, how many labours to endure, ere he could hope to obtain it! All that he had hitherto done, was nothing in compariſon to what remained to do. How cruſh a party ſo powerful, and in ſuch high credit, that it had given fears to a prince eſtabliſhed on the throne, and almoſt obliged him to deſcend from it! This difficulty already ſo great, appeared inſurmountable, when he reflected, that the king's death would deprive him of the beſt and greateſt part of his forces. He could have no dependence either on the princes of the blood, or the grandees; and in his preſent condition he had occaſion for every one's aſſiſtance, yet had no one in whom he could confide. I was ſtruck with fear, when he ſuggeſted to me, that it was poſſible ſuch ſurprizing, and unexpected news might occaſion a revolution, which would expoſe him with only a few of his moſt faithful ſervants to the mercy of his old enemies, in a country where he was abſolutely deſtitute of every reſource.

Notwithstanding all theſe difficulties, every one confeſt that the king of Navarre had but one part to take, which was to ſeize this opportunity, and uſe it with all thoſe precautions which generally determine the event. Without attempting to judge of the future, which depends upon too many accidents, much leſs to ſubject it to our precipitation; in bold and difficult enterprizes, we ſhould

endeavour to subdue one obstacle at a time; nor suffer ourselves to be depress by their greatness, and their number. We ought never to despair of what has been once accomplished. How many things have the idea of impossible been annexed to, that have become easy to those who knew how to take advantage of time, opportunity, lucky moments, the faults of others, different dispositions, and an infinite number of other circumstances? 1589.

The answer I made the king was founded on these maxims; and we agreed that, instead of going back to the different provinces, he should remain in the midst of the royal army to support his claim, and set out immediately for St. Cloud, but well armed at all events, taking care, however, to keep our extraordinary arms concealed, that we might not ourselves be the first to create terror and suspicion. When we entered St. Cloud, they told us the king was better; and obliged us to put off our swords. I followed the king of Navarre, who advanced towards the castle, when suddenly we heard a man exclaim, "Ah! my God, we are lost." The king of Navarre making this man approach, who continued crying, "Alas! the king is dead," asked him several questions, which he satisfied by such a circumstantial recital of the king's death, that we could no longer doubt the truth of it.

Henry no longer doubted, when he saw the Scots guard, who threw themselves at his feet, saying, "Ah, Sire! you are now our "king and our master," And some moments after, messr. de Biron *, de Bellegarde, d'O, de Châteauvieux, de Dampierre, and several others, did the same.

The king of Navarre was convinced that this was one of those critical moments, upon the good or bad use of which his destiny depended. Without suffering himself to be dazzled with the view of a throne, to which he was that instant called, or oppress by difficulties, and useless grief, he calmly began to give orders for keeping every one in their duty, and preventing mutinies: then turning to me, with that familiar air which he used to those of whose affection he was

* Armand de Gontaut, marechal de Biron. Roger de St. Larry Bellegarde, grand ecuyer of France. Francis d'O, governor of Paris, and superintendant of the finances. Joachim de Chateauvieux.

assured,

1589. assured, he bid me go to the marechal d'Aumont's * quarters, and there, with all the precaution neceſſary to his intereſt, ſpread among his troops the news of the king's death, and to ſpeak by this marechal to the French guards, to engage their officers to come and pay their homage to him in the afternoon, and to prevail upon the nobility to do the like. He recommended to me to obſerve my own quarters carefully, and keep all there in due obedience. After which he applied himſelf to gain all the foreign powers, on whoſe aſſiſtance he thought he might depend, and wrote or ſent deputies to Germany, England, Flanders, Switzerland, and the republic of Venice, to inform them of this new event, and the claim which it gave him to the crown of France.

In the iſle of France.

I REPRESENTED to him, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to get poſſeſſion of Meulan immediately; a place, upon this occaſion, of the utmoſt importance, the governor of which (who was called St. Marc) he knew to be a zealous partiſan of the league in his heart. I explained to him in few words how eaſily this might be executed, and the king approving my ſcheme, I went to Meulan, and demanded a conference with St. Marc, upon affairs I ſaid of the greateſt conſequence to him. He came to me, and while I amuſed him with a feigned confidence, the marechal d'Aumont paſſed over the bridge with his troops, and taking advantage of the conſternation this occaſioned, proceeded to the caſtle, which he made himſelf maſter of, and we drove out the too credulous St. Marc.

THE king offered me this government, but from many conſiderations I choſe not to accept of it. Part of his apprehenſions were ſoon juſtified by the event; he found it impoſſible to keep either the duke of Epernon †, or many other diſaffected catholics, in his ſervice, eſpe-

* John duke d'Aumont, marechal of France.

† The author of his life aſſigns very bad reaſons for this retreat: it is plain that nothing can excuſe it. Upon this occaſion it appears, that beſides the proteſtant party, there were three others among the catholics themſelves, the firſt of whom was compoſed of thoſe perſons who abandoned Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. the ſecond, thoſe who not being able to prevail upon this prince to declare that very moment, that he would embrace the catholic religion, continued with him, but had neither affection to his perſon, nor a ſincere attachment to his intereſt. The number of theſe was very great; the chief among them were the dukes of Longueville, and Nevers, d'O, (who had ſpoken to him in the name of the reſt) and many others. The third party was made up of thoſe who declared publicly, ſays d'Aubigne, that they would ſerve the king without any conditions: and theſe were

cially

cially those who owed their fortune to the deceased king. Their dissention reduced him almost to the last extremity, which he had brought with him, and put it out of his power to continue the siege of Paris, or even to hold the adjacent places. The foreign powers either gave him nothing but promises, or offered him such supplies as could be of no use in his present exigencies: he was obliged therefore to retire to the heart of the kingdom. He had already (though without discovering his real motive for it) caused a report to be spread among his soldiers of an intended journey to Tours. This retreat was equally necessary for the safety of his person, and the success of his affairs. A thousand dangers threatened him in the neighbourhood of a city, where the king his predecessor, though a catholic, and with a powerful army under his obedience, could not escape a violent death. It was here that the last resolution was taken for the murder of this prince; and he had still more reason to tremble, when he reflected that those cruel designs were formed in the midst of his army, and the assassins perhaps near his person.

In this perplexing situation, it was necessary to place a governor in Meulan, who had a regiment ready to defend it against the league, which, becoming insolent by the king's death, in imagination already enjoyed the conquest of it. I having no regiment, nor sufficient time to raise one, the government of Meulan was given to Bellengreville*

The king, in his retreat, took Clermont, and some other small towns. His forces were too inconsiderable to admit of his engaging in greater enterprizes, which was the reason likewise that I missed of taking of Louviers, upon which I had a design that in all appearance would have succeeded. This design I communicated to the king, and desired he would give me some forces for the execution of it. He could spare me no more than a company of his light-armed horse, In Beauvaisis. A city of Normandy.

indeed but very few in number, among which were the marechals d'Aumont, and Biron, Givry, &c. Henry was extremely perplexed at the rude proposition made him by the catholics, and the declaration they added to it, that they would retire, if he did not give them this satisfaction. He told them resolutely, that he would never be reproached with having been constrained to take such a step. And demanded six months time to think upon it. See the historians upon this subject, and particularly d'Aubigné, vol. III. book ii. chap. 23. Henry IV. received such important services upon this occasion from the marechal Biron, that it was reported, it was he who made him king: and the marechal is said to have reproached Henry with his services in those very terms. Mem. of Brantome, vol. III. p. 346.

* Read, Joachim de Bellengreville.

1589. commanded by Arambure, which was not ſufficient; but he aſſured me that I ſhould be joined at Louviers by a regiment of twelve hundred men, that was then at Nogent; and for this purpoſe he wrote to Couronneau the colonel of it.

With this hope I ſat down before Louviers, where I waited in vain for the ſupplies that had been promiſed me. The river of Eure, which ran into the ditches of Louviers, being turned, a great aqueduct that ſupplied the city with water became dry. This I obſerved, and it was through this place that I propoſed to enter it; but as it was not probable, that meſſieurs d'Aumale*, de la Londe, de Fontaine-Martel, de Medavy, de Contenant, and many other officers of the league, of which this city was full, would ſurrender, or ſuffer themſelves to be taken, without ſtriking a blow, I thought it would be raſhneſs to attempt to force it with a handful of men: in order therefore to juſtify the truth of what I had aſſerted, I contented myſelf with ſending ſeveral perſons into the aqueduct, where I employed them only in enlarging the entrance, by forcing up with a petard the grate that cloſed it. By this means they ſeveral times penetrated into the city, and came out again without being perceived, which was a convincing proof that our attempt would have ſucceeded, if we had had a ſufficient number of ſoldiers.

I returned by Pont-de-l'Arche, to meet the king of Navarre, at Ecoüy, from whence he hoped to go immediately to Touraine; but he found the Normans ſo well inclined towards him, that he was determined, by their offers, to attempt the important ſiege of Rouen. While preparations were making for this expedition, we took Gournay, Neufchâtel, the city of Eu, Treport, and Darnetal; where the king received advice that the duke of Maïenne was deſirous of coming to a battle with him. I was ordered to go with fifty horſe to reconnoitre this general's army, which I found in the neighbourhood of Mante, and ſpread all over my eſtate. I went, and poſted myſelf in the foreſt; from whence I made obſervations, and brought the king information, that the army of the league conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. The king, who had only a little flying camp to oppoſe to ſo formidable an army, was not willing to neglect

In Upper Normandy.

* Charles de Lorraine, duke of Aumale; — Bigars de le Londe, mayor of Rouen; Francis de Fontaine-Martel, governor of Neufchâtel; Charles-Francis de Rouxel de Medavy; Timoleon de Bauves de Contenant.

any

any precaution which might be neceſſary. He had already cauſed the commander of Chaſtes* to be ſounded, to know if in any caſe of neceſſity, he would receive him into Dieppe: and he had reaſon to be pleaſed with his anſwer; but, in order to be better aſſured of this governor's intentions, he went himſelf to confer with him, and returned extremely well ſatisfied. Finding therefore that he might depend upon a retreat ſo ſecure as Dieppe†, he the leſs feared to keep the field before the enemy; and reſolving to make head againſt them till the laſt extremity, he came and poſted himſelf before Arques. 1589.

In Sig... ny of C...

At the end of the cauſeway of Arques there is a long winding hill, covered with coppice: beneath is a ſpace of arable land, in the midſt of which is the great road that leads to Arques, having thick hedges on each ſide. Lower down, upon the left hand, there is a kind of great marſh or boggy ground. A village called Martinglife bounds the hill, about half a league from the cauſeway. It was in this village, and in the neighbourhood of it, that the whole army of the duke of Maïenne was encamped. The king was ſenſible, that by attempting to reſiſt an army of above thirty thouſand men, with leſs than three thouſand, his conduct would be accuſed of raſhneſs; but beſides, that it would be very difficult to find a place more favourable for his few forces, and that there was danger in going back, he thought that the preſent weak condition his party was in, demanded ſome bold blow at the beginning. He neglected nothing that might compenſate, in ſome degree, for the ſmallneſs of his number; he ordered deep trenches to be cut at the cauſeway, and above, as well as beneath the great road: he poſted twelve hundred Swiſs on each ſide of this road, and ſix hundred German foot to defend the upper trenches; and placed a thouſand or twelve hundred others in a chapel, which ſtood in the midſt of the upper and lower trenches. Theſe were all the infantry he had: his cavalry, which amounted in all to but ſix hundred men, he divided into two equal ſquadrons; and with one, poſted himſelf between the wood and the road, and ſeparating the other into platoons, made them go down between the road and the moraſs, to fill in ſome ſort that ſpace. He did not ſleep that whole night; during which, fearing that the enemies would make Of Maïen... Eglise.

* Aimat de Chaſtes, knight of St. Lazarus, and governor of Dieppe.

† Henry IV. it is ſaid, was reduced to ſuch an extremity under the walls of this city, that he was upon the point of retiring into England, which the marechal de Biron prevented, by adviſing him to make good his poſt at Arques. Before the battle of Arques, he ſaid, that he was a king without a kingdom, a huſband without a wife, and a warrior without money.

1589. themſelves maſters of the cauſeway, he kept guard there himſelf. In the morning they brought him ſome refreſhments into the ditch, where he invited his principal officers to breakfaſt with him; after which he thought, perhaps, to have taken a few moments reſt, when he was informed by the guards, that the army of the league was marching towards him, in order of battle.

At this news, he ordered the viſcount de Chartres, Palçheux, Braſſeuſe, Avantigny, and three or four others, to advance into the wood, and endeavour to make ſome priſoners; they ſoon returned, bringing with them the count de Belin*. The king went to meet him, and embraced him ſmiling. The count, whoſe eyes were in ſearch of the king's army, ſeeing hardly any ſoldiers about him, anſwered him no otherways than by expreſſing his ſurprize at the ſmall number that ſeemed to be with him. "You ſee not all," ſaid the king to him with the ſame gaity: "for you reckon not God, and my claim, who fight "for me." Accuſtomed as I was to ſee this prince, I could not help admiring the tranquillity that ſat upon his countenance, on an occaſion ſo much the more deſperate, as it gave time for reflection. His air was ſo ſerene, and his ardor tempered with ſo much prudence, that he appeared to the ſoldiers as ſomething more than human, and inſpired them all with the intrepidity of their leader.

The duke of Maïenne ordered the upper trenches to be attacked by a ſquadron of his German foot, who ſeemed to refuſe fighting, becauſe they had only Germans to encounter, and feigned to ſurrender. Our Germans were ſo effectually deceived by this artifice, that they ſuffered the others to advance and gain the trench, from whence they drove out ours; and from this advantageous poſt they gave us a great deal of trouble. I ſoon loſt ſight of all that was done at the ſide of the wood; for that part of the moraſs where I was, with ten of my men, was that moment attacked by a ſquadron of eight or nine hundred horſe. At the approach of ſo large a body, we drew together about a hundred and fifty horſe, and drove them back as far as the valley; where meeting with four other ſquadrons, we were obliged to retreat, till being joined in our turn by the count d'Auvergne†, who brought

* Francis de Faudoas d'Averton de Serillac, count of Belin, deputy governor of Paris, for the duke of Maïenne.

† Charles de Valois, natural ſon of Charles IX. He is mentioned hereafter. It is upon the relation of this count, afterwards duke of Angoulême, that father Daniel, in his hiſtory of France, vol. IX. has given a deſcription of this battle, to which nothing can be added, and differs but lit-

a hundred

a hundred and fifty horſe more to our aſſiſtance, we a ſecond time beat back the enemies ſquadrons. This game could not laſt long: three hundred horſe from the enemies army joining the firſt, we were forced to give ground, and regained the chapel in diſorder; where fortunately our foot ſoldiers, who were poſted there, ſtopped this cavalry ſhort, and engaged in a battle, wherein Sagonne * and ſome other officers were ſlain. 1589.

The duke of Maïenne commanding all the reſt of his German foot to attack the chapel, we yielded at length this poſt; and overpowered by numbers, abandoned the hollows in the road, and even the road itſelf. This might be called the beginning of a defeat; we ſhould have had reaſon to fear the event, had we not happily met the battalion of Swiſs, who ſuſtained the ſhock, gave us time to rally, and put us again into a condition of renewing the fight. Nothing could have happened more ſeaſonably. My horſe that moment falling dead of his wounds, I mounted a freſh one. To vanquiſh the brave reſiſtance of our Swiſs, the enemies thought proper to order five hundred horſe to march along the ſide of the morais: they would have taken us in the rear, and have eaſily overwhelmed the Swiſs, and the reſt of the ſoldiers, when luckily the horſes approaching too near to the morais, they remained entangled in the mire, and their riders with difficulty diſengaged them, by leaving their lances ſticking there.

The battle continued ſome time longer in this ſtate; that is to ſay, while we had any ſtrength left; but at length we began to ſink under the fatigue. On our ſide the ſame men were always in action, while our enemies were ſuſtained with freſh ſupplies, and multiplied every

tle from that in our Memoirs. See alſo father Matthieu, vol. II. p. 14. and following. Cayet, vol. I. book ii. fol. 263, and following. The Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. p. 597. and the phyſician du Cheſne's account, &c. This battle was fought on Wedneſday September 20th: it began at ten o'clock in the morning, and ended at eleven. The duke of Maïenne, five days before, made ſeveral attempts upon Dieppe, which were called *Jeunnades au Pichet*. "My companion," ſaid Henry IV. to Antragues, colonel of the regiment of Soleure, "I come to die, or to gain honour "with you." "He drove back the treacherous Germans," &c. Le Grain, book v. "My father," ſaid this prince to colonel Galati, "keep a pike for me, for "I will fight at the head of your battalion." Matthieu, ibid. p. 14. After the battle, he wrote to Grillon in theſe terms, "Hang thyſelf, brave Grillon, for we "have fought at Arques without thee. "Adieu, brave Grillon, I love thee whether I will or not."

* John Babou, count of Sagonne. Lewis de Rohan, and Joſias de la Rochefoucault, counts of Montbazon and de Rouſſy, loſt their lives alſo there.

moment.

1589. moment. Great part of our brigade was disarmed and dismounted: in this extremity, I was deputed by the troop to represent our situation to the king, and to ask him for a reinforcement. I met this prince coming to our quarter: "My friend, said he to me, I have no supplies "to send you; however, we must not suffer ourselves to be depressed." In effect, he was in no better condition than we. He turned towards monsieur le Grand, and bid him follow me with all the men he could get together from the upper part of the road. I went back to my party, and with a seeming joy informed them of the supply that was coming; upon which, however, I but little depended. Inspired with fresh vigour, it may be truly said, that at that moment every man gave proofs of a valour scarcely credible. The thick fog, which concealed us from our enemies, hid from us likewise our danger; but when this fog was dissipated, the sun shewed us to them, and discovered their whole army to our view, which was pouring upon us. It was already so near, that we could not hope to gain the end of the causeway, where was our last entrenchment, and we thought of nothing but selling our lives dearly.

Roger de St. Sarry, of Bellegarde.

Our safety we owed to a circumstance that we had looked upon as our greatest misfortune. The cannon of the castle of Arques had been rendered useless by the thickness of the fog; but as soon as the enemies could be distinguished, it made a discharge so just, and was followed by so terrible an effect, although there were but four pieces of cannon, that the enemies were thrown into confusion. Four other vollies succeeded with such rapidity, as went quite through their army; which, no longer able to endure the fire, retired in disorder to the side of the valley: behind which, some moments after, all this terrible multitude were lost; astonished, without doubt, at the great loss they had sustained, and disheartened by a resistance which the duke of Maïenne had not expected.

The king, after an action which had covered him with glory, retired to Arques, from thence he went to Dieppe, harrassed continually by the enemies, and engaged in frequent skirmishes; the detail of which I suppress, as having nothing very interesting after the battle of Arques. The king, however, in one of these rencounters, found himself exposed to a danger still greater: for, believing the enemies at a distance, he was exercising a kind of military game in a meadow, and sustained a discharge from two hundred fusileers, who lay in ambush upon

upon the ground, between two hedges, not more than two hundred paces from the place where we were. 1589.

It is certain, that any other than Henry would have ſunk under theſe difficulties, before he could have been relieved by the ſupplies which were preparing for him; but by his valour*, and his ſkill in diſputing the ground, he gave time to four thouſand Engliſh and Scotch, that queen Elizabeth ſent him, to paſs the ſea; and this reinforcement was ſoon after followed by one more conſiderable, which was brought him by the count of Soiſſons, Henry of Orleans, duke of Longueville, d'Aumont, and Biron. It was owing to the count of Soiſſons that he was ſo often in danger at Dieppe, who amuſed himſelf with diſputing about the command of the forces, inſtead of haſtening to the king's aſſiſtance.

The duke of Maïenne durſt not wait for the junction of all theſe troops; he diſappeared with his army, and left the king maſter of the field. Henry, then changing his reſolution of keeping in Normandy, ſet out again for Paris, which he had quitted with regret. He paſſed through Meulan and Poiſſy, and from thence diſpatched me with the duke of Montpenſier †, to endeavour to perfect a correſpondence he had a long time before begun in Vernon, or to ſeize the city by means of that terror which his approach would cauſe in it. We found no probability of ſucceeding in either of theſe deſigns; therefore, the duke of Montpenſier went back to Normandy, and I joined the king at Villepreux. Theſe towns are upon the Seine.

His deſign was to alarm Paris, and even to attack it; and as he ſaw opportunity, to attempt to make himſelf maſter of it. He had taken the precaution to ſend perſons to break the bridge of St. Maixance, Upon the river Oiſe.

* "Sixtus V. preſaged, that the Bearnois would be the uppermoſt, ſince he "was not longer in bed than the duke of "Maïenne was at table. The duke of "Maïenne was extremely ſlow in all his "motions. If he does not act in another "manner, ſaid the king, I ſhall certainly "beat him always in the field." Perefixe, ibid. 2. The ſame pope, after the battle of Arques, applied theſe words to Henry IV. Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis, & conculcabis leonem, & draconem: meaning by the aſp the duke of Maïenne, the duke of Savoy by the baſiliſk, the king of Spain by the lion, and himſelf by the dragon.

† Henry of Bourbon-Montpenſier, prince of the blood, the only ſon of Francis and Renée of Anjou, at that time ſeven and twenty years old. Henry III. took the government of Bretagne from him, without any cauſe, to beſtow it on the duke of Mercœur. He ſoon had reaſon to repent of it.

by

1589. by which the duke of Maïenne might have been able to aſſiſt this great city; for that general, alarmed by the king's march, had alſo come near Paris by the oppoſite ſide, that he might not meet the king. Henry, therefore, gave the neceſſary orders for attacking all the ſuburbs at the ſame time: that of St. Germain fell to monſieur d'Aumont, de Châtillon, and me. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, we fell upon this ſuburb; and having, tho' an immenſe, yet a confuſed and terrified multitude to oppoſe, we hemmed two large bodies of ſoldiers within the incloſure of the market of St. Germain; and there, in a leſs ſpace than two hundred paces, we left four hundred of them in a moment dead upon the place. I could hardly prevail upon myſelf to kill men already more than half dead with fear; but putting them out of a condition to reſiſt us, we paſſed, and advanced as far as the gate of Neſle: fifteen or twenty of us entered the city; but perceiving that our men did not follow us, we turned back: an order from the king to give over the attack was the cauſe of their abandoning us. The perſon whom he had ſent to demoliſh the bridge * of St. Maixance had performed this commiſſion ſo ill, that the duke of Maïenne appeared within ſight of Paris with his whole army, at the ſame moment that we entered it.

The king was now convinced that his enterprize was no longer practicable, and that although we ſhould make ourſelves maſter of the city, which on our ſide would infallibly have happened, an army thus diſperſed in a city of ſuch vaſt extent as Paris, would have been in danger of being overpowered; having ſuch an infinite number of people to oppoſe within, and an army without to fight againſt, which would either enter with us, or keep us beſieged there. It was thus that this prince, tempering ſo happily courage with prudence, never ſuffered his ardor in battle to hinder him from following the calmer dictates of wiſdom. He was ſatisfied with throwing terror into the very heart of that city that dared to deſpiſe him, and giving it to know what it had to expect from him. Part of the ſuburbs was pillaged: our ſoldiers leaving nothing in that of St. Germain †, that they

* De Thou obſerves, that the guard of this bridge was given to William de Montmorency, lord of Thoré; but being indiſpoſed at Senlis, he could not defend it. Book xcvii. It was attacked on All-ſaints day, upon advice ſent by James Corbinelly, a Florentine gentleman, to Henry IV. in theſe three words, Come, come, come, written on a bit of paper, which the bearer incloſed in a quill, and held in his mouth. They did not carry it for want of cannon to beat down the gates. Matthieu, vol. II. book i. p. 17. Cayet, vol. I. p. 270.

† "The ſieurs de Châtillon, and la "Noue," ſays le Grain, book v. "aſ- "ſaulted the ſuburbs of St. Germain, "Buſſy and Neſſe, which were richer and "more magnificent than the others, and

could

could conveniently carry away. I had for my ſhare three thouſand crowns, and all my men made very conſiderable booty.

Two days after, the king went to Eſtampes; and reſuming his firſt deſign of ſhewing himſelf in the heart of the kingdom, went towards Tours, and in a ſhort time took a great many little towns in Touraine *, Anjou, Maine, and Lower Normandy. He left ſome troops with the marechal de Biron, who took Evreux, without cannon. I drove the catholics from Anfreville. The king gave me all the countries about Mante and Roſne to preſerve, with a ſmall body of troops, with which I narrowly miſſed ſeizing the duke d'Aumale, as he paſſed by Roſny. Afterwards I joined the marechal Biron, at the ſiege of Evreux. I cannot give a more circumſtantial account of actions of little importance, and muſt even ſuppreſs the greateſt part of them, as it is neither poſſible, nor neceſſary, to relate at length facts in themſelves ſo inconſiderable. In France. 1590.

I FOREWARN the public therefore to expect in theſe Memoirs a detail only of important events; ſuch as I have been a witneſs to, or what regards the king himſelf; and if I ſhould add any others, they will be thoſe, the truth of which I can warrant from the authenticity of thoſe memoirs which have fallen into my hands. As for the reſt, it will be ſufficient juſt to point them out, that the reader may from thence form an idea of the condition, and affairs of Henry the Great, in different periods of time. It was to relieve my memory, that I at firſt committed ſuch particulars as moſt ſtruck me, to paper; eſpecially thoſe converſations I had with the king, or he with others, either upon war, or politics, which I apprehended might be of great uſe to me. This prince, who perceived it by my ſometimes repeating exactly what had fallen from him on theſe ſubjects, commanded me to put my work in ſome order, and to enlarge it. I found ſome

" where they expected to find moſt re-
" ſiſtance, as well upon account of the
" fine houſes that were in the ſuburb St.
" Germain, which makes its value equal
" to the ſecond city in France, as the
" abbey St. Germain, which was fortified.
" Chatillon made it appear that he re-
" membered St. Bartholomew's day, and
" was reſolved to expiate the murder,
" and appeaſe the manes of the admiral
" his father."

* Alençon, le Mans, Chateau-Briant, Sablé, Château-Gontier, Maïenne, Laval, Argentan, Falaiſe, Liſieux, Baïeux, Ponteau de Mer, Pont l'Evêque, Honfleur, Havre-de-Grace, Dontront, &c. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book ii. chap. 4, &c. See alſo the Memoirs of the league, and particular accounts of theſe expeditions printed at that time.

 diffi-

1590. difficulty in obeying him, for my ſtyle was none of the beſt; and I would gladly have been excuſed, but upon repeated commands from his majeſty, and his promiſe to correct it with his own hand, I reſumed and continued this work with more aſſiduity. Such was the riſe of theſe Memoirs. But to return to my ſubject.

In the iſle of France.

The army of the league ſitting down before Pontoiſe, took it, and afterwards laid ſiege to Meulan. As I looked upon this place to be of great importance to the king, I endeavoured by all the methods I could think of, to ſupply it with powder *, and to introduce ſome perſon into it on whom I could depend, to prevail upon the beſieged to hold out till aſſiſtance, which was very near, arrived. And this I performed by making a man ſwim over to it; and in the mean time ſent to inform the king of what had paſſed, and to demand ſupplies. My repeated inſtances determined this prince to come thither himſelf; but it was with great unwillingneſs that he left other places where his preſence was no leſs neceſſary. "Your importunity brings me to the aſ-"ſiſtance of Meulan." Thus he wrote to me. "If any thing un-"fortunate ſhould happen, I ſhall never ceaſe to reproach you." It would indeed have appeared very ſurprizing to me, if no misfortune had happened; for this prince leaving all his infantry before Honfleur, brought with him ſo ſmall a number, that it was impoſſible for him to ſuſtain the attack of a whole army which then preſt Meulan, and would not fail to fall upon him as ſoon as it was known how ill he was attended.

In Perche. Upon the river of Eure, biſhopric of Evreux.

This I took the liberty to repreſent to him; and, in effect, he had no ſooner left Verneuil to proceed to Ivry, than going out to reconnoitre, I ſaw the whole army of the league, which was no doubt informed of his march, making directly towards him, which obliged him to turn back to Verneuil. It was not uſual for this prince to give ground before his enemies, nor did he now without great regret. In the firſt tranſports of his rage, he reproached me as the cauſe of his ſuffering this affront, and with being leſs ſolicitous for his reputation, by calling him thither, than careful to preſerve my lands from pillage. It was not difficult for me to juſtify myſelf; and this prince, who comprehended the importance of ſuch a place as Meulan, gave orders for all his army to join him.

* The duke of Sully is mentioned with diſtinction, in the relation of this ſiege, by de Thou, book xcviii. and father Matthieu, vol. II. p. 22.

This

This produced the effect which I had promiſed myſelf. The enemies ſeeing the army on its march, drew their cannon on this ſide the river, and without wholly raiſing the ſiege, abandoned the care of it, to guard againſt ſurprizes. 1590.

I sent the king advice of this proceeding, and he thought it neceſſary to haſten his march, to prevent any accident which might occaſion the loſs of Meulan, and ſent me the ſcouts of his army, that while I waited for his arrival, I might be able to give the beſiegers ſome trouble. He came ſoon after, and entered the fort, where being deſirous of obſerving the enemy's army *, he climbed up, with ſome of us, into the belfrey. The beſiegers that moment directing a battery againſt this belfrey, demoliſhed the ſtaircaſe, and obliged the king, and all of us that were with him, to come down with the help of a cord, and a ſtick paſſed between our legs. The king, to pay them in the ſame coin, ordered four pieces of cannon to be raiſed in this place: which was contrary to my opinion; for I foreſaw that the enemies would quickly diſmount them, which really happened before we could derive the leaſt advantage from them, and the beſiegers fired there ſo furiouſly all day, that we were not able to remove theſe four pieces till night. The enemies, who took care to have the river between them and the king, made a terrible attack on the bridge on that ſide; but this was their laſt effort. The king poſting himſelf at Orgreux, they were afraid of being overcome, and ſuddenly decamped.

The marquis of Alegre had better ſucceſs, and ſeized Rouen for the league. I received the news of it at Roſny. The king, whoſe whole attention it had been to hinder the reduction of this place, marched inſtantly to Rouen; but upon his arrival at Gaillon he learnt that the misfortune was without remedy. In revenge he went to beſiege Dreux, after putting me in garriſon in Paſſy. The duke of Maïenne, who had been juſt reinforced with the whole Spaniſh army, paſſed the river, and ſpread his troops all round Mante and Roſny, with a reſolution to raiſe this ſiege. The vanguard of this army, which was conducted by one of my relations, named Roſny, had orders from the general to poſſeſs himſelf of Paſſy in his way. I gave the king

Chriſtopher d'Alegre, governor of Gifors.

In the biſhopric of Evreux.

" * As Henry IV. was aſcending the " belfrey of St. Nicaiſe, a cannon-ball " paſſed through his legs." Matthieu, ibid. 24.

1590. notice of his approach, who replied only, that I might do as I pleaſed. I reſolved, therefore, to defend myſelf; and although monſieur de Roſny wrote to me, repreſenting to me, that it would be raſhneſs to ſuffer myſelf to be ſtormed in a place that had not even walls, and offered me very advantageous conditions *, yet he could gain nothing upon me.

I THANKED him for his falſe complaiſance, and, in the night, cauſed a ditch to be dug, which might in ſome degree ſerve the garriſon for a ſhelter. Luckily the enemy had no deſign to waſte time in ſo inconſiderable a ſiege, and wanted only to ſeize the place. As they paſſed next morning, the noiſe of the baggage gave me to underſtand, that the army had purſued its rout, which drew me out of great perplexity. During the night, which I ſpent entirely in fortifying Paſly, I thought I ſaw diſtinctly two armies fighting in the air †. I know not whether this object was real, or only an illuſion, but it made ſuch an impreſſion on my mind, that I was not ſurprized at reading a letter next day from the king, wherein he informed me, that the duke of Maïenne's army, joined to the Spaniards, had approached with a deſign to offer him battle; that he had waited for it till the evening of that day on which he wrote to me, but that the whole day had been paſſed in ſkirmiſhing, making lodgments, and ſecuring advantages, and that the general action was put off till the next. His letter concluded with theſe words, "I conjure you then "to come, and bring with you as many of the forces as you can,

* Father Matthieu mentions this fact exactly in the ſame manner as it is here; he even relates the duke of Sully's reply, in the very words he made uſe of. "Here "is the king ready to give battle; tell the "duke of Maïenne, that he is now rec-"koning upon winning it; and then I "will conſider whether I am to loſe it."

The only difference between them is, that this officer of the enemy's, who is here called Roſny, and, a relation of the baron de Roſny, was, according to Matthieu, the baron de Roſne, one of the general officers of the league: however, to thoſe who read the Memoirs of Sully, it would ſeem impoſſible for the error to be on his ſide. Compare the two writers, *Oeconomies Royales*, &c. vol. I. p. 71. and Matthieu's hiſtory, vol. II. book i. p. 25.

† Davila, who alſo takes notice of this phenomenon, book xi. deſcribes it in this manner: "The thunder and lightning, "ſometimes mingled with horrid dark-"neſs, added to their terrors; and ſuch a "flood of rain poured ſuddenly down, "that the whole army was alarmed. A "prodigious apparition, which appeared "in the ſky as ſoon as it had ceaſed to "rain, increaſed the general diſmay; for "during the noiſe of the thunder, at "which the boldeſt amongſt them trem-"bled, two great armies were diſtinctly "ſeen in the air, that after continuing ſome "time engaged in fight, diſappeared, co-"vered with a thick cloud; ſo that the "event of the battle was not ſeen."

"parti-

" particularly your own company, and the two companies of Badit 1590.
" and James's horſe-arquebuſiers; for I know them, and am reſolved
" to make uſe of them upon this occaſion."

I was ſenſible that, without extraordinary diſpatch, I ſhould arrive too late for the battle with theſe companies, which I foreſaw the king would be in great need of, as he was much inferior in numbers to the enemy. I therefore loſt not a moment, and was fortunate enough to arrive an hour and a half before the battle began. The king ordered me to make my company paſs to the right wing, where his own ſquadron was, to which he joined it; and making the two companies of arquebuſiers diſmount, ſent their horſes amongſt the baggage, deſigning to make uſe of them as the forlorn hope. After this, he bid me follow him to view the diſpoſition of the two armies, " in order, added he, that you may learn your trade." He had no ſooner placed himſelf at the head of his ſquadron *, than the trumpets ſounded the charge.

I shall not here encroach upon the hiſtorian's right; I leave it to them to relate all the particulars of this battle, and ſhall confine myſelf only to what I was an eye-witneſs of. It is ſufficient to ſay that, upon this occaſion, what gave the victory to the weaker party, was the valour of the marechal d'Aumont, who prevented the entire defeat of the light horſe, as alſo the great difference between the enemy's manner of uſing their artillery, and ours; and above all, the uncommon abilities of the king, which were never ſo perfectly known as in the day of battle, in the diſpoſition of his troops, rallying them, their diſcipline, and their exact and ready obedience.

* " My companions" ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to his ſquadron, " if to-day " you run my fortune, I alſo run yours. " I am reſolved to die, or conquer with " you; keep your ranks, I beſeech you, " and if you ſhould quit them in the heat " of the battle, rally immediately; which " will be gaining the victory: you will " do it between thoſe three trees which " you ſee up there on the right: and, if " you ſhould loſe ſight of your ſtandards " and colours, keep my white plume of " feathers always in view; there you will " find the road to victory and glory." Perefixe, ibid. 2d part. " They loſt ſight " of him in the battle, where, accompa- " nied only by twelve or thirteen perſons, " he was ſurrounded by the enemy. He " killed the count of Egmont's equery " with his own hand. We muſt uſe our " piſtols, ſaid he to his troop; the more " men the more glory." Matthieu, vol. II. book i. p. 26, &c.

1590. It is certain the duke of Maïenne, and the count of Egmont, who were at the head of the Spaniards, imagined that if the king ventured to wait for them, the victory would be theirs; and that, if he yielded, or gave ground before them, as they expected, they depended upon nothing less than forcing him out of whatever place he should retreat to; and thus finish the war by a single blow. With such dispositions, what must be the consequence? I say nothing of the generals, who alone are worth many thousand men. The stronger party never makes use of those precautions that are necessary against an enemy of equal strength; and the weaker never forms a resolution to defend itself against a more numerous army, without determining likewise to supply, by valour and address, the deficiency of numbers. Danger, which inspires a courage animated by glory and difficulties, reduces both sides to a kind of equality.

The king's squadron *, where I was, had the attacks of the count of Egmont to sustain, who fell upon us with his own squadron, and another of a thousand, or twelve hundred German horse. It is true, the Germans, who profest the same religion as our soldiers did, fired their pieces into the air. But the count of Egmont behaved like a man who was resolved to conquer. He charged us with such fury, that notwithstanding the desertion of the Germans, after a terrible fire, and an encounter which lasted a full quarter of an hour, the earth

* See upon this action de Thou, book xcviii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. ch. 3. Le Grain, book v. The Memoirs of the league. Father Matthieu, idem. The Chron. Novenn. of Cayet, vol. II. fol. 327. and an account printed in 1590, and others.

De Thou and Cayet observe, that Henry the IVth's artillery had fired nine times before the duke of Maienne's began; they also blame the duke for having disposed his army in the form of a crescent, like Henry's, when, being superior in number, he ought to have given it the form of a triangle. According to Matthieu, Henry IV. was guilty of a great fault, in not beginning the battle, by falling upon the light horse commanded by du Terrail, and upon the duke of Maïenne's body, who, having advanced too far, was obliged to go half a league about in retreating. It appears, that the cavalry only fought there; and, if we believe le Grain, twelve hundred horse defeated an army of twenty thousand men. But here is a little exaggeration. The king's army was composed of about two thousand cavalry, and six or seven thousand infantry; and the league's consisted of five thousand horse, and eight thousand foot. The count of Egmont, who had boasted that his squadron alone was sufficient to subdue the royal army, was slain in the fight. He was the son of l'Amoral d'Egmont, who was beheaded at Brussels with the count of Horne. It is said, that when he came to Paris, the person who complimented him, mixed in his discourse some praises of l'Amoral his father, "Do not "mention him," he replied; "he was "a rebel, and deserved to die."

was

was covered with dead bodies. Our ſquadron fled on the left, and on the right they were broke and gave ground. At the firſt onſet, my horſe was wounded in the noſtrils, and in the neck at a ſecond, where the ſaddle did not reach, and a third quite overpowered him, and carried away two of his feet, and a piece of fleſh off the calf of my leg. I received another wound in my hand. A piſtol ſhot gave me a third more conſiderable; the ball entered my hip, and came out near my belly. I ſhould certainly have been killed, if my equery had not flown to my aſſiſtance with another horſe, upon which I mounted, though with great difficulty. This inſtance of affection drew a great many wounds upon poor Maignan, and had like to have coſt him his life. 1590.

At a ſecond charge, this horſe was likewiſe ſlain, and in the ſame moment I received a piſtol-ſhot in the thigh, and a cut with a ſword on the head. I fell to the earth, and with my ſenſes loſt all the remaining part of the action, which from the advantage the count of Egmont had already gained, boded no good to us. All I know is, that a long time after, recovering my ſenſes, I ſaw neither enemies, nor any of my domeſtics, near me, whom terror, and the diſorder, had diſperſed; another preſage which appeared to me no leſs unfavourable.

I retired without a head-piece, and almoſt without armour, for in the battle mine had been battered to pieces. In this condition I ſaw a trooper of the enemy's running towards me, with an intention to take away my life. By good fortune I found myſelf near a pear-tree, to which I crept, and with that little motion I was ſtill able to exert, made ſuch good uſe of the branches, which were extremely low, that I evaded all my adverſary's attempts, and kept him at a diſtance, who being weary with turning round the tree, at laſt quitted me. Feuquieres had not the like good fortune; he was killed that moment before my eyes. Juſt then la Rocheforêt (who has ſince been with me) paſſing by, I aſked him for a little nag which he was leading, and paid him for it upon the ſpot thirty crowns. It was always my opinion, that on ſuch occaſions, it is proper to carry a little money about one.

Thus mounted, I was going to learn news of the battle, when I ſaw ſeven of the enemy approach, one of whom carried the white

1590. ſtandard belonging to the duke of Maïenne's company. I thought it impoſſible to eſcape this new danger, and upon their crying, "*Qui "vive?*" I told my name, as being ready to ſurrender myſelf a priſoner. But how was I aſtoniſhed, when inſtead of attacking me, I found four of theſe perſons intreating me to receive them for priſoners, and to ſave their lives; and while they ranged themſelves about me, appear rejoiced at this meeting! I granted their requeſt: and it ſeemed ſo ſurprizing to me, that four men unhurt, and well armed, ſhould ſurrender themſelves to a ſingle man, diſarmed, covered with his own blood, mounted upon a little paltry nag, and ſcarce able to ſupport himſelf, that I was tempted to take all I ſaw for an illuſion. But I was ſoon convinced of the truth of it. My priſoners (ſince they would be ſo) made themſelves known for monſieurs de Châtaigneraie *, de Sigogne, de Chanteloup. and d'Aufreville. They told me, that the duke of Maïenne had loſt the battle; that the king was that inſtant in purſuit of the vanquiſhed, which had obliged them to ſurrender, for fear of falling into worſe hands, their horſes not being in a condition to carry them out of danger; at the ſame time Sigogne, in token of ſurrender, preſented me with the white ſtandard. The three others, who were the duke of Nemours, the chevalier d'Aumale, and Tremont, not ſeeming inclined to ſurrender, I endeavoured to perſuade them to do ſo, but in vain. After recommending their companions to me, ſeeing a body of the victors advance, they rode away, and ſhewed me that their horſes were ſtill vigorous enough to bear them from their enemies.

Charles of Savoy duke of Nemours.

I ADVANCED with my priſoners towards a battalion of Swiſs, and meeting one of the king's chief pages, I gave him the ſtandard to carry, it being too weighty a burthen for me. I then ſaw more plainly the marks of our victory. The field was full of the fugitive leaguers and Spaniards, and the victorious army † of the king pur-

* John de Vivonne, lord of Châtaignaire. Charles de Beauſoncle, lord of Sigogne, cornet of the duke of Maïenne's company. The hiſtorians take notice of the priſoners monſieur de Roſny took in this encounter, and the wounds he received to the number of ſeven. It was for ſome time believed, that Henry IV. was ſlain. What gave riſe to this falſe report was the marquis of Neſle, who was that day dreſt like the king, being ſeen ſurrounded by the enemy, and wounded in ſeveral places, of which he died. Matthieu, ibid.

† "The king cried, Spare the French, "and fall upon the foreigners." Perefixe, ibid. part 2d. "Henry," ſays the author of the Henriade, "owed this victory to "the ſuperiority of his ſkill and valour. "But he confeſſed that Maïenne had per- "formed all the duties of a great general; "he had no fault," ſaid he, "but in the "cauſe he ſupported." The duke of Maïenne would have been taken, but for

ſuing

suing, and scattering the rest of the larger bodies, had dispersed, and were again drawing together. The Swiss soldiers of the two armies, meeting, bullied each other with their pikes lowered, without striking a blow, or making any other motion. 1590.

The white standard embroidered with black flowers-de-luce, was known by every one to be that of the Guises, which they bore in memory, and through horror, of the assassination of Blois, and drew great numbers to it, as to a prey equally rich and honourable. The black velvet coats of my prisoners, which were covered with silver crosses, glittered from afar in the field. The first who flew to seize them, were messieurs de Cambrai, de l'Archant, du Rollet, de Crevecœur, de Palcheux, and de Brassieuse, who were joined by the count de Torigny. I advanced towards them, and supposing they would not know my face, disfigured by blood and dust, I named myself. The count de Torigny no sooner knew la Châtaigneraie, who was his relation, than judging that, in the condition he saw me, I should not be able to preserve my prisoners from insult, he intreated me to give Châtigneraie to his care, for whom he would be answerable. I readily granted his request, yet it was with regret that I saw him go away. What Torigny did through a principle of friendship had a fatal consequence for the unhappy Châtaigneraie. Some moments after he was known by three men belonging to d'O's company, who had been guard to Henry III. These men levelling their pieces at him, shot him dead, crying, "'Sdeath! thou traytor to thy king, "whom thou hast murdered, and triumphed in the deed."

I might have made the count of Torigny pay this prisoner's ransom, and I was advised by several persons to do so; but I could not resolve to add this new cause of affliction to what he already felt for the death of a man, with whom I had myself been well acquainted.

I soon saw myself surrounded by many persons, amongst whom there was not one that did not envy my good fortune. D'Andelot *

his precaution in breaking the bridge of Ivry as he fled. But by that means he exposed the German horse and foot to be slaughtered there, twelve hundred of which were killed upon the spot; a like number of French infantry, and a thousand horse. So that here made the loss much greater. Of the royalist, five hundred private men, and about twenty gentlemen were killed. This battle was fought between Dreux and Nonancourt, at the village of St. André and Foucrainville.

† Charles de Coligny, marquis d'Andelot, one of the admiral de Coligny's sons.

1590. came after the reſt, and paſſing through the croud, perceived Sigogne, and the page who carried the ſtandard. He was preparing to ſeize it, believing his good fortune had preſerved this prize for him, when a report that the enemies had rallied, obliged him to go away abruptly. I had not time to draw him out of his error; for after he had bid the page keep that ſtandard for him, he ſuddenly diſappeared. The news was found to be falſe, and had no other foundation than the arrival of two hundred ſoldiers from Picardy, which meſſieurs de Mouy * and de la Boiſſiere had brought to the duke of Maïenne.

Bertrand de Vignoles.

Being now diſengaged from the croud, and finding myſelf in need of help, eſpecially for the wound in my hip, by which I loſt a great deal of blood, I advanced with my prize to the head of Vignoles' regiment, which had behaved bravely in the battle. Here fearing no further ſurprize, I aſked for a ſurgeon to bind up my wound, and deſired ſome wine to prevent fainting, which I found coming upon me. My ſtrength being a little renewed, I got to Anet, the keeper of which gave me an apartment, where I cauſed the firſt dreſſing to be put on my wounds in the preſence of the marechal Biron, who ſpent a few moments there after my arrival, and took ſome refreſhment in my chamber. He was conducting the corps de reſerve, which he commanded, to the king, who, without ſtopping after his victory, had paſſed the river of Eure, in purſuit of the enemies; and, as I was told, took at laſt the road to Roſny, where he lay the ſame night †.

After the marechal Biron was gone, d'Andelot arrived at Anet, full of reſentment againſt me for taking away his prize; for ſo he thought it. He entered my chamber, attended by five or ſix armed

* Charles d'Humieres. The vol. of manuſcripts in the king's library, marked 8930, is filled with his great actions. Charles, marquis de Mouy, or Moy. Chriſtopher de Lanoy de Boiſſiere, governor of Corbie.

† "That night he ſupped at the caſtle "of Roſny. Being informed that the ma- "rechal d'Aumont was come to give him "an account of what he had done, he "roſe up to meet him, and embracing "him affectionately, made him ſit down "at his table, with theſe obliging words, "that it was but juſt, that he who had "ſerved him ſo well at his nuptials, ſhould "ſhare the feaſt." Pereſixe, ibid. 2d part.

Monſieur de Pereſixe, in the ſame place, relates another circumſtance, which does honour to the king. "He remembered "that, the evening before the battle, he "had uſed ſome harſh expreſſions to co- "lonel Theodoric Schomberg, who had "aſked him for money, and told him in a "paſſion, that it was not acting like a "man of honour to demand money, when "he came to take orders for fighting. He "afterwards went to him, when he was

men,

men, and with an air equally fierce and inſulting, demanded an explanation, or rather ſought to do himſelf juſtice; for perceiving the white ſtandard, which, with that belonging to my company, had been placed at the head of my bed, he would have taken poſſeſſion of it by force, without attending to what I ſaid. I changed my tone immediately, and high words paſſed between us. In the condition wherein I was, I could do no more. But he ſpeaking with fury, and making uſe of threats, the noiſe drew fifteen or twenty of my troopers into the chamber, at the ſight of whom d'Andelot reſtraining his rage, went out, commanding Sigogne to follow him, which he refuſed, and endeavoured, but in vain, to make him comprehend the injuſtice of his pretenſions. 1590.

THE next morning I cauſed myſelf to be carried by water to Paſſy, with an intention to go to Roſny, to finiſh my cure. On my arrival, I learned that part of the ſoldiers in my train, and my valets, with all my baggage, had retired thither, not knowing what was become of me, and intimidated by a report which was ſpread, that the king had loſt the battle. Being apprehenſive of the reproaches I might make them, they kept themſelves concealed. I cauſed them to be ſought for, but they were ſo much aſhamed of their cowardice, that the following night they fled away on foot; nor have I ſince been ever able to get any intelligence of them. They left all my baggage behind them, with four of their own horſes, which I ordered to be ſold, and diſtributed the money amongſt their wounded companions.

As I was not in a condition to mount a horſe, I ordered a kind of litter, compoſed of the branches of trees, with the bark ſtill on, and the hoops of ſome veſſels, to be made for me in haſte, and tra-

" ranging his troops in order, and ſaid, " Colonel, we are now upon the point; " perhaps I ſhall never go from this place, " it is not juſt that I ſhould deprive a " brave gentleman as you are of your ho- " nour; I come therefore to declare, that " I know you to be an honeſt man, and " incapable of committing a baſe action. " Saying this, he embraced him with " great affection. The colonel, ſenſibly " moved with this behaviour, replied, with " tears in his eyes, Ah! Sire, in reſtoring " to me my honour, you take away my " life; for after this I ſhould be unwor- " thy of your favour, if I did not ſacri- " fice it to-day for your ſervice. If I had " a thouſand lives, I would lay them all " at your feet. In fact, he was killed " upon this occaſion." Ibid.

The mareſchal Biron, who at the head of the corps de reſerve, had greatly contributed towards this victory, ſaid to Henry IV. " Sire, you have performed what " Biron ſhould, and he on his part has done that " which the king ought to have done."

1590. velled by Beurons, to avoid the aſcents and declivities of Rougevoie, and Châtillon.

Maignan, who was a youth of a lively imagination, thought proper to give this march the air of a little triumph. Two of the grooms of my ſtable were at the head of this train, each leading one of my fineſt horſes; they were followed by my pages, one of whom rode on my horſe, the ſame who having received three wounds in the battle, and being thrown to the ground by a fourth, got up again without a ſaddle, and running about the field, was fortunately known by three of my arquebuſiers. This page carried my cuiraſs, and the duke of Maïenne's ſtandard, the other bore my bracelets, and my helmet, ſo bruiſed, that it was no longer of any uſe. My equery, the contriver of this diverting ſcene, marched next, with his head bound up, and his arm in a ſcarf: he was followed by Moreines, my valet de chambre, dreſt in my coat of orange-coloured velvet, with thin plates of ſilver, and mounted upon my Engliſh nag, holding in his hand, as a trophy, a bundle of the ſhivers of my piſtols, the broken pieces of my ſwords, and the tattered remains of my plume of feathers. The litter in which I lay came next, covered only with a cloth, upon which they had hung the black velvet coats of my priſoners, with their plumes, and pieces of their piſtols and ſwords at the four corners. The priſoners themſelves followed my litter, and preceded the reſt of my domeſtics; after whom, ranged in order, came my own company of ſoldiers, and the march was cloſed with James's and Badet's two companies of arquebuſiers. They had ſuffered ſo much in the battle, that there was not one of them who had not his head bound up, and his arm in a ſcarf, and ſome of theſe brave ſoldiers were even obliged to be carried by their companions.

When we came near Beurons, we perceived all the plain covered with horſes and dogs; and the king himſelf, who, after a ſlight repaſt, had returned from Roſny to Mante, and was hunting there in my warren. This ſhew ſeemed to pleaſe him; he thought it very happily diſpoſed, and ſmiled at the vanity of Maignan, who had the honour of being known to this prince, ever ſince his father, who was a very brave man, had made himſelf remarkable at the taking of Eauſe. The king approached my litter, and in the ſight of his whole train, diſdained not to give me ſuch proofs of tenderneſs and concern, as (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) one friend would do to another. I could not expreſs my gratitude by throwing myſelf at his feet, but I aſſured

assured him, and with truth, that I would gladly suffer a thousand times more for his service. He required, with an obliging solicitude, whether all my wounds were of such a nature, that I might hope to be cured without mutilating any part of my body, which he thought almost impossible, knowing that I had been thrown down senseless, and trampled under the horses feet. When he was convinced that I had nothing to fear, he cast himself on my neck, and turning to the princes and noblemen who followed him, he said aloud, that he honoured me with the title of a true and honest knight, a title which he said, he thought superior to that of a knight-companion of his orders. Being apprehensive that I should hurt myself by speaking too much, he put an end to this agreeable conversation with his usual protestation, that I should share in whatever good fortune heaven should send him; and, leaving me, said, "Farewel, my friend, take care of your-"self, and, depend upon it, you have a good master." There are princes who are capable of gratitude, but this quality is seldom increased, or even kept, in success. 1590.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK IV.

1590. THE ſame day that the king gained the battle of Ivry, his party alſo prevailed in Auvergne *, where Randan commanded the troops of the league; but fortune, as it ſhould ſeem, when ſhe gave this prince ſucceſs ſufficient to put him in poſſeſſion of ſeveral crowns, took pleaſure, at the ſame time, in producing circumſtances which hindered the effect, and left him no other fruit of his victories than the ſole glory of having conquered. After the battle of Ivry, terror and conſternation ſeized the whole party of the league, ſo that it ſeemed hardly poſſible for the king, who was now reſolved to let ſlip none of his advantages, to have failed of drawing very great ones from the preſent poſture of his affairs. Nor did he expect to have ſeen them raviſhed from him by a general mutiny in his army, particularly of the Swiſs, who refuſed to advance a ſtep farther, till they were paid thoſe ſums the king owed them.

THIS prince had then neither money nor means in readineſs to recover any. He came to Mante, to demand ſome of the ſuperinten-

* At Iſſoire. See an account of it in Cayet, ibid. 329. De Thou, &c. John Lewis de la Rochefoucault, count of Randan.

dant of the finances. This man, who ſecretly hated the king, and beheld his ſucceſs with grief, took pleaſure in adding to his perplexities, and had but one anſwer to make to all his ſolicitations. In this time of confuſion, when the royal treaſure became a prey to the firſt poſſeſſor, the finances were very difficult to manage, and the king's revenues ſcarce ſufficient to ſatisfy the avarice of the receivers, which generally increaſed with public miſery. Henry wanted that abſolute authority, which alone was able to check them, and ſtill more the means of convicting them of any miſdemeanor; for he had not the ſlighteſt knowledge of the affairs of the finances. Notwithſtanding this, he entered into a detail which became neceſſary for him, and obliged * d'O to deliver up certain ſums, which it was not difficult to ſee had paſſed through his hands. Theſe ſums he made uſe of to pacify his ſoldiers; but this affair took up at leaſt five days, during which the king could not leave Mante, and conſequently derive no advantage from his victory. I remember to have heard this prince declare, that he now, for the firſt time in his whole life, ſaw himſelf in a ſituation to convert his deſires into deſigns: "for I have often had "deſires, ſaid he, but never found a fit opportunity to form deſigns." He gave the ſame ſignification to this laſt term that all wiſe men do; a ſcheme, the ſucceſs of which is ſecured by reflection and prudence: and it is in this ſenſe which every one wiſhes to take what ſeems right in his own opinion, without prejudice to any other perſon; but it is fools only who raſhly engage in deſigns, without any appearance of ſucceeding in them. 1590.

During his ſtay at Mante, d'Andelot went to him to complain of me, and this prince gave himſelf the trouble to come to Roſny, that he might hear us both. D'Andelot was there generally condemned, and the raillery his ridiculous claim drew upon him from the principal officers, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that he went over to the party of the league. I did not think the ſame juſtice was done to me with regard to the government of Mante, the taking of which was almoſt the only conſequence of the battle of Ivry. The king, of whom I requeſted this poſt, beſtowed it on a catholic †, at which I made loud complaints. I confeſs, to my confuſion, that if I had ſeriouſly conſidered the ſituation the king was then in, every moment upon the point of being abandoned by the foreigners for want of payment, and

* Francis d'O, lord d'O, de Maillebois, and de Fresne, maſter of the wardrobe to Henry III. firſt gentleman of the chamber, ſuperintendant of the finances, governor of Paris, and iſle of France. He will be mentioned hereafter.

† This government was given to monſieur de Roſny's youngeſt brother.

thoſe

1590. thoſe catholics that were in his ſervice, ready to ſeize the ſlighteſt occaſion of diſguſt for a pretence to quit him, I ſhould not have murmured, that he granted to a catholic, who had but little affection to his perſon, what he refuſed to a faithful ſervant. There was more greatneſs of mind in being ſatisfied with the friendſhip of this prince, independent of its effects, than in receiving favours, which were determined by policy, and the neceſſity of the time.

All obſtacles being removed, the king advanced with his troops, took Dreux, and marched towards Sens, which he expected to have ſurrendered through the correſpondence he held within the city; but this failed, and Henry, unwilling to come ſo far in vain, and being beſides informed that the place was deſtitute of ammunition, he undertook the ſiege of it. It was not long before he found himſelf, through the malice of his ſecret enemies, in a general want of all things neceſſary to finiſh this enterprize, and was therefore obliged to abandon it. To efface the ſhame, he gave out, that he raiſed this ſiege, in order to go and inveſt Paris itſelf, and he took his rout thither by Corbeil, Meulan, Lagny, and St. Denis, which he ſeized in his way.

Cities of the iſle of France.

I was not at any of theſe ſieges; and my wounds were not yet half cured, when I learnt that the king had inveſted Paris; and not able to reſiſt the deſire I had to be preſent at this expedition, I ſet out, with my arm however in a ſcarf, and ſupported by two crutches. The king, forgetting all my complaints, received me with his uſual goodneſs, and commanded me to ſtay near his perſon. He communicated to me the deſign he had formed upon Paris, which he was reſolved at the ſame time to carry into execution over all the ſuburbs; in order to deprive the city of the ſubſiſtence it drew from them, ſuch as fruit, vegetables, &c. He divided his army into ten little bodies, to equal the number of the ſuburbs he deſigned to ſtorm; and having made choice of the night for the execution of his ſcheme, he withdrew to the mountain of Montmarte, that he might ſend ſupplies wherever there was occaſion for them. He placed himſelf in an abbey, where he was not only followed by the wounded, who could have no ſhare in the glory of that night, but by all the aged, and the gentlemen of the robe and pen. He made me ſtay with him at a window, from whence he viewed the action; during which, he converſed with Du-Pleſſis, Ruſé, de Freſne, Alibour *, and I.

* Du-Pleſſis-Mornay; Martin Ruſé, lord of Beaulieu; and Peter Forget, lord of Freſne; his majeſty's ſecretaries: Alibour his phyſician.

The

1590.

The attack began at midnight, with a frightful noife of the artillery, which was anfwered by that of the city. There was not one perfon, who did not think that this immenfe city would be deftroyed, either by the fire of the artillery, or the mines kindled in its bowels: never was there a fpectacle more capable of infpiring horror. Thick clouds of fmoke, through which darted by intervals fparks of fire, or long trains of flames, covered all that fpace of earth, which, by the viciffitude of light and darknefs, feemed now plunged in thick fhades of night, and now fwallowed up in a fea of fire. The thunder of the artillery, the clafhing of arms, and the cries of the combatants, added to this object all that can be imagined terrible, which was ftill increafed by the natural horror of night. This fcene continued two whole hours, and was clofed with the reduction of all the fuburbs, not excepting that of St. Antoine; although by its great extent we were obliged to begin the attack at a confiderable diftance. They blocked up the city-gates, fo that nothing could enter without the permiffion of thofe who guarded them; and the people immediately faw themfelves reduced to an excefs of mifery and famine, which I cannot yet think of without horror.

I must be permitted to pafs flightly over this part; I cannot, with any pleafure, enlarge upon fo dreadful a fubject. The king, naturally compaffionate, was moved with the diftrefs of the Parifians: he could not bear the thoughts of feeing this city, the empire of which was deftined for him by providence, become one vaft church-yard. He fecretly permitted every thing that could contribute to its relief, and affected not to obferve the fupplies of provifions which the officers and foldiers fuffered to enter the city, either out of compaffion to their relations and friends who were in it, or with a defign to make the citizens purchafe them at a high price. Without doubt, he imagined this conduct would gain him the hearts of the Parifians; but he was deceived, they enjoyed his benefits without ceafing to look upon him as the author of their miferies, and, elated with the prince of Parma's arrival, they infulted him, who only raifed the fiege becaufe he was too much affected with the miferies of the befieged *.

* Perefixe, Cayet, and many others are alfo of opinion, that the king was withheld from taking Paris by ftorm, and from yielding to the repeated intreaties of his foldiers, particularly the huguenots, by his having perceived, that on this occafion they were refolved to revenge the maffacre on St. Bartholomew, by putting all within Paris to the fword. "The duke of Ne-"mours, fays Perefixe, ftop all thefe "mouths out of Paris: the king's council "oppofed his granting them paffage, but

1590. To juſtify an action, in itſelf as much blamed by the maſters in the art of war, as praiſed for its motive by hearts truly benevolent, the king cauſed it to be reported, that his deſign in raiſing the ſiege of Paris was to go and meet the prince of Parma †, and by a deciſive action put an end to a war already too long. He made uſe of all the precautions neceſſary to ſecure a ſafe retreat from a city ſo populous as Paris, and commanded every one to hold themſelves in readineſs for a general ſignal; to the end that, all the ſuburbs being evacuated in a moment, no perſon might remain at the mercy of the populace. This retreat required great wiſdom and addreſs, and was happily effected on the firſt or ſecond of September in the ſame year; after which the whole army arrived at the common rendezvous, without meeting with any accident.

" the king, being informed of the dreadful " ſcarcity to which theſe miſerable wretches " were reduced, ordered that they ſhould " be allowed to paſs. I am not ſurprized, " ſaid he, that the Spaniards, and the chiefs " of the league, have no compaſſion upon " theſe poor people, they are only tyrants; " as for me, I am their father and their " king, and cannot hear the recital of their " calamities, without being pierced to my " inmoſt ſoul, and ardently deſiring to " bring them relief." Perefixe, part 2d. The cardinal de Gondy, biſhop of Paris, having been ſent, during this ſiege, to make Henry propoſitions for peace: " I will " not diſſemble, ſaid he, but diſcover my " ſentiments to you freely. I am willing " to grant you peace, I deſire it myſelf; I " would give one finger to have a battle, " and two to have a general peace. I love " my city of Paris, I am jealous of her, I " am deſirous of doing her ſervice, and " would grant her more favours than ſhe " demands of me; but I would grant them " voluntarily, and not be compelled to it " by the king of Spain or the duke of " Maienne." It may be added, that Henry IV. expected the Pariſians would capitulate before the prince of Parma's arrival. The extremity to which this city was reduced, raiſed at once compaſſion and horror: in the ſpace of a month, 30,000 perſons died of hunger: mothers fed upon the fleſh of their children: by the Spaniſh ambaſſador's advice, they dug up the dead bodies, and made uſe of their bones pounded, to compoſe a kind of paſte. This deteſtable food coſt the greateſt part of thoſe that eat of it their lives. See a relation of this in the hiſtorians, particularly in the ſecond volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, p. 358, &c. Read alſo the fine verſes of the Henriade upon this ſubject, canto the tenth. The Pariſians owed their ſafety chiefly to the duke of Nemours; whoſe gallant defence has been lightly praiſed by our writers. The people ſeconded him with an obſtinate eagerneſs, which had more of fury than true courage in it. A regiment of prieſts and monks were ſeen there, Capuchins, Foliетanis, Carthuſians, &c. groteſquely armed above their frocks. This aukward regiment being eager to ſalute the legate, killed his ſecretary at his ſide. The monks of St. Genevieve, St. Victor, the Benedictins, the Celeſtins, and ſome orders, would have no part in this military maſquerade. Cayet's Ch. Novenn. ib. 360.

† Alexander Farneſe, duke of Parma and Placentia, ſon to Octavio Farneſe, and Margaret of Auſtria, natural daughter to Charles V. He married Mary of Portugal, by whom he had Ranucio Farneſe, duke of Parma, and Odoard Farneſe, cardinal.

1599.

The king * knowing that the prince of Parma was in the neighbourhood of Meaux, came and poſted himſelf between this city and Paris, and made his light horſe advance as far as Claye; where the two camps being ſo contiguous, ſeveral ſmart encounters enſued. The king, upon the marechal Biron's repreſentations, preferred to this poſt that of Chelles, and went thither contrary to his own opinion; for he looked upon Claye to be a more advantageous poſt, and at the ſame time fitter to ſhut up the road to Paris from the enemy's general; for he had ſtill views upon the city, and carried on a correſpondence within it, which if the prince of Parma had entered, would have failed him, and which it did notwithſtanding. The king then took poſſeſſion of a riſing-ground, which on one ſide preſented nothing to view but a deep valley and a moraſs, that took away all poſſibility of acting in that place. The prince of Parma perceiving this, encamped on a hill oppoſite to ours. It was neither his deſign nor his intereſt to hazard a battle, but to give us a check; his camp anſwered this purpoſe exactly, as he was there ſheltered from any attack, and out of the reach of the cannon. The king became ſenſible of the error, which too much complaiſance for the opinion of another had drawn him into; when, after remaining two or three days in this poſition, he ſaw Lagny taken before his eyes, without having it in his power to prevent it †.

A town between Paris and Meaux.

A town between Paris and Meaux.

A city of Brie upon the Marne.

This event, joined to his raiſing the ſiege of Paris, mortified him extremely, becauſe he was ſenſible that it might be concluded from thence, that the enemy was ſuperior to him in judgment, which this

* De Thou ſays, that Henry IV. was obliged to pretend, that he only raiſed the ſiege of Paris in order to go and meet the prince of Parma, and to give him battle; for fear that his ſoldiers, whom the hopes of the plunder of Paris had only prevailed upon to ſtay with him, ſhould abandon him. Book xcix.

† The duke of Sully is more candid than the greateſt part of the hiſtorians, who will not confeſs that Henry IV. committed any fault upon this occaſion. They cannot agree amongſt themſelves, either about the raiſing the ſiege of Paris, or all theſe different encampments. Villeroy in his Memoirs mentions this circumſtance in the ſame manner as Sully does; and attributes to that one fault of preferring the poſt of Chelles to Claye, all the honour the prince of Parma gained by obliging the king to raiſe the ſiege of Paris, without coming to a battle; the taking of Lagny, &c. vol. I. p. 190. vol. II. p. 466. See likewiſe upon all theſe expeditions Matthieu, ibid. 53, &c. and the other hiſtorians. The prince of Parma was deſirous of ſeeing Paris, and entered it incognito. "I am informed," ſaid he to the duke of Maienne, "that "the king of Navarre makes more uſe of "boots than ſhoes, and that to ruin him "we muſt protract the time, and employ "delays, rather than force." Cayet's Chron. Novenn. ibid. 390.

1590. prince conſidered as a matter of great importance in war. What gave him ſtill more uneaſineſs was, that none were more ready to believe, or even to ſpread theſe diſadvantageous reports, than the catholics of his own army. What reliance could he have on the aſſiſtance of perſons, by whom the diſobedience of his ſoldiers, and his want of money, were occaſioned? and he was convinced that this diſpoſition with regard to him was an incurable malady, which his good or his bad fortune equally increaſed. Such is the hatred that religion is the foundation of! and in the end, the king had a thouſand fatal proofs of it.

He now reſolved upon a very prudent meaſure, and indeed the only one that was left him. No longer perſiſting in his deſign of taking Paris, which ſo many circumſtances concurred to ruin, he quitted his poſt at Chelles, where he ran great hazards with an army whoſe intereſts clathed with thoſe of its leader, and ſuddenly abandoning all thoſe quarters, retreated to the river of Oiſe, and fixed at Creil; where, without ceaſing to harraſs the prince of Parma, he ſuffered him ſlowly to conſume of himſelf. During this time, he made no other motions than what ſerved to hinder his army from being enervated by ſloth. He laid ſiege to Clermont, and continued it by frequent detachments. My company he poſted in the neighbourhood of Mante, to keep the country of Chartrain, and part of the iſle of France, in order. I obtained leave to continue near his perſon, though I was not in a condition to do him any very great ſervices; the wound in my hip not permitting me to ſit my horſe but with great uneaſineſs, and that in my elbow took away the uſe of one of my hands.

A town upon the Oiſe.

In Beauvaiſis

It happened as the king had foreſeen: the prince of Parma boaſted of his advantage in being maſter of the field; and that he might make uſe of it, laid ſiege to Corbeil. The king had provided this place as well as all the other royaliſt towns, with whatever was neceſſary to enable them to hold out againſt a long ſiege. The enemy's general, who did not expect this, was aſtoniſhed at the firm reſiſtance of Rigaut, governor of Corbeil, whom he a long time deſpaired of ſubduing; but thinking his honour was engaged in this undertaking, he continued his efforts, and ſucceeded at laſt. It was with this only exploit, however, that the campaign ended; he had bought it too dear to attempt a ſecond at the ſame price; and not being able to effect any thing upon the king's army, any more than his towns, he thought the wiſeſt thing he could do was to return to the Low Countries: which he did, to the

the extreme regret of the league, whom his preſence had greatly relieved. 1592.

HE judged, like an able general, that the king, who had (if the expreſſion may be allowed) cloſed his eyes upon all the advances he had made, would open them upon his retreat; and that this would not be effected with the ſame eaſe as the reſt. He was not miſtaken; but he acted with ſo much prudence, that he prevented the laſt misfortune which muſt unavoidably have happened to any other. Notwithſtanding all his precautions, the king, by an infinite number of attacks and ſkirmiſhes, ſometimes beat up his quarters, and brought him within an inch of his ruin. The moſt conſiderable of theſe little battles, was at the paſſage over the river of Aine. It was upon this occaſion, that the baron de Biron * engaged himſelf ſo far among the enemies battalions, that if the king had not run thither in perſon, with as many of us as were about him, and made a powerful effort to bring him off, he would have loſt his life there, or at leaſt his liberty.

I WAS able to keep my rank with the reſt during this whole march which was an excellent ſchool for a ſoldier to learn his trade in. It no leſs juſtified the conduct the king had till then obſerved, than it did him honour by the manner in which he executed it. Laying aſide only the terms of ignominious and ſhameful, which the courtiers, eager to pleaſe this prince, joined (in my opinion very unjuſtly) to the prince of Parma's retreat, it is certain, that the manner in which the king rendered an army uſeleſs, which had promiſed itſelf the conqueſt of all France, his bravery in attacking a powerful enemy who retreated not through weakneſs, and his dexterity in ſeizing all advantages, gave matter for admiration to perſons conſummate in the art of war, and equally ſtruck the eyes of the ignorant †. The king's conduct upon this occaſion, gave his partiſans new courage. Several towns ſubmitted, and ſome catholics came over to his ſide; among others, the duke of Nevers, who brought his troops along with him,

* Charles de Gontaut, ſon to the marechal.

† "Henry IV. ſays father Matthieu, "when he was in purſuit of the prince of "Parma, ſtole away from Attichy, and "went, for the firſt time, to ſee the beau- "tiful Gabrielle at Couvres. He con- "tented himſelf with eating ſome bread "and butter at the gate, that he might "not raiſe any ſuſpicion in her fa- "ther. Afterwards mounting his horſe, "he ſaid, he was going to ſee the ar- "my, and that the fair one ſhould ſoon "hear what he had performed through his "paſſion for her." Vol. II. p. 50.

either

1591. either because he began to be afraid of him, or was disgusted with the league.

It was not such allies as these that I wished the king: I found he dearly bought by his compliances the assistance of a man, who might have been indeed of some use to him; but who, in my opinion, only increased the number of his secret enemies * in the council: for thus I cannot help calling all those interested catholics, who carried every thing there with a high hand, and thought they had a right to give laws to Henry.

A city of Vexin.

During this prince's stay in the neighbourhood of Mante, I took Gisors, by means of a correspondence, which a gentleman in my company, named Fourges, carried on with his father, who was in the place. I did not imagine the government of this city would have been refused me; but it happened in this instance as it had done in many others. Messieurs de Nevers, d'O, and other catholics, put in practice all those mean artifices, which procured them favours, that ought only to have been the rewards of merit, and prevailed upon the king to give this post to one of their own religion.

I was too sincere to dissemble my thoughts of such injustice; I chose to explain myself upon this subject at the very time when all these gentlemen might hear what I said, and concealed nothing that lay upon my heart. The king, who was a better politician than I was, seemed not to be moved with my invectives against the catholics, although he secretly agreed that I was injured, and only answered me coldly, "I perceive you are heated at present; we will talk of this "affair another time. I must confess, added he after I retired, "that he has some reason for his complaints; his temper is naturally "fiery: however, he will never be guilty of any thing base or "wicked, for he is a good man, and loves honour." In the first emotions of my anger, I left my company to the care of my lieutenant, and went to take a tour in the valley of Aillant, and to Com-

* By all the letters that passed between the duke of Nevers and Henry III. which are at the end of the first volume of the Memoirs that bear his name, it appears, that the duke of Nevers served this prince effectually against the league, but without any kindness to the king of Navarre. When he joined this prince, their reciprocal letters shew, that the services he did Henry IV. were considerable indeed, but that he exacted a very high price for them, and that it was with difficulty Henry bore with his caprice, his jealousy, and his bad temper.

brailles,

1591.

Upon the confines of Champaigne, and Orleanois.

In Champaigne, upon the Yonne.

A city of Orleanois upon the Loire.

...les, upon my wife's eſtate, taking only ſix gentlemen, and my do... ...ſtics with me. I did not expect to be employed in any military duties in this journey; but while I was at Bontin, the count of Tonnerre * prevailed upon me, to aſſiſt him in an attempt he made upon Joigny. His deſign was to force with a petard a poſtern-gate, which for a long time before had not been opened, and through that to enter the town. Tonnerre, for this exploit, had only two hundred arquebuſiers, which he had got together in haſte. They followed him about two hundred ſteps into the city; but here their leader falling by a ſhot from an arquebuſe, terror ſeized them, and they haſtily retreated towards the poſtern, carrying the wounded count along with them. Their danger, or rather their fear redoubling, they had the baſeneſs to leave him upon the pavement, about thirty ſteps from the poſtern; where he would have been cut to pieces by the citizens, if I had not flown to his aſſiſtance, with only twenty men: for notwithſtanding all my endeavours, I could not prevail upon thoſe cowardly ſoldiers to face about. However, I reſcued Tonnerre, who took the road to Gien, of which he was governor; after which I muſtered up his brave troop, and reſumed my way to Bontin.

THE remembrance of the king's former goodneſs to me, and an invincible inclination, drew me back to him. I found him employed in the ſiege of Chartres †; the taking of which was principally owing to the valour and addreſs of Châtillon ‡. I was prevented from being preſent at this ſiege, by an adventure the moſt dangerous I was ever engaged in, in my whole life; nor have the intentions of the authors of it, or even their names, ever come to my knowledge.

* Francis Henry, count of Clermont and Tonnerre.

† "The magiſtrate of this city made "him a very long harangue; and telling "him, that he acknowledged the city was "ſubject to the king, by divine and hu- "man right; the king, out of patience at "his prolixity, interrupted him, puſhing "forward his horſe to enter, and ſaid, Av, "and add alſo by the cannons right." Father Chalons' hiſtory of France, vol. III. p. 227. This ſiege was long and bloody. See Matthieu, vol. II. p. 63. Cayet, vol. II. p. 415. and other hiſtorians.

‡ Francis de Coligny, ſon to the admiral, and admiral of Guyenne. He died this year 1591, in his caſtle of Louve, thirty years of age, leaving by Margaret d'Ailly de Péquigny, three ſons. The calviniſt party had a great loſs in him, for it is believed, that if he had lived, he would even have excelled his father. De Thou, book cii. Three ſons of d'Andelot, the admiral's brother, died at one time, in the year 1586, their names were Laval, Sailly, and Rieux. They were ſons of Francis de Coligny, and Claude de Breaux, ſole heireſs of the houſe of Laval. Book lxxxv.

RETURNING

1591. Returning from an aſſault which Châtillon made upon the body of the place, by means of a bridge of a new and very ingenious ſtructure, the king, who obſerved that my former ardour for his ſervice was not diminiſhed, called me, and commanded me to bring my company before Chartres. I was obliged to go and get my men together myſelf, and at the ſame time to provide every thing neceſſary for their maintenance. About three leagues from Mante, near the town of Touvery, I ſaw a brigade of twenty horſe in the field, which I ordered Tilly to reconnoitre. Upon his information that they bore white ſcarfs, I advanced without fear or precaution: as for them, continuing their rout, as if they had not even ſeen us, they ſtruck into the wood; from which, according to the courſe of the road I had taken, I could not expect to ſee them come out. I rode on with Tilly, La-Poterie, and La-Ruë, before the reſt of my troop, which conſiſted only of ſix other gentlemen, and four ſervants, who followed at ſome diſtance ſeparately. Theſe troopers, or robbers, I know not what to call them, knew the road perfectly, and had taken their meaſures ſo well, that they met us at the paſſage out of the foreſt, juſt where our road croſſed theirs. The two firſt took off their hats, when to the word, Qui vive? we anſwered, Vive le roi; but at the ſame time taking advantage of our ſecurity, fired cloſe to our breaſts. I ſaw three of the foremoſt take aim particularly at me. There was no probability that any of us would have eſcaped; but doubtleſs, precipitation, fear, and the terrors of conſcience, cauſed the hands of theſe villains to tremble, ſo that of three ſhots at me, one only reached me, which entering my lip, came out at the nape of my neck: it appeared to me, that La-Poterie and Tilly received the two others in their cloaths. La Ruë was the only perſon who fell.

The reſt of my troop running up at the noiſe, ſurrounded me, crying, "Vive Roſny." We all together charged our aſſailants, who retired, firing, to a village, covered with hedges, where we loſt ſight of them. They continued only to fire upon us from within the houſes, which covered my face with ſmall ſhot. By this circumſtance I concluded, that our adverſaries were of intelligence with the country; and that this village was full of ſoldiers, who only fought, perhaps, to draw us nearer. After ſeveral times calling to thoſe traitors to turn and accept a defiance, I thought it was the wiſeſt way to leave them, and take ſome care of my wounds; eſpecially that in my neck, which was the moſt conſiderable, and by which I loſt a great deal of blood.

blood. I got to Touvery, where, in the houſe of monſieur d'Auteuil, I put the firſt dreſſing upon them, and from thence retired to Mante, where I was ſix weeks under the ſurgeons hands. During this ſpace, the king's army not only ſeized Chartres, but Corbie likewiſe. Parabere had the conduct of this ſiege, in the abſence of the king, who was kept at St. Quentin *, by his new paſſion for mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées †. 1591. At the Château d'Auteuil.

The ſiege of Noyon followed that of Corbie. There is none which I could have more wiſhed to have given a circumſtantial relation of than this, if I had been a witneſs of it. A thouſand brave actions were performed by the beſieged. The duke of Maienne, who knew this place was of great importance to the league, ſent orders to the duke d'Aumale ‡, lieutenant general, who was then at Hain with ſome of the forces of the party, not to neglect giving it all poſſible aſſiſtance till he approached. The duke d'Aumale endeavoured twice to throw ſuccours into it; but la Chantelerie and Tremblecourt, who led them, were cut in pieces one after the other. The viſcount de Tavannes ||,

* It is to this year, and while Henry IV. ſtaid at St. Quentin, that we muſt bring back this prince's letter to M. de Roſny, which is without date, and may be ſeen amongſt the MSS. of the king's library, the contents of which perfectly agree with the text of our Memoirs, and is as follows: "All the news I have from Mante are, "that you have been fatigued, and are "much emaciated: if you have any deſire "to refreſh yourſelf and grow fat, it is "my opinion, that you ought to come "hither; mean time your brother will "ſend us news from thence of our ſiege "at Chartres," &c.

From ſeveral places in theſe Memoirs, where the ſhare Henry IV. gave to M. de Roſny in all his reſolutions is mentioned, particularly that relating to his converſion, which we ſhall come to preſently, we may infer, that this prince had always an entire confidence in him. I have tranſcribed the foregoing letter to ſhew by another teſtimony, that this opinion is not ill founded; and that the duke of Sully has not through vanity impoſed upon his readers. The hiſtorians have not mentioned this miniſter till he began to appear publicly at the head of affairs. 'Tis more than probable, that a long time before that, he had been the ſoul of all the actions and councils of Henry the Great. 'Tis eaſy to trace this timeleſs bias to his moſt early youth; tho' indeed all the actions of the duke of Sully compoſe a life, wherein no period of it ſeems to have been that of youth. This advantage muſt be allowed to minds born, as it were, grave and ſerious, over thoſe more lively and full of fire.

† She is often mentioned in the courſe of this work. Her name was Gabrielle; ſhe was daughter of John Antony d'Eſtrées, and Frances Babou de la Bourdaiſiere. She bore ſucceſſively the names of the fair Gabrielle, madame de Lamecour, the marchioneſs of Monceaux, and ducheſs of Beaufort.

‡ Charles de Lorrain, duke d'Aumale, ſon of Claude, ſlain before Rochelle, in the year 1573. He was the third of Claude de Lorrain's ſons; from whence aroſe all the branches of the houſe of Lorrain in France: that of d'Aumale was extinct ſoon after.

|| John de Saulx, viſcount of Tavannes, one of the marechals of the league

1591. major general, thinking he might be more ſucceſsful, preſented himſelf with four hundred arquebuſiers: they met with a party of fifty or ſixty horſe, belonging to us; who, after the Qui vive, charged them boldly, and put them to flight: the principal officers, who would have reſiſted, were all wounded, and taken priſoners with Tavannes, their commander. D'Aumale flattered himſelf, that he ſhould, in his turn, beat two quarters of light horſe, which he had ordered Bellangliſe to reconnoitre; but he found them mounted, and going to meet the king; and having attacked them, theſe light horſe, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the enemy, defended themſelves ſo long, and ſo bravely, that the baron de Biron, meſſieurs de la Hargerie, and de la Boiſſiere, had time to come up to their aſſiſtance: after which, theſe two troops joining, they defeated d'Aumale's whole detachment, which conſiſted of five hundred horſe, and as many horſe-arquebuſiers. Very few reached Ham without wounds, and a great number of priſoners were taken.

Lewis d'Ognies de la Hargerie, count of Chaune.

Another city upon the Somme.

The duke of Maïenne arriving at Ham at the very moment that theſe ſhattered remains retreated thither, was a witneſs of his loſs, and proteſted publicly, that he would efface this ſhame, either by raiſing the ſiege of Noyon, or by a battle. He drew together all his forces, ordered the baron de Roſne * to bring him the Spaniſh troops under the command of the prince of Aſcoli in Champagne; and finding himſelf at the head of nine hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, he advanced towards Noyon. He forgot his oath, when he ſaw that he had to do with men, who ſeemed not to have perceived his arrival. The commander of Noyon had repreſented to him by a gentleman, whom the king permitted to paſs through his army, that he had engaged to ſurrender the place in ſix days, if no ſuccours were ſent to him. The duke of Maïenne, the prince of Aſcoli, and the duke of Aumale, ſuffered Noyon to be taken before their eyes. This commander certainly deſerved to have been better ſeconded. His name was Rieux; and from a private ſoldier, became governor of Pierrefond, by his ſkill and bravery. Upon the report of Noyon's being attacked, he found means to throw himſelf into it, with fifty horſe, and as many arquebuſiers, to reaſſure this city, where all were in conſternation and diſmay, and to hold it out till the laſt extremity.

See a relation of the ſieges of Noyon, Pierrefont, and of all theſe expeditions in the above-named hiſtorians.

* Chriſtian de Savigny, baron of Roſne, in the duchy of Bar.

The

1591.

The duke of Maïenne ſeeing that his army was now uſeleſs, ſent it into quarters, and marched ſlowly towards Paris. He had long carried on a correſpondence in Mante, and he now thought it time to execute his deſign upon that place. He privately drew out the garriſons of Paris, Dreux, and Pontoiſe, and ſuddenly preſented himſelf within muſquet-ſhot of this city, before day. My brother * was governor of it, and I was then there myſelf; my wound not permitting me to keep the field. As ſoon as I was informed of the enemies arrival, I ran upon the ramparts with my head bound up; and cauſing ſome diſcharges to be fired at the aſſailants, forced them to abandon their deſign.

On the borders of France and Normandy.

The duke of Maïenne ſucceeded no better before Houdan, which he alarmed as he paſſed by. My other brother, who was there with his regiment, and ſome companies, gave him ſuch a reception, that he retreated with diſgrace.

What had happened at Mante, joined to the information my brother had received, convinced us, that the enemies had a correſpondence in the city. After conſulting together upon what was neceſſary to be done on this occaſion, I fixed upon the following expedient: I had ſtill in my pay ſix of thoſe brave ſoldiers who ſerved as a forlorn hope in the battle of Ivry, and to whom, beſides their pay, I gave eight livres a month. They were then in my brother's garriſon, to whom I could not refuſe them, and their fidelity I was abſolutely aſſured of. As it had been concerted with us two, they pretended to be diſcontented with the governor of Mante; and preſenting themſelves to the garriſon of Pontoiſe, were received with open arms. They immediately propoſed to d'Alincourt † to make him maſter of Mante by the connection which they told him they ſtill had in that place. To convince the governor of this, they aſked for four ſoldiers, whom by my connivance they conveyed into Mante, and directed them to get acquainted with ſome citizens, who were well diſpoſed to engage in all ſorts of factions. In a little time every thing was agreed upon, and the day fixed for delivering up Mante to the league. Theſe four ſol-

* Solomon de Bethune, called baron de Roſny, the author's youngeſt brother, and the third of thoſe four brothers he mentioned at the beginning of theſe Memoirs.

† Charles de Neufville, marquis d'Alincourt, ſon to Nicolas de Neufville de Villeroy, ſecretary of ſtate: he will be mentioned afterwards.

1591. diers found ſo little difficulty in the proſecution of their deſign, that d'Alincourt, believing the ſucceſs of it infallible, would have all the honour of it to himſelf. My ſoldiers gave me exact information of all that was contriving in Pontoiſe, and the joy which ſo well concerted an enterpriſe occaſioned there. The general council of the league, headed by the cardinal of Bourbon *, reſided in that city.

Mean time I took my meaſures very deep, that no affectation might appear in my conduct. I cauſed trains of gunpowder to be laid upon the ramparts which they intended to ſcale, without any one's perceiving it; and ſhut up all the houſes that ſtood near that ſide; after which I introduced into the place, by ſmall diviſions at different times, the beſt ſoldiers of the garriſons of Nogent, Vernon, and Meulan. This done, I thought myſelf obliged to ſend and inform the king, who was at Compeigne, of all that paſſed; which ruined our project. This prince could not reſiſt the deſire he had to receive the duke of Maïenne himſelf in Mante, and imagined he took ſufficient precaution againſt hurting our ſcheme, by not entering Mante till the night it was to be executed, and by carrying in with him only fifty horſe, and the ſame number of foot. As for me, when I ſaw him arrive, I was ſo well perſuaded that all our meaſures were broken, that I could not help reproaching him with ſome warmth for coming thus to undo our work, and expoſing, perhaps, the lives of the four ſoldiers, who conducted it, by means of the evidences that might appear againſt them. The king aſſuring me, that nothing of what I feared would happen, went to ſup at the governor's, and there, being fatigued with his long journey, threw himſelf upon a bed with his cloaths on, and large boots.

Day came, without any appearance of the enemies: I watched for them all night upon the ramparts with one of my brothers; the other ſtaid with the king. Juſt as I had retired to reſt, Bellengreville, whom

* This is not the old cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, ſon of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome, and brother to Antony king of Navarre, whom the league had proclaimed king. He died of the ſtone the year before, at Fontenai, in Poitou, whither Henry IV. had cauſed him to be removed from Chinon, aged ſixty-ſeven years; a prince, who had reaſon to complain, that they obliged him to aſcend a throne which had no allurements for him. He could not conceal his joy for the victory that Henry IV. gained at Coutras; and only accepted the crown, ſays Cayet, to preſerve it for that prince whom he loved. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. book ii. p. 357. The perſon mentioned here, is the cardinal his nephew, named Charles after him, ſon to Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, ſlain at Jarnac, and brother to the prince of Condé, who died at St. John d'Angely, to the prince of Conti, and the count of Soiſſons. He is mentioned in another place.

I had

I had ordered to obſerve the enemies motion without, came to me, and informed me, that the duke of Maïenne having received advice that ſome troops, led by the king in perſon, had entered Mante in the night, ſuppoſed his deſign was diſcovered, and retreated, after having advanced as far as Bourgenville. I carried him to the king, to whom he made the ſame report, and as a proof of the truth of what he ſaid, produced two carts, loaden with rope-ladders, and ſuch other inſtruments, which the leaguers, imagining they already ſaw the king at their heels, had left in the field, that they might not obſtruct their retreat. The affair became public and irretrievable; for the ſoldiers who eſcaped on both ſides could not be ſilent. 1591.

The king ſucceeded better at Louviers. This city kept a prieſt* in its pay, who from the top of a belfrey, which he never left, played the part of a ſpy with great exactneſs. If he ſaw but a ſingle perſon in the field, he rung a certain bell, and at the ſame ſide hung out a great flag. We did not deſpair of being able to corrupt his fidelity; which two hundred crowns, and a promiſe of a benefice worth three thouſand livres a-year, effected. There remained only to gain ſome of the garriſon; the ſieur du Rollet took this upon himſelf, and ſucceeded. He addreſſed himſelf to a corporal and two ſoldiers; who eaſily prevailed upon the reſt of the garriſon to truſt the guard of one of the gates to them only. Every thing being concluded upon, the king preſented himſelf before Louviers, at twelve o'clock in the night. No one rung the bell, nor was there the leaſt motion in the garriſon. Du Rollet entered, and opened the gate, through which the king paſſed, without the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, into the center of the town. Fontaine-Martel made ſome ineffectual efforts to draw the garriſon together; as for the citizens, they were employed in concealing their wives and daughters. This city, whoſe chief riches conſiſted in its magazines of linen and leather, was wholly pillaged. I had a gentleman with me, called Beaugrard, a native of Louviers, who was of great uſe to us in diſcovering where theſe ſort of goods were concealed, and a prodigious quantity of them was amaſſed together. The produce of my ſhare amounted to three thouſand livres. The care of Louviers was by the king conſigned to du Rollet. In Upper Normandy. June 5.

The ſame good fortune attended the duke of Montpenſier in all his enterpriſes in Normandy†. This ſucceſs was no more than neceſſary

* This prieſt was called John de la Tour.

† In the Lower Normandy, Falaize, Baieux, Argentan, Lizieux, &c. were in the to

1591. to comfort the king for the news he received, that the duke of Guiſe *, whom he conſidered as his principal enemy, had eſcaped from the caſtle of Tours, where he had been confined ever ſince the aſſaſſination at Blois. The king now reſumed his former deſign of attempting Rouen. Secure of the aſſiſtance and affection of almoſt all the cities of Normandy, he quitted Mante, where for ſome time paſt he had fixed his abode, and made it a little capital for the reſidence of his court and council; and cauſed his troops to file off towards this city. While preparations were making for this important ſiege, Henry took a private journey to Compeigne, of which love was the true cauſe, though he gave out that it was to ſend to Germany for a recruit of horſe. The viſcount Turenne undertook this affair, through gratitude for the king's having effected, and honoured with his preſence, his marriage with mademoiſelle de Sedan †, daughter, and ſole heireſs of the deceaſed duke of Bouillon, which was concluded

intereſt of the league: Caën, Alençon, Séez, Ecouché, &c. in the king's. The moſt conſiderable action happened in April 1589, in the field of Argentan, near Pierrefitte, Villars, and Commeaux, where the duke of Montpenſier cut off the leaguers of thoſe cantons, whom they called Gautiers, to the number of five or ſix thouſand. They were commanded by the count of Briſſac, Pierrecourt, Louchan, the baron d'Echaufour, and others. Three thouſand were left dead upon the ſpot, and a thouſand taken priſoners; the reſt eſcaped to Argentan. Commeaux, which is at preſent ſcarce a village, was taken with great difficulty. At length the duke of Montpenſier extirpated this whole party, and reduced ſeveral of the rebellious cities. He was aſſiſted by the count of Torigny, meſſ. d'Emery, de Loncaunai, de Beuvron, de Viques, de Bacqueville, l'Archant, and others. See theſe expeditions in the third volume of the Memoirs of the league.

* Charles of Lorrain, ſon of Henry duke of Guiſe, who was ſlain at Blois, and of Catherine of Cleves. He was born in the year 1571. "The flight of the duke "of Guiſe will ruin the league," ſaid Henry IV. as it is related by le Grain. The duke's valet de chambre having found means to amuſe Rouvrai, and his guards, either by play, or drinking, let him down from the higheſt window in the caſtle, in the midſt of the day, with a rope which he afterwards made uſe of to deſcend himſelf. The duke got into a ſmall boat, which carried him to the other ſide of the river, where two horſes waited for him, &c. Matthieu, vol. II. p. 81. Cayet, vol. II. book iii. p. 465, &c.

† Charlotte de la Mark, daughter of Robert de la Mark, ſovereign prince of Sedan, and of Frances of Bourbon-Montpenſier, by the death of her brother, William Robert de la Mark, duke of Bouillon, which happened at Geneva, in the year 1588, ſhe became heireſs of this principality. The duke, in his laſt will, forbad his ſiſter to marry a Roman catholic. This circumſtance, the king's friendſhip for the viſcount Turenne, his deſire of taking the lady from the dukes of Lorrain, Montpenſier, and Nevers, each of whom demanded her for his ſon; policy, which adviſed him to give an ambitious neighbour to the duke of Lorrain; and perhaps the belief that this marriage would induce the viſcount to lay aſide his deſign of making himſelf head of the calviniſts in France: theſe were the motives which determined Henry IV. to marry the heireſs of Sedan to the viſcount Turenne.

this

this year. Nor was I, for my part, ſorry that this retreat gave me an opportunity of enjoying, ſome time longer, at Mante, the company of madam Châteaupers, with whom chance had brought me acquainted; and the inclination I felt for her was ſtrong enough to make me entertain thoughts of a ſecond marriage. 1591.

THE king had expreſsly forbidden all commerce, and exportation of merchandiſes, and every kind of proviſion into Paris and Rouen, as being cities in open rebellion: but in this, as in every thing elſe, he was very ill obeyed. The governors of paſſes, eſpecially on the ſide of the Seine, gained by the immenſe ſums, which they procured them, almoſt publicly granted the neceſſary paſſports for merchants, and maſters of boats. De Fourges, whom I have formerly mentioned, came one day and informed me, that a large boat, whoſe lading was reputed worth fifty thouſand crowns, had gone up the river to Paris, where, after a few days ſtay, a leſs one would bring back the produce in ſilver to Rouen; which he was well aſſured of, becauſe his father had charge of the boat. I cauſed it to be ſo well watched, that in its return it fell into my hands, and I ſaw with aſtoniſhment the paſſport ſigned by Berengueville, and my brother, the one governor of Meulan, and the other of Mante; but they did not care to mention this to me, nor did I take any notice of it to them, but cauſed the boat and its maſter to be brought to Mante. I opened two large packets, where I expected to find the fifty thouſand crowns in ſpecie. But ſeeing only ſome pieces of gold and ſilver thread, and a piece of Spaniſh ſilk, I threatened to put the maſter of the boat into a dungeon. The elder Fourges, alarmed at this threat, preſented me with letters of exchange for ſix and thirty thouſand crowns, which he would have perſuaded me was the whole produce of the ſale. But as he defended himſelf with much action, the weight of the gold he had about him broke his pockets, and ſo great a quantity fell from them, that the floor was in an inſtant covered with crowns of the ſun *. He probably intended to apply this ſum to his own uſe, or thought it could be in no place ſo ſecure as about himſelf. 'Tis impoſſible to expreſs the confuſion he was in at this accident. After diverting myſelf ſome time in obliging him to take ſeveral turns about the room, I ordered him to ſtrip, and found ſeven

* A gold coin current in thoſe times. It was firſt ſtruck in the reign of Lewis XI. and ſo called, becauſe there was the figure of a ſun above the crown. The value of theſe crowns at this time is ſixty-four ſols.

thou-

1591. thouſand crowns in gold ſewed up in his cloaths. I was then in ſome neceſſity for money, and waiting for the ſale of my corn, wood, and hay at Roſny: the king made me a preſent of this ſum, and was extremely pleaſed with the recital of poor Fourges's adventure. As for Berengueville, and my brother, they were extremely angry with me. But to return to the ſiege of Rouen.

The king had never ſeen himſelf at the head of ſuch conſiderable forces. Four thouſand Engliſh were ſent him under the command of Roger Williams, and he expected ſoon a ſecond reinforcement from England, which landed during the ſiege, commanded by the earl of Eſſex *, the miniſter and favourite of queen Elizabeth. The United Provinces, beſides the two regiments in the ſervice of this prince, ſent a fleet of fifty ſail well equipped, with two thouſand five hundred ſoldiers, under the command of count Philip of Naſſau, on board, to the coaſt of Normandy. The duke of Bouillon (for the viſcount Turenne took this title after his marriage) ſucceeded ſo well in his negotiation in Germany, that he brought back five or ſix thouſand horſe, and ſome companies of foot, with the prince of Anhalt at their head. Theſe foreign auxiliaries, joined to ſix thouſand Swiſs, which the king had in his pay, to different reinforcements that came from ſeveral places, particularly Normandy; and to thoſe troops, either proteſtants or catholics, that were at his own diſpoſal, compoſed, in all, an army of forty thouſand men. Caën, and the other chief towns of the province, engaged to furniſh proviſions, and every thing neceſſary for a ſiege, which could not fail of being long, the goodneſs of the place, and the ſtrength of the garriſon conſidered. The marquis of Villars †, well known for his courage and capacity, ſhut himſelf up there with the ſon of the duke of Maïenne, reſolved to bury themſelves under its ruins. In effect, from the day that we ſat down before this city, till the prince of Parma's arrival, which obliged us to raiſe the ſiege, there paſſed almoſt ſix months; and what is worſe, ſix winter months: for it was inveſted the firſt of October, and abandoned the twentieth of March following, after attempts on the part of the beſiegers, and a reſiſtance on that of the beſieged, ſome circumſtances of which I ſhall relate.

* Robert d'Evreux, earl of Eſſex, favourite to queen Elizabeth. See the letter of thanks which Henry IV. wrote to queen Elizabeth, Villeroy's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 249.

† André de Brancas-Villars, of the ancient family of Brancatio, originally Neapolitan. It is not the ſame with that of the marquis of Villars, which is deſcended from Honoré baſtard of Savoy.

The

THE troopers of the beſiegers were placed in different quarters: the king's were at Darnetal, and that of my company at Preſle l'Eſplen, where I ſeldom went, the king having honoured me with a lodging in his. Here I diſpoſed myſelf for a long ſtay, and hardly ever quitted him or the marechal de Biron. At firſt there appeared ſuch an emulation among the officers to be employed, that, to avoid all diſputes, the king regulated the time and duration of each of their ſervices; and declared that every fourth day he would himſelf work at the trench, with the gentlemen that were about his perſon, who were to the number of two or three hundred. 1591

I HAD ſolicited beforehand for a poſt in the artillery, for which my inclination was ſo ſtrong, that I ſubmitted to ſerve not only under the marechal de Biron, but meſſieurs de La-Guiche *, de Borne, and de Fayolles alſo. But Biron, who hated me, gained over theſe generals, and prevailed upon them to exclude me, with which I had afterwards reaſon to be well pleaſed; for thoſe pieces of ordnance of which I was to have the charge, happened to fall into the enemy's power.

THIS it was that gave riſe to the marechal's hatred towards me: It was debated in the council on what ſide the place ſhould be attacked. Biron was of opinion, that we ſhould begin with the caſtle; I, on the contrary, did not ſcruple to maintain, that we ought firſt to attack the city, which would bring along with it the reduction of Fort St. Catherine. This queſtion was a long time the ſubject of all converſations, as well at the table, as council; and Biron never forgot the expreſſion I generally uſed, *The city taken, the caſtle muſt ſurrender.*

I CANNOT comprehend how a man ſo experienced as the marechal was, could determine for attacking the caſtle, which, not to mention the uncommon ſkill of the commander, and the ſtrength of the garriſon, nor its excellent fortifications, had this circumſtance in particular from the nature of the place, that in attacking it without, not half the number of ſoldiers could be brought againſt it which the beſieged could bring to defend it; which is quite contrary to all other cities of war.

HOWEVER, the opinion of the marechal de Biron carried it; for his authority, and that dependence to which he had accuſtomed the other

* Philibert de La-Guiche, John de Durfort de Borne, Bertrand de Mole de Fayolles.

1591. general officers, ſecured all the votes. Without doubt, this marechal, flattering himſelf that nothing could be able to reſiſt ſo ſtrong an army, took thoſe meaſures which he thought moſt honourable, and likelieſt to bring the ſiege ſoon to an end; and the king, who was reſolved not to ſpare * himſelf, by following this advice, ſeemed to be of the ſame opinion. For I look upon as a calumny only, raiſed by the marechal's enemies, that report which was whiſpered in the army, that he had aſked the king for the government of Rouen, which this prince had refuſed him, becauſe he had before promiſed it to du Hallot †, upon the recommendation of monſieur de Montpenſier; and that he endeavoured ſecretly to thwart this enterprize, and, through envy, gave ſuch advice as he knew would render all our efforts upon this place ineffectual. 'Tis certain, theſe continual conteſts with the duke of Bouillon had more than once been like to ruin all; for this nobleman, to be revenged on the king, raiſed a mutiny amongſt the horſe and other German forces which he had brought with him.

The batteries were accordingly raiſed oppoſite to the fort, and we contented ourſelves with guarding the lower part of the river, and placed there ſome companies of German foot, which having been worſted in ſeveral ſallies that were made on that ſide, yielded the poſt to the Dutch, who underſtood ſieges better than they. In effect, theſe laſt maintained themſelves there, and prevented any more ſallies from that place. It was not long before the king perceived that he had engaged in a very difficult attempt; but nothing, he imagined, was impoſſible to continued labour. Villars was not contented with defending himſelf within; he ſallied out of the caſtle, and cauſed a deep trench to be cut upon the declivity of the hill, over-againſt the fort, with which the end of it communicated, and placed there in the night a guard of ſix or ſeven hundred men.

* Perhaps alſo they depended upon blowing up the fort of St. Catherine with the mine; but the deſign was diſcovered by the beſieged. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Thoſe writers that have defended the marechal Biron's advice againſt that given by the duke of Sully, with regard to the place at which they ſhould begin the attack, ſay, that it was very difficult, and, at the ſame time, very dangerous, for the army of Henry IV. to leave behind them the fort of St. Catherine, the hill eſpecially being ſo near the city. See, upon the operations of this ſiege, F. Matthieu, vol. II. p. 96. and following. Cayet, Chron. Novenn. vol. II. book iv. (who is for the duke of Sully's opinion againſt the marechal Biron) and other hiſtorians.

† Francis de Montmorency du Hallot, lieutenant-general for the king in Normandy. He was wounded at the ſiege of Rouen, and afterwards ſlain by the marquis d'Alegre.

As

As this new work was extended far into the country, and as it not only disordered the besiegers in their attacks upon the cattle, but also exposed them to be fallen upon in the rear, while at the same time they had the garrison from within in front, the king resolved to force it, and render it useless to the enemy. For this purpose he made choice of the same night when it was his turn to watch at the trench with his three hundred gentlemen, whom he commanded to be completely armed, and to have, besides their usual arms, halberts in their hands, and pistols at their girdles, and to this troop added four hundred musketeers. It was at midnight, and amidst the extreme cold of December, that we attacked this trench at different places. The action, which was very obstinate, continued half an hour with equal animosity on both sides. We used our utmost endeavours to gain the brink, and the besieged repulsed us several times. I was twice thrown to the ground, my halbert broke, and my arms loosened or broken in pieces. Maignan, whom I had obtained permission to keep near me, raised me, put my arms again in order, and gave me his halbert. The trench was at last carried by main force, and we cleared it of more than fifty dead or dying enemies, whom we threw from the top of the hill. This trench was open to the cannon of the fort, but the king had the precaution to order some gabions, hogsheads, and pieces of wood to be brought there, which covered the English, to whom he committed the guard of it. 1591.

Villars did not expect to have seen his outworks carried in so short a time. When he was told it, and that it was the king himself who had conducted the enterprize, "By heavens," said he, "this "prince deserves a thousand crowns for his valour. I am sorry that, "by a better religion, he does not inspire us with as strong an in- "clination to gain him new ones as to detain from him his own; "but it shall never be said, that I have failed to attempt in my own "person what a great king has performed in his." In effect, he put himself at the head of four hundred men, armed as he had been told the king's were, and taking also eight hundred musketeers selected out of his whole number, he attacked the English, and dislodged them from the trench. The king, piqued with the vanity of Villars, and resolving not to let go his hold, prepared for a second attempt. The English, apprehending reproaches, which they certainly had not deserved, intreated the king to put a hundred English gentlemen in his troop, and to suffer all the foot, who were to attend him on this occasion, to

1591. he Engliſh likewiſe. They alſo demanded leave to ſuſtain the firſt effort of the enemy, and behaved ſo bravely, that the trench was a ſecond time regained: they afterwards maintained themſelves in it, and took away from the beſieged all inclination to approach it for the future. By this obſtinate ſtruggle for a trench only, it is eaſy to judge of the event of a ſiege, of which this attack was but the beginning. The king was ſenſible, that notwithſtanding all his care, and the infinite labour he underwent, he would find great difficulty in ſucceeding. It was the good deſtiny of France that preſerved this prince on occaſions, when he hazarded his perſon in ſuch a manner, as to make us tremble for his life. And it was upon this account, that the next day after the trench was taken, I took an opportunity to expreſs our common fears, when he drew me aſide, in the preſence of the catholics, and all the courtiers, to converſe with me upon the preſent ſituation of his affairs. "I cannot do otherwiſe, my friend," replied he, as ſoon as I began to expoſtulate with him; "and ſince it is for "my glory and crown that I fight, my life and every thing elſe ought "to be of no conſideration with me."

It is certain, that in the king's ſituation he could not do leſs than he did, to perſuade the world, that if this ſiege failed, it would not be through his fault; and all thoſe inſtances of ſhining valour were no more than neceſſary to efface the ſhame of being foiled in an attempt which one half of his army feared he ſhould ſucceed in, almoſt as much as the enemies themſelves. Theſe were the very ſame catholics whom I have formerly mentioned, who not contented with having obliged him to begin the ſiege at a place which rendered the taking of the city impoſſible, ſuffered him to ſuſtain all the danger and fatigue, obeyed him but by halves and with regret, created innumerable difficulties, and publicly declared, that nothing was to be expected from them, while he continued to profeſs a religion different from their own.

It was to expreſs himſelf freely upon ſo many cauſes of uneaſineſs, that he was deſirous of diſcourſing with me, and I then ſaid nothing to him, which he did not know as well as myſelf, at ſo little trouble were his domeſtic enemies to conceal their ſentiments. He told me, he had perceived for ſome time the approach of a much greater misfortune, which was the deſertion of all the catholics in his army, "which will bring along with it," added he, "the ruin of the ſtate, "and the houſe of Bourbon; for if they once break with me, they will "never

" never more chuſe a king out of that family." He added, that this diſobedience was an incurable evil, which he was obliged to diſſemble the knowledge of. He made me obſerve, that at the very time we were ſpeaking, meſſieurs de Nevers, de Longueville, de la Guiche, d'O, and de Châteauvieux, jealous of ſo familiar a converſation with an huguenot, looked at us maliciouſly from a corner of the hall, and whiſpered continually together. For this reaſon, he ſaid, it would be neceſſary to ſeparate, and that he would go and tell them our diſcourſe turned upon a negotiation with the marquis of Villars, which, in reality, the king had hinted to me in this converſation. 1591.

NOTHING could have happened more advantageous for the king, than to have put an end to the ſiege of Rouen by a treaty with Villars, which, in reality, would have drawn him from the league into his own party. It was what this prince ardently wiſhed for, but ſtill leſs for the honour of his enterprize, than the advantage that would ariſe from the gaining over ſuch a man as this governor. He imagined it might be brought about by means of la Font, for whom Villars had great conſideration, though he was only his ſteward. The king was not ignorant that Villars had received this domeſtic into his ſervice, after he had left mine; and that la Font owed his favour with his new maſter to thoſe teſtimonies I had given of his integrity. This thought had ſtruck me before it was mentioned by the king, and I had even found means to get la Font ſounded upon the ſubject. His anſwer, which I related to the king, was, that at preſent he ſaw no appearance of what I propoſed to him; and, far from conſenting to ſee me, as I deſired, he ſaid, he thought himſelf obliged, to prevent his maſter's entertaining any ſuſpicion of his fidelity, to have no commerce with me. All he could do, therefore, was to obſerve if monſieur de Villars changed his ſentiments; and in that caſe to confirm him as much as poſſible in them, and to inform me of it.

HENRY thought no more of it; but before we ſeparated he aſked me what he ought to do with regard to the ſiege, and the prince of Parma, who, he had juſt learned, had paſſed the Somme, to join his troops with thoſe of the duke of Maïenne. The king made no queſtion that his intention was to proceed directly to Rouen, nor that Villars would eaſily hold out till his arrival. I told the king, that in my opinion there were but two things for him to do, and that it lay in his own breaſt to determine upon which of them he pleaſed: one of which was, to change abſolutely the order, and place of attack,

1592. and to carry it to the side of the city, and there use his utmost endeavours to make himself master of it before the enemy should appear: the other, that without loss of time he should go and attack the prince of Parma, and oblige him to repass the Somme, after which he might continue the siege without fear.

The king resolved upon the last: but, as by following it he had no design to raise the siege, lest the prince of Parma, who perhaps had that only in view, should afterwards avoid the battle, he told me, that he would go and meet him with seven or eight thousand horse, who were of no use at the siege; and that he would attack them with this cavalry, or, if he had not passed the Somme, dispute the passage with him. He quitted me, ordering me to prepare myself to go along with him with fifteen or twenty troopers, chosen from the rest of my company.

I returned at the end of two days from Fresne l'Esplen; and, on my arrival at Darnetal, I learnt that Villars had made a sally at the head of a hundred horse, with whom he overthrew the guard; and would have been the cause of much greater confusion, if the king, armed only with a cuirass, had not ran thither, followed by the baron de Biron, an English officer (whose name I have forgot), Grillon, and some others that were about him: these three gentlemen especially gained immortal glory there. Grillon's arm was broke by a shot from an arquebuse. As for the king, having precipitated himself into a danger somewhat like that which is related of Alexander the Great in the city of the Oxydracæ, he extricated himself out of it with equal presence of mind, and equal intrepidity. If this, which is only an example, has all the appearance of a fable, Henry's action had two whole armies to be witnesses of it.

James Berton de Crillon, or Grillon.

The prince of Parma, with his whole army, possessed the border of the Somme, and, satisfied with recovering this river, made no other motion; for the governor of Rouen had sent to inform him, that, as he intended to strike some important blow, he might let it be a good while before he came to his assistance; and he likewise waited for the arrival of Sfondrate, who was to bring him the troops of his uncle pope Gregory XIV. *, and those of the duke of Maïenne, who how-

* Sixtus V. died in the month of August 1590. Henry IV. when he was informed of his death, said, "Here is a trick of Spanish policy: I have lost a pope who was every thing to me."

ever

ever came not immediately. He had been obliged to go with his beſt troops to Paris, to puniſh the inſolence of the council of Sixteen, who, abuſing the power he had truſted them with, had dared to hang the preſident Briſſon†, and ſome other counſellors as venerable for their virtue as their age; and who might poſſibly have carried their outrages farther, if the duke of Maïenne, fearing perhaps ſome ſudden caprice of theſe rebels * againſt himſelf, had not doomed them to the like puniſhment: but as in executing this act of juſtice he had certain meaſures to keep, he did not join the prince of Parma as ſoon as had been expected. 1592.

The king, when he was informed of this diſpoſition, thought it neceſſary to haſten his march. He left the marechal Biron the care of carrying on the ſiege, whoſe forces he weakened but by ſeven or eight thouſand horſe; conſiſting from three to four thouſand French troopers, as many German horſe, and a thouſand horſe-arquebuſiers; at the head of which he left Darnetal, and took the road to the Somme. He paſſed the firſt day by Boiſſiere and Neuf-Châtel; the ſecond by Blangy, Londiniere, Longueville, Sencrpont, and Gamache; and the third advanced to Folleville, with one detachment only, leaving the body of his cavalry behind him, under the conduct of the duke of Nevers.

We met a conſiderable party, led by meſſieurs de Roſne ‡, de Balagny, de Vitry, the baron de la Châtre, St. Pol, La-Motthe, and others, who had doubtleſs advanced with the ſame deſign as we, to diſcover the ſituation and forces of the enemy. The king commanded

† Barnaby Briſſon, Claude Larcher, and John Tardif, lord du Ru, counſellors of the parliament. "A cataſtrophe very unworthy of ſo learned and excellent a man," ſays Mezeray, ſpeaking of the preſident Briſſon, "but uſual to thoſe who think "to keep well with two parties." For the parliament being tranſferred by the king to Tours, Briſſon was the only one of the ſix preſidents who remained at Paris. The league obliged him to perform the duties of firſt preſident, and it was he that helped to degrade king Henry III. According to the duke of Nevers' obſervation, his death was looked upon to be a juſt puniſhment of his ingratitude. Henry III. had freely beſtowed upon him the poſt of preſident. However, he was one of the greateſt men of the robe. The duke of Maïenne revenged his death, by cauſing Lo[illegible], Ameline, Aimonet, and Anroux, four of the ſixteen, to be hanged in a parlour of the Louvre. See the hiſtories.

* One of the ſixteen, named Normand, ſaid one day in the duke of Maïenne's chamber, "Thoſe who made him, have "a right to unmake him." Hamilton, the curate of St. Côme, a furious leaguer, came himſelf, attended by prieſts, inſtead of ſoldiers, to ſeize the counſellor Tardif in his houſe.

‡ Chriſtian or Chrétien de Savigny, baron of Roſne; John de Montluc de Balagny; Lewis de l'Hôpital, lord de Vitry; Claude de La-Châtre; Antony de St. Pol; Valentine de Parthon, lord de la Motthe, the

1592. the baron de Biron, meſſieurs de Lavardin, de Givry *, de St. Geran, de Marivaut, de Chanlivaut, La-Curée, d'Arambure ‡, and ſome others, to go and attack them, who were repulſed and handled very roughly; and part fell, among which was Lavardin. Henry ran with three hundred horſe to diſengage them; and, believing this encounter might be followed by an action more conſiderable, at leaſt between the cavalry of the two armies, which was what he ardently wiſhed for, ſent orders to Nevers to haſten and join him: but the prince of Parma had a contrary deſign, and reſtrained his ſquadrons, who had retreated of themſelves when they perceived ours advance; and the king, ſeeing no appearance of effecting any thing in the midſt of ſo many battalions, contented himſelf with obſerving this army cloſely, and checking its motions, as he went to his quarters at † Breteuil; where his cavalry, for fear of a ſurprize, were obliged to keep themſelves extremely cloſe, and part of them even lay without all night, though the ground was covered with ſnow.

The ardour with which the king went to meet an enemy ſo greatly ſuperior to him in numbers, awakened all our fears for the dangers to which he expoſed his perſon, and obliged us to repreſent the conſequences to him in very ſtrong terms. But this prince, who had no conception of that caution we propoſed to him, when glory was in queſtion, did not alter his conduct; but ſatisfied himſelf with naming thirty of us to continue near his perſon, and not to leave him upon any occaſion whatever. An employment highly honourable indeed; but the danger of which, in ſome degree, made it leſs deſirable. With this precaution, which was no more than neceſſary, he only reſigned himſelf ſtill more to his eager thirſt of glory.

governor of Valenciennes. This laſt was a Frenchman, of the country of Beauvoiſis; but he had all his life ſerved in the Spaniſh army, and was ſlain in the year 1595, at the ſiege of Dourlans, at the head of the Spaniſh artillery, very much regretted by the Spaniards. The king of Spain had juſt created him count of Ekelbecke. See his death and panegyric in de Thou, b. cxii.

* Anne d'Anglure, baron of Givry. This officer was equally famous for his abilities in war, and his taſte of polite literature. Claude de l'Iſle Marivaut; René Pilhet, lord of Chanlivaut; —— Pilhet de La-Curée: he was one of thoſe perſons in whom the king confided, and was called by him nothing but Curee. He performed wonders at the battle of Ivry, and on many other occaſions. The vol. of manuſcripts marked 8929, of the royal library, is filled with relations of his intrepidity: we may have occaſion to mention him hereafter. He was killed in an encounter at the ſiege of Montauban.

‡ John lord d'Arambure.

† This town, and ſome of thoſe places abovementioned, are in Picardy: the others are in the country of Caux.

Being

BEING informed that the duke of Guiſe, who commanded the prince of Parma's van-guard, had put himſelf at the head of his troops to facilitate the lodgment of his infantry in a large town called Bures, he reſolved to cut off this troop; which he executed with the utmoſt bravery, at the head of twelve hundred horſe and a thouſand horſe-arquebuſiers. A great number of the enemies were left dead upon the place, and the reſt betook themſelves to flight. The duke of Guiſe's green ſtandard was taken, and all the baggage plundered. Henry, who was not willing that any of theſe troopers ſhould eſcape, eſpecially their colonel, ſent immediate orders to the duke of Nevers * to advance to Bully, that he might poſſeſs himſelf of the road through which he ſuppoſed the duke of Guiſe and the fugitives would retreat to the reſt of the army, and to take them priſoners. I was ordered to ſuſtain the duke of Nevers with ſixty horſe, which I obeyed with reluctance, not doubting but in ſuch hands the affair would have an end very unworthy of the beginning. 1592. In Beauvaiſis.

THE duke of Nevers, who was the ſloweſt of all men, began by ſending to make choice of the moſt favourable roads, and marched with a ſlow pace to Bully, with his hands and noſe in his muff, and his whole perſon well wrapt up in his coach. This once he had no occaſion to boaſt of his extreme caution. It was ſo long before he arrived, that he gave time to the prince of Parma, who was more diligent than he, to throw a regiment of five or ſix hundred men into Bully, who made ſuch haſte that they reached the town in the beginning of the night. As for the duke of Nevers, the ſun was riſen the next day when he had juſt aſcended the mountain, at the bottom of which Bully is ſituated, preceded by his couriers, whom he had that day doubled, through an exceſs of caution againſt a flying enemy: the firſt, to the number of fifty, marched two or three miles before him; and the ſecond, which amounted to an hundred, went ſome few paces before his coach. But unfortunately, with all his foreſight, he forgot to make ſure of this paſſage, and had not ſent a ſingle ſoldier to keep guard there. He began to deſcend the mountain with great tranquility, and the more ſo, as he was ignorant of the troops that were in Bully. His firſt couriers, entering the city, were ſufficiently ſurpriſed

* Lewis de Gonzague de Mantua, duke of Nevers, by his marriage with Henrietta of Cleves, ducheſs of Nevers. Although the author always ſpeaks diſadvantageouſly of him here, the actions he performed were conſiderable enough to rank him with the braveſt ſoldiers of thoſe times. See his life and panegyric in Brantome's Lives of illuſtrious men, vol. III. p. 250, and following.

1592. at the ſight of ſo much good company; but the cold having obliged the ſoldiers to unarm themſelves, and to lay down their pikes, to range themſelves round a large fire that they had kindled, theſe fifty couriers had time to ſave themſelves by flight. They did not direct their courſe to that ſide where their maſter was, but paſſed quite through the city, and went out at the oppoſite end, without being in the leaſt troubled about what might happen to the duke of Nevers; whoſe coach at that time was ſunk into the deepeſt part of a declivity, equally ſteep, rugged, and winding. It was in this place that the duke of Nevers, hearing the noiſe of ſome fuſileers that were firing after his firſt couriers, and the ſecond coming to make their report, full of conſternation, he was frozen with terror; and reſolving now to loſe no time, threw away his muff and his furs, not without ſeveral times exclaiming, "The devil," and quarrelling with his ſervants for not coming ſoon enough to help him out. All their endeavours could not diſengage the coach, which was forced to be dragged back to the top of the mountain; where the duke again made uſe of it, to return with more ſpeed to the place where he had lain the whole night. It was thus that we ſeconded the king upon this occaſion: a truly ridiculous exploit, where the danger was far leſs than the fear, ſince not a ſingle man was loſt.

The prince of Parma, by this important blow, knowing what ſort of an enemy he had to deal with, durſt not, for the future, ſuffer his van-guard to be ſeparated from the army; and perceiving that the king almoſt never loſt ſight of him, redoubled his vigilance and caution, which was, without doubt, the cauſe that he did not take all the advantage he might have done of the encounter at Aumale: an action uncommonly bold on the king's ſide, and well deſerving of a particular relation here.

Some days after that I have juſt mentioned, the king, following the prince of Parma at a great diſtance, had advanced with ſix thouſand horſe as far as Aumale. Givry, whom he had ſent at the head of ſome troopers to get intelligence, returned and informed him, that the enemy's army was advancing directly towards him in the plain, in good order, apparently with a deſign to force him back, and to cut him off in his retreat. The king called a council; and finding, as he ſaid, that he had too many and too few ſoldiers, he reſolved to ſend all his cavalry back to Ophy, Blangy, and Neuf-Châtel, and to keep with him only four hundred troopers, and five hundred horſe-arque-

buſiers,

buſiers, and with this troop to advance into the plain, to diſcover exactly the condition and number of the enemy; and, hovering about them, to take or cut off ſome ſquadrons. 1592.

He aſcended the hill of Aumale with his nine hundred horſe, and marched two leagues without perceiving any thing, 'till the ſky, which had been extremely cloudy and dark, becoming very clear, he a ſecond time ſaw Givry return, who came to ſatisfy him in every particular relating to this army, which was ſo near that they heard diſtinctly the ſound of the trumpets and drums. The king, however, willing to obſerve it himſelf, made an exact review of it, and found that it conſiſted of ſixteen or ſeventeen thouſand infantry, with ſeven or eight thouſand cavalry, who marched very cloſe; the cavalry in the midſt of the battalions, and the whole flanked with chariots and baggage, that rendered all approach impoſſible. From this ſituation of the enemy, he found he had ſtill too many men; and retaining only an hundred troopers, ordered the eight hundred others to repaſs the dyke and town of Aumale, and three hundred horſe of his ſquadron to ſtop upon the declivity of the hill, to be ready to aſſiſt him, if there ſhould be occaſion. Five hundred arquebuſiers he gave to the conduct of Lavardin, with orders to poſt them in the ditches and hedges that were at the entrance of the town, from whence they might harraſs the enemy, if they approached too near. As for him, he not only waited for the enemy with his hundred horſe, but even marched to meet them. In Normandy, from the borders of Picardy.

We now gazed upon each other with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at the raſhneſs of a deſign, which ſeemed to expoſe the king to inevitable death. No one durſt venture to expoſtulate with him, yet knew not how to be ſilent. At length I was choſen and deputed by the reſt to repreſent to the king, in the name of us all, the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, and to intreat him to alter his reſolution. This commiſſion I performed with all imaginable caution. "'Tis fear," replied the king, "that occaſions this requeſt: from you, of all others, "I never expected to hear ſuch a propoſition." I conjured him not to think ſo unjuſtly of any of us; and told him, that all we required was that he would give us what orders he pleaſed, provided he would himſelf retire. Henry confeſſed to me afterwards, that he was ſenſibly affected with theſe words; and repenting of what he had ſaid to me, replied, that no expreſſions of our fidelity could reach the idea he conceived of it. "But," added he, coldly, and with an air that convinced me how much in vain it would be to ſpeak to him any more

1592. upon this ſubject, " be you alſo aſſured that I am not ſo raſh as you " imagine; that I am as careful of myſelf as any other, and that I will " retreat ſo ſeaſonably that no misfortune ſhall happen."

The prince of Parma looked upon this bold attempt as a ſnare that was laid for him, to draw his cavalry into an open field where he ſhould meet with the king's, which he ſuppoſed to be concealed, and much ſuperior to his. He even ſuſpected a long time, that the king's whole army was not far off; and, having no deſign to engage him, he did not quit his poſt, which was in the center of the army, where he was ſeated in an uncovered chariot, without arms or boots, and employed in giving orders to reſtrain the ardour of the ſoldiers, who ſuffered with impatience a hundred men to inſult thirty thouſand. However, when he was aſſured, by the report of his light horſe and his carabineers, that at preſent he had but a hundred horſe in front, and that if there was any cavalry it muſt be on the other ſide of the valley, he thought he ſhould riſque nothing by attacking us; which he did with ſuch fury, and at ſo many places, that we were broke through, and driven back as far as the valley. Here it was that our arquebuſiers had poſted themſelves; and on our arrival the king cried to them to charge, after having firſt warned us not to charge, in order that the enemy might ſuſpect an ambuſcade in this place, and ſtop. In effect, they did ſtop ſhort; but finding that this cry was followed only with fifty or ſixty ſhots that we fired upon them, they came on again more furiouſly.

Our arquebuſiers, ſeized with fear, or perhaps willing to chuſe a more advantageous ground, had retired much lower than the place that had been preſcribed for them, and they were the principal cauſe of the misfortune that happened. The enemy's ſquadrons, encouraged by the little reſiſtance they found, forced our ranks, and we could not hinder them from mixing amongſt us. We ſaw ourſelves reduced to the neceſſity of fighting with this vaſt multitude with our piſtols and ſwords, in a danger that may be eaſily imagined: and, indeed, in my opinion, there could not be a greater; for the hundred troopers were already reduced to forty. Henry, ſeeing that none came to his aſſiſtance in this extremity, reſolved to make his retreat; which, on this occaſion, was almoſt as dangerous as a defence, becauſe we had a bridge to paſs, and that bridge at a great diſtance. This prince, with a compoſure truly admirable, placed himſelf in the rear of his troop, and made it file off towards the bridge of Aumale, which, by the

order he caused to be observed, it passed over without confusion. He was the last that passed, and held firm against the enemy till every one of us was on the other side. That moment he was shot in the reins, which fortunately was the only wound he received, and which did not hinder him from continuing to fight on the other side of the bridge, while he was endeavouring to gain the hill; where the four hundred horse he had sent thither made so good an appearance, that the prince of Parma, being more than ever persuaded that he only sought to draw him to a battle, forbid his troops to advance, and made them all return to Aumale. 1592.

The king, on his side, reached Neuf-Châtel, where his wound obliged him to go to bed. The surgeons removed our fears and consternation by assuring us, that it was a very inconsiderable one. He obliged us to come near his bed, and conversed with us familiarly upon the dangers of that day: upon which I observed, as something very extraordinary, that amongst us all, who were in the chamber, there were not two who agreed † in the recital of the most particular circumstances of the action. In general, it passed as I have related: what appeared doubtful to me, I have suppressed; but as it is here, there are perhaps few kings whose lives * will afford so shining an instance of valour and good conduct.

The prince of Parma's extreme prudence failed him upon this occasion: it hindered him from cutting off our whole squadron, and finishing the war that day by the death or taking of the king: for the one or other was inevitable. But he was determined to undertake nothing till he was joined by the duke of Maienne, not being willing to bear alone all the inconveniences of a war, of which he was not to have the sole advantage.

† There is scarce any skirmish or battle of which as much may not be said. Although there are a great number of writers, and even contemporaries, who have treated of the military exploits contained in these Memoirs, I cannot meet with two who agree exactly in these descriptions. D'Aubigné, in first of the encounter at Aumale, does not even mention the king's wound, which was the only one he ever received in his life. Matthieu, ibid. p. 1195, and our best historians, differ but little from our Memoirs.

* Henry having lost to the prince of Parma to ask his opinion of this retreat, he replied, that "indeed it was a very "fine one; but that, for his part, he never engaged in any place from whence "he was obliged to retire." Peref. ibid. part ii. It was on this occasion that Du-Plessis-Mornay wrote this excellent letter to the king: "Sire, in vain you have been "an Alexander, if it is not you should now "be Augustus; it is now time and due "to do nothing; and you, I dare tell "you, sire, to live for France." &c. Notes upon the Memoirs.

He

1592. He was not able to comprehend the cauſe of this delay in the chief of the league: the ſuſpicions he entertained of it made him ſuddenly change the march of his army, and take the road back again to the Somme. An action very pardonable in a foreigner, who ſaw himſelf in the midſt of a ſtrange country, where he alone was to ſuſtain the war. Henry, who, without conſidering what was glorious for himſelf in this laſt battle, called it only the error of Aumale, and being ſolicitous to repair this heroic error, could not reſolve to ſuffer the Spaniſh general quietly to retreat; putting off therefore the cure of his wound to another time, he again mounted his horſe, and harraſſed the prince continually, only regretting that he could not do more. But he had a politic general to deal with, who, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, preſented him always with an infantry in front, which he could not break through; and obſerved ſo prudent a conduct, that it was not poſſible, even at the paſſage of the river, to have an encounter with him. The king at length, quitting him at Pontdormy, returned to Neuf-Châtel, to have his wound cured, at the houſe of monſieur de Claire; where I was received as a friend and relation. I kept only a valet de chambre, a page, and a footman with me, and ſent all the reſt of my equipage to my quarters before Rouen.

The ſucceſs of the ſiege became more uncertain every day: at laſt the king was informed, by a courier, that Villars, at the head of two hundred muſqueteers, and three or four hundred ſoldiers, had in the night made a furious ſally on the ſide of Darnetal; that he had penetrated even into the king's quarters, where he had cut all the German foot to pieces, and carried off ſix pieces of cannon, and all the powder; that afterwards, purſuing his advantage, he had fallen upon the trench, which he attacked behind; had killed there three or four hundred men, and put the reſt to flight: in a word, that he did not retire till he had deſtroyed almoſt all the works of the beſiegers.

This melancholy news recalled the king immediately to Rouen: he was there convinced, that this misfortune was wholly occaſioned by the marechal de Biron's fault; but although he looked upon it as irreparable, and hated this commander *, yet he took care to conceal his

* There cannot be a ſtronger proof of the reſpect and deference which Henry IV. thought himſelf obliged to ſhew the marechal Biron, than what this prince ſaid one day to Châtillon, on a certain occaſion, when this young man offered ſome very reaſonable advice, but contrary to that given by the marechal: "The goſlings," ſaid he, "would lead the geeſe to the paſture. When your beard is white, perſentiments.

sentiments. That irreconcileable aversion which the catholics of his party bore to the protestants, made them seize this opportunity to insult the marechal de Biron, who, next to the king, was looked upon as the chief support of the protestants. The catholics said openly, that heaven would never favour Henry's party, while he continued a heretic (a reflection very unreasonable and unjust, the success he had hitherto met with considered;) that they exposed themselves to the divine vengeance by associating with that reprobate body. From thence, animated by their zeal, they formed a design of taking up the huguenots, who had been interred indiscriminately with the catholics, and leaving their carcasses a prey to the crows. Two things hindered the execution of a design as contrary to religion as to nature itself: the difficulty of distinguishing the bodies, and fear lest the protestants, who composed two thirds of the army, should think their honour engaged to revenge upon the living catholics an outrage, which, through a zeal for religion, exceeded all others. 1592.

The king, who perceived these dispositions on both sides, instead of blaming any particular person, or suffering a discontent to appear, which might increase the public broils, affected to say openly that the misfortune was not so great as had been represented. In reality, it did not appear of such consequence to the king as a discord in his army, which would either deprive him of all the catholics in his party, or, on the first opportunity, set one half against the other. It was a mortifying circumstance for this prince, in the midst of so many causes of disquiet, to be obliged to keep all within his own breast, and substitute unworthy compliances in the place of absolute commands: but he was not ignorant that the voice of authority, which has the power of subjecting all men, when it proceeds from a person distinguished for his superior abilities, has no effect upon minds by religion inflamed and disunited.

He was persuaded also, that after the misfortune occasioned by such bad conduct, nothing now remained to be done but to raise the siege of Rouen; and he sought for a plausible pretence for doing so, without awakening at the same time the public dissensions. He learnt therefore, with great joy, that the prince of Parma, reinforced

" haps you may have acquired some " knowledge. I do not approve of your " quarrelling so freely; that belongs only to " my father here," pointing to Biron, who had threatened to retire. " You " must," pursued he, embracing him, " go all to the school." Matthieu, vol. II. p. 19.

by

1592. by the troops of the duke of Maïenne and Sfondrate, was returning haſtily to give him battle. He thought this a favourable opportunity to leſſen the ſhame of raiſing the ſiege, and to turn againſt the common enemy the fury of two parties which were rending his army in pieces.

That he might gain time to abandon his lines without confuſion, and regulate the order of his march, he ſent Givry to throw himſelf into Neuf-Châtel, which the enemy would be obliged to take before they could come to Rouen. This, although a very ſtrong place, did not hold out near ſo long as was expected: the cauſe of which is difficult to be aſſigned; but the whole blame was caſt upon Palcheux, who was much weaker, and worſe ſuſtained, than Givry *. Although an old officer, and diſtinguiſhed by his actions and his wounds, he ſuſtained all the violence of the ſtorm; and was put under arreſt at Dieppe, in my opinion, very unjuſtly. The relations and friends whom the garriſon of Neuf-Châtel had in the party of the league, ſeemed to me to be the true cauſe that the place made ſo ſlight a reſiſtance. It ſurrendered in the middle of March. The king, by his care and diligence, repaired this misfortune, and brought off his troops from Rouen, without receiving the leaſt check †; and putting himſelf at their head, advanced without loſs of time to that ſide on which the prince of Parma was approaching the city.

A city in the country of Caux.

On his arrival at a plain, where the enemy's army muſt paſs, he waited for it; and, as ſoon as it appeared, ſent and offered the prince of Parma battle. The prince accepted it with a joy that was far from being ſincere: he was afraid of engaging with a general ſuch as he knew Henry to be, and of expoſing to the event of a battle the reputation of the greateſt warrior in Europe, which a long ſeries of great actions had acquired him amongſt his partiſans. Finding himſelf now in ſuch a ſituation as that he might be forced to fight, he had recourſe to one of the moſt artful ſtratagems imaginable to avoid it: he cauſed the beſt troops amongſt all his battalions to advance, and compoſed of

* "Neuf-Châtel might have been taken "in an hour's time," ſays F. Matthieu; who nevertheleſs, as well as the duke of Sully, blamed Givry for ſurrendering without making greater reſiſtance. Vol. II. p. 162.

† This ſiege coſt the king a great many ſoldiers: in thoſe times it was reported that he loſt three thouſand men, and the beſieged only five hundred. The earl of Eſſex challenged admiral de Villars to ſingle combat, who replied, that his quality of governor would not allow him to accept his challenge. See the Chron. Nevenn. and Mezerai.

them

them a front of battle; behind which he drew up, as without deſign, all his cavalry. Under favour of this front of infantry, in ſuch order as was uſual for an action, and ſeeming to wait only for the ſignal, all his cavalry, the remainder of his foot, and the whole baggage, entered into the defiles which ſerved for an outlet to the enemy's camp; and, covered by hills and buſhes, which the prince of Parma knew well how to take advantage of, they ſaw themſelves immediately out of reach of the king's army, who were ignorant of all that paſſed behind the camp. This front of infantry, which had no depth, taking the ſame rout after the others, in four and twenty hours all diſappeared; nor was it poſſible, on account of the ground being full of narrow ſtreights and necks of mountains, to diſorder the enemy's retreat, nor to engage with his rear-guard. 1592.

The prince of Parma was extremely rejoiced, that, without the leaſt loſs, he had reached almoſt the gates of Rouen. He knew no perſon would be raſh enough to attempt to ſtorm him under the walls of this city: his deſign, therefore, was to ſtay there ſix weeks, which was a ſufficient time to refreſh his army in, and afterwards to march back to the Somme by Neuf-Châtel, Aumale, St. Valery, and Pont-dormy; confining all the expeditions of this campaign to the advantage of putting this capital, and the reſt of the cities that kept firm to the league, out of a condition to apprehend any thing from the king's army. Henry penetrated into this general's views; and laying aſide his deſign of making head againſt an army ſo advantageouſly poſted, ſuffered the prince of Parma to enjoy his triumph, and laid another ſnare for him. He diſbanded his whole army, as if it was now become uſeleſs to him, or that he was conſtrained to it by neceſſity. Part was diſperſed in Arques, Dieppe, Gournai, Andely, Giſors, Magny, and other diſtant places; and part had Mante, Meulan, and the adjoining places for its quarters: the reſt he ſpread about Pont de l'Arche *, Evreux, Paſſy, Vernon, Conches, and Breteuil, and fixed himſelf at Louviers. This conduct was ſufficiently juſtified by appearances: it would not have been long poſſible to have ſubſiſted a numerous army, had he kept them together; but by the diſpoſition of his quarters, particularly the laſt, where he had diſtributed all his beſt troops, and the promiſe he had exacted from his officers to repair to Pont de l'Arche at the firſt order, it was eaſy for him to reunite his army in a ſhort time. This ſeparation, he did not doubt, would make St. Valery in Picardy.

* All theſe cities, as likewiſe the places abovenamed, are in Upper Normandy.

1592. the Spaniſh general perfectly ſecure, and furniſh him with ſome means of ſurprizing him, at leaſt in his retreat.

In effect, the prince of Parma, fearing that Rouen, ſurrounded by ſo large an army, would be in want of proviſions, repreſented to them that there would be no danger in ſpreading himſelf over the country, and made part of his troops advance to Ponteaudemer: d'Hacqueville * delivered up this city to him cowardly enough; and the king not only ſeemed to be indifferent about it, but alſo feigned ignorance of the enemy's deſign upon Caudebec, which greatly annoyed the city of Rouen; and neglecting to ſend ſupplies to la Garde, who was governor of it, ſuffered this place to be taken likewiſe. He obſerved, with extreme ſatisfaction, that the enemy, after theſe two conqueſts, drawn by the conveniency of lodgings and proviſions, extended themſelves along the Seine, below Rouen, as far as they could. The Spaniſh general, however, was not without ſuſpicion of ſome deſign in this inactivity, ſo unuſual with Henry; and probably, had he been the ſole commander of this army, he would not have hazarded ſo much. But his collegue, the duke of Maïenne, who was detained in Rouen by an indiſpoſition, aſſured him there was no danger; and he believed it, upon a ſuppoſition that he was better acquainted with the ſtate of the country.

Upon the Seine, above Rouen.

The king, finding the enemy contributed of themſelves to ſerve his deſigns, reſolved to haſten the execution of them. In leſs than eight days he aſſembled twenty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, with whom he ſpeedily advanced to Varicarville and Fountaine-le-bourg. All the paſſages between Rouen and Caudebec he ſhut up, and began with revenging himſelf completely for the taking this place and Ponteaudemer, by cutting off from the troops, which were there, all communication with the body of the army, which put them wholly into his power. He afterwards went in perſon with ten thouſand foot, and three thouſand troopers, to attack the enemy's van-guard, commanded by the duke of Guiſe. The ſurprize into which his ſudden arrival threw this troop, gave him an eaſy conqueſt of them. The duke's ſquadrons were broke through at the firſt onſet, and he was obliged to fly with precipitation towards the body of the battalions, leaving, with a great number of the ſlain, all the baggage, which was very conſiderable, in the power of the victor.

* — de Vieuxpont, lord d'Hacqueville. He was gained, 'tis ſaid, by a ſum of money.

The

The prince of Parma, ſtruck as with a thunderbolt at this news, applied himſelf wholly to ſecuring his other quarters, by placing the duke of Guiſe at Yvetot, and in fortifying the camp, in which he lodged his diſperſed troops, on all ſides. He was deſirous of quartering all the army there; but as this camp was too ſmall to contain it, he commanded the reſt not to remove far from it, to guard their poſts with great care, and to keep themſelves very cloſe. After this precaution, which he did not think ſufficient, to ſuppott all the lodgments ſpread around his camp, he poſted three thouſand men in a wood which bounded them, fortified this wood all round with intrenchments, and joined it by a line of communication with the camp. The laſt ſtep the king had taken made him extremely formidable to the prince of Parma; but this prince thought to eſcape him by his great foreſight, and diligence in going wherever his preſence was neceſſary: he was again miſtaken. The next day the king ordered the baron of Biron to attack the wood with a body of eight thouſand infantry, compoſed of an equal number of Engliſh, Dutch, and Germans, in order that they might be animated by emulation to excel each other, and cauſed them to be ſupported by ſix hundred troopers, completely armed. The attack laſted three hours; at the end of which the wood was carried. Thoſe who defended it, ſeeing themſelves broke through, fled in diſorder to the fortified camp, after having loſt eight hundred of their men. Their flight expoſed the greateſt part of the lodgments, particularly that of Yvetot, where the prince of Parma thought he had incloſed, as in a ſafe aſylum, the duke of Guiſe, with the ſame vanguard that had been ſo badly handled before. Henry, as if he had a perſonal hatred to the duke of Guiſe, haſtened to reconnoitre the quarter of Yvetot; and judging by the alarm, and the confuſed cries he heard there, that their conſternation was not yet over, he fell upon this quarter with four hundred muſqueteers and a thouſand foot, armed with piſtols and halberts, and attacked it in ſeveral places at the ſame time. The prince of Parma, who had not expected ſuch rapid exploits, ſaw his whole van-guard upon the point of being put to the ſword; and taking counſel only of neceſſity, ran thither himſelf, and vigorouſly ſuſtained our efforts, till the troops of this whole quarter had gained the fortified camp. He loſt there ſeven or eight hundred men, almoſt all private ſoldiers. The greateſt misfortune was, that in this action, wherein he behaved like a man who knew as well how 1592.

1592. to fight as to command, he received a very dangerous wound in the arm *.

Night approached before this battle was ended. The king, inſtead of taking any reſt after a day of ſuch extraordinary fatigue, employed the night wholly in preparing himſelf for greater advantages. Judging, therefore, that the enemy's army, numerous indeed, and covered with intrenchments, yet diſmayed, and half vanquiſhed, would keep cloſe within the camp, where their numbers would do them more harm than good, he heſitated not a moment in reſolving to ſtorm it. That readineſs and diſpatch, which governed all the actions of this prince, was in him not only the effect of nature, but the fruit of reading, in particular the lives of Cæſar and Scipio, whom he ſtudied preferably to all the conquerors of antiquity. He drew out in the night ſix pieces of cannon, which he directed againſt the fortification of the camp, that he might make uſe of them at the dawn of day. He viſited his whole army; and kept it in ſuch a diſpoſition, that it might at the ſame time and place be drawn out in order of battle. His commands were executed with the greateſt exactneſs: his former ſucceſſes gave an authority to all his words, that made the moſt mutinous obedient.

* The little reliance one can have on the exactneſs of thoſe military details which the hiſtorians give us, is ſhewn particularly in this, in which I have obſerved a great many contradictions amongſt them, with regard to the encampments, and the number and date of the encounters. The author of theſe Memoirs relates all theſe expeditions in ſuch a manner, that he ſeems to allow but three or four days for actions which could not, and were not, performed in leſs than three weeks. He can no otherwiſe be juſtified, than by ſuppoſing that he intended to give a ſlight notion only of this campaign. D'Aubigné, either becauſe he was ignorant of the facts, or had no deſign to relate them minutely, gives room for the ſame miſtake, as our Memoirs, vol. III. b. iii. c. 15. It is in de Thou, Davila, Matthieu, Cayet, and the Memoirs of the league for the year 1592, that we muſt look for them; although, as I have juſt ſaid, their relations differ in many circumſtances. According to the Memoirs of the league, which, in my opinion, merit moſt to be credited, the king defeated the duke of Guiſe on the 28th of April, and another body of troops on the firſt of May: on the 5th attacked the fortifications before the camp; and on the 10th, at five o'clock in the morning, began the great attack, in which the prince of Parma received this dangerous wound, vol. V. De Thou will have it, that it was at the taking of Caudebec that the prince of Parma was wounded, and that he did not paſs the Seine till the 22d of May, b. ciii. Cayet is of the ſame opinion, vol. II. b. iv. p. 82, and following. Matthieu blames Henry IV. for not taking the duke of Maïenne priſoner at the ſkirmiſh of Yvetot, and, with as little reaſon, for avoiding a deciſive battle, p. 109. The king is by ſome others accuſed of ſtill greater faults, in being ignorant of the prince of Parma's preparations to paſs the river, and with not knowing how to prevent him.

Here it is impoſſible to forbear praiſing the prince of Parma for a conduct, which, in my opinion, can never be ſufficiently admired. His camp lay between Rouen and Caudebec, at ſome diſtance from the Seine, over which, in all that ſpace, there was not any bridge; yet the next morning the whole camp was deſerted. All the troops, who indeed lay there in heaps one upon another, thoſe that were in Caudebec, and, in general, all that were ſpread about the neighbourhood of it, had tranſported themſelves to the other ſide of the river. Can it appear otherwiſe than a fable or an illuſion? Scarce could the king and his army truſt the evidence of their own eyes. 1592.

The prince of Parma had foreſeen the king's reſolution to attack him in his camp the next day; and he did not doubt, after what had paſſed, but it would be ſtormed, and his whole army delivered up to the mercy of the victors. A foreſight uſeleſs, and only productive of deſpair, to any other, whoſe prudence had not beforehand provided a reſource: for notwithſtanding all the duke of Maienne's repreſentations, he had not delivered himſelf up ſo entirely to that ſecurity he would have inſpired him with, as to neglect any means that might extricate him from danger, if it ſhould happen that he ſhould be one day obliged to engage with the enemy in a country where there were ſo few reſources, as on the borders of the Seine below Rouen.

These meaſures had been to provide himſelf ſecretly with all the boats he could find, which he cauſed to be brought near Caudebec. It was to this precaution, which few generals would have been capable of, that the prince of Parma owed the ſafety of his troops, and the preſervation of his glory, reputation, and perhaps his life. He cauſed theſe boats to be laid over the river in the night; and notwithſtanding the diſorder of his camp, and the inconvenience ariſing from his wound, he gave ſuch good orders, that a bridge was built that very night, over which his whole army and baggage paſſed ſecurely. This we received partieular information of the next day at Caudebec, which ſurrendered as ſoon as we approached. He only deſerves the reputation of a conſummate warrior, who, before a battle, is as cautious as if he was perſuaded he ſhould be conquered, and in it behaves as if he was ſure of conquering.

On the king's ſide, but one moment was loſt in aſtoniſhment: all the others were employed in taking ſpeedy meaſures to deprive the Spaniſh

1592. Spaniſh general of part of the fruits of his dexterity. Henry, after having well conſidered his attempt, and removed all doubts of ſucceſs from his own mind, held a council of war, and there propoſed to paſs his army over Pont de l'Arche, or at Vernon, and purſue the enemy immediately. Some of us, though indeed a very ſmall number, ſupported this propoſition as it deſerved. If it had been followed, this campaign had perhaps put an end to the war: but, as it ſhould ſeem, the prince of Parma, having performed actions that lifted him above humanity, obliged fortune now to come over to his ſide; for, upon the propoſal of marching the army to Pont de l'Arche, a cry was raiſed in the council, and a kind of general mutiny, as if the king had made the moſt unreaſonable propoſition imaginable. The catholics, the proteſtants, and foreigners, ſeemed to outvie one another in ſearching for difficulties to oppoſe it: they cried that the prince of Parma's army, being in a level country, might get to the gates of Paris * in four or five days; whereas it would be as long before we could gain Pont de l'Arche. They repreſented to the king, that the way through which they muſt paſs being full of foreſts, mountains, and defiles, the army could reach the rendezvous but in ſmall diviſions; and that, although it ſhould have time to come up with that of the league, the fatigue of ſo troubleſome a march would make it impoſſible for them to attack it. In a word, they all treated this propoſal as a deſign equally ridiculous and chimerical.

The king, more enraged at the ſecret intentions of thoſe who talked to him in this manner, than the purport of their diſcourſe, could not hinder himſelf from replying with ſome bitterneſs, That all theſe difficulties were only unſurmountable to thoſe, to whom fear and a diſlike of fatigue made them appear ſo. He convinced them they might reach Pont de l'Arche in two days, and Vernon in four, from whence they might continually ſend detachments of four or five hundred horſe to retard the prince of Parma's march; to which alſo the many obſtacles he would meet with would contribute, ſuch as the paſſage over the river of Eure; Louviers, Paſſy, Maintenon, Nogent-le-Roi, and Chartres, all being ſufficient to oblige him to go greatly out of his way: that the enemy had no bridge open to them but thoſe of Aquigny, Cocherel, Seriſy, and two or three others which lay out of their

* It is acknowledged by de Thou, that the king might have ſtopt this army, by ſending his cavalry to ſhut up the paſſage to Pont de l'Arche. It is with great injuſtice, as we find here, that he charges Henry IV. with this error.

road;

road; and that it would not be impoſſible to break or burn part of theſe bridges before the enemy arrived. 1592.

These arguments ſufficiently proved the king's propoſal to be practicable; and it may be ſaid, that the general officers, by refuſing to yield to them, reſiſted the ſtrongeſt conviction. And this naturally occaſions two reflections: firſt, how it happened that a prince, who in all his expeditions made uſe of mercenaries, picked up wherever he could find them, of different countries, manners, religions, and intereſts, often a very ſmall number, and always ready to mutiny, ſhould be able to perform what is related of him in this hiſtory. The ſecond is, what this prince would have done, if, inſtead of ſuch troops, he had had a conſiderable number of well-diſciplined ſoldiers under his command, all united, obedient to his will, conſtantly attached to his perſon, and willing to ſacrifice their lives for him; in a word, ſuch troops as thoſe conquerors had, whoſe actions have been ſo highly extolled by poſterity? If theſe reflections are not made every time they offer, it is becauſe that is in every page: and, beſides, no one can be ignorant, that we ſhould judge very ill of merit and abilities by ſucceſs, if we did not at the ſame time judge of the ſucceſs by the obſtacles.

It is ſcarce poſſible to aſſign a reaſon for that invincible obſtinacy which the general officers in the king's army diſcovered upon this occaſion, in oppoſing ſo prudent a propoſal, unleſs it was owing to that diſpoſition of mind which I have juſt now mentioned. If a ſmall number of French proteſtants be excepted, whoſe fidelity was unqueſtionable, and moſt of the Engliſh troops, who ſeemed to act ſincerely with us, all the reſt of the king's army, proteſtants, catholics, and foreigners, ſerved him without affection, often unwillingly, and perhaps wiſhed more than they feared that he might ſuffer ſome conſiderable loſs. However, notwithſtanding this diſguſt to their leader, on ſome occaſions they all performed their duty, and ſeconded him bravely: ſuch had been the attack of the duke of Guiſe, the encounter at the wood, and the battle that followed it. Such would have been the attack of the prince of Parma's camp, if he had waited for us; for at that time all the king's operations, which he knew well how to give a dependence upon each other, were executed with ſuch rapidity, that he did not ſuffer their courage, when once heated, to have time to cool, nor their minds to return to their uſual habit of thinking. The behaviour likewiſe of a ſmall number of brave men is alone ſufficient to raiſe emulation in a whole army, and force it to follow their example.

1592. example, when they are once engaged: but this fierceneſs, and this ardour, abated, their former ideas return with greater violence, and are ſo much the more capable of embittering their minds, as they then become ſenſible that they have done the very contrary of what they intended. Unhappily the leaders of the royal army were in this unfavourable diſpoſition, when the king made a motion to purſue the prince of Parma. The catholics, who had a little time before publicly declared that they were reſolved to withdraw their aſſiſtance, if the king did not abjure calviniſm, within a certain time which they preſcribed to him, and reunite themſelves with the reſt of France, there to appoint a king of their own religion: theſe catholics could not reliſh a project, which, by making the king maſter of his enemies, would put him in a condition of giving them the law, inſtead of receiving it from them.

The huguenots, who feared this change of religion as much as the catholics endeavoured to enhance the neceſſity of it, took umbrage at every thing, and always thought they were upon the point of being ſacrificed, while the king only ſacrificed himſelf to that neceſſity which obliged him to endeavour to gain the catholics. Through an apprehenſion that, by extirpating the league, they ſhould only labour for the catholics againſt their own intereſt, they the eaſier reconciled themſelves to circumſtances which would at leaſt make the balance even, and render them neceſſary: and, in caſe the king ſhould one day forſake their religion, they were reſolved to take ſuch meaſures beforehand, as might make them be feared both by the catholics, and him whom they gave them for a maſter.

These precautions were, to procure a great number of towns to be yielded to them, to obtain ſuch favourable edicts, and ſo many other ſecurities, that the king, although a catholic, ſhould find it his intereſt to be well with them. It was towards this end that the duke of Bouillon, who governed abſolutely the reſolutions of the army, directed all his views, and to which he made the five or ſix hundred German horſe under his command ſubſervient. On the ſlighteſt occaſion of diſcontent, or rather on the firſt caprice, they broke into murmurs, and threatened, as they did then, that they would return immediately to Germany. The king, being obliged to behave in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy equally ſuch oppoſite parties, was greatly perplexed by his endeavours to ſtifle theſe ſeeds of diviſion: he was deſirous of avoiding an open rupture, or at leaſt of protracting it, till he ſhould be out of danger.

danger. It was this perplexity that reduced him to compliances very prejudicial to his affairs. 1592.

There is no maze so intricate as was the disentangling those interests which divided the different parties that composed the king's army. I have yet but touched upon the smallest part. The catholics, besides their common object, had each of them his own private one in view, which was to make Henry purchase their personal services at a very high price; and he was convinced, that without this satisfaction they would not bring affairs to a general conclusion. The interests of the French calvinists were not entirely the same with those of the foreign protestants. There were certain times when the English, who alone were united, murmured amongst themselves, that, in all the dangers they were exposed to, they were actuated by a principle of generosity, which, whatever turn affairs might take, would bring them no advantage; and, while this reflection employed their minds, they would look upon themselves as madmen, who sacrificed their lives purely to gratify the passions of foreigners, and demand leave to retire, as they did upon this occasion, when they absolutely refused to engage beyond the Seine, seeing neither any security or resource for them in a country at such a distance from the sea. To exasperate them more, and to strengthen their suspicions, the catholics seized those moments of discontent to persuade them, that the king's abjuration was become absolutely necessary.

With regard to the other foreigners, who were paid for their services, d'O, and these same catholics, had a secret equally short and infallible, and they made use of it frequently: this was to keep the king in want of money. Therefore, when the Swiss and German horse were asked if they would pursue the prince of Parma, they replied only by demanding their pay; swearing, that, if it was not instantly given them, they would return to their homes, or engage in the service of the league.

Even the Spaniards, the king's declared enemies, had also their intrigues, and took part in this prince's affairs. At this very time they made a proposal to him, not only to withdraw their troops, but even to lend them to him, to serve him against the league, in a word, to put the crown upon his head, provided he would yield Burgundy and Brittany to them for ever. In order to assist the king to subdue those scruples which the making such an extraordinary gift might raise in his

1592. mind, they recalled to his remembrance the example of Francis I. who, they ſaid, in a ſituation leſs preſſing, had given up to them the * ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois; and that of Henry II. who had given Spain more towns † than were contained in both thoſe provinces. The king had ſufficient reaſon to believe that ſo unſeaſonable a negotiation was a piece of Spaniſh artifice, in the taſte of Hagemeau, which tended only to create more confuſion, and render him ſuſpected both by the proteſtants and catholics: but, although this propoſition had been really ſincere, he had a motive for rejecting it infinitely ſtronger, which was the implacable hatred he bore to Spain and the houſe of Auſtria.

At laſt even the league, for ſome view or other, entered into the reſolutions that were taken in the king's council. Villeroy, Jeannin, Zamet, and others, offered Henry, in the name of the league, to give him the crown upon certain conditions. It is very difficult to gueſs the true cauſe of this ſtep: whether diſguſt at the pride and inſolence of the Spaniards, an artifice to procure new ſupplies, or a deſign to alienate the proteſtants from the king. The only evidence of the ſincerity of this propoſition was the very hard conditions that were annexed to it: I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to enlarge upon this ſubject.

One of the leaſt conſequences of this chaos of views and intereſts was the ſpreading over every affair an impenetrable obſcurity, and creating in every mind jealouſy and diſtruſt. It is indeed ſurprizing, that after this the proteſtants and catholics could live together in the ſame camp, without expoſing the king to the grief of ſeeing them mutiny, or cutting each other's throats. Thoſe who in a prince ſought for what is termed policy, might here find ſufficient room to praiſe the prudence of a king who kept ſo many jarring intereſts united, and to admire his diſcernment in diſtinguiſhing thoſe who acted with fidelity towards him: nor ought it to paſs unobſerved, that ſo many ſecret and various deſigns left an appearance of order and tranquility. Falſhood aſſumed the ſemblance of truth, and enmity concealed itſelf under the

* By the treaty which was paſſed during the impriſonment of this prince at Madrid, the 25th of February 1526, Francis I. reſigned his claim there likewiſe to the duchies of Burgundy and Milan, to the kingdom of Naples, &c. but this treaty was declared void by the ſtates of the kingdom aſſembled at Cognac.

† By the treaty of Château-Cambreſis, in Jan. 1559, after the battle of St. Quentin, for three cities only of Ham, Câtelet and St. Quentin, France yielded to Spain and her allies more than an hundred and fifty fortified places. The conſtable Montmorency's jealouſy of the duke of Guiſe, and his eagerneſs to be freed from his confinement, made him conclude this treaty, at which the whole kingdom murmured.

diſguiſe

diſguiſe of friendſhip. Thoſe who pretended the greateſt affection to the king, either betrayed him, or laboured only to advance their own intereſt. 1592.

It would be uſeleſs to diſſemble, that the marechal de Biron often played this game, either through malice at being refuſed the government of Rouen, or deſire of protracting the war *, or a diſpoſition that took pleaſure in creating diſcord and confuſion. He was never known to agree with the general opinion, or to yield to the king's inclinations. He always contradicted, either for the ſole pleaſure of contradicting, or becauſe he would oblige every one to embrace his opinion. In the council, when the queſtion that has occaſioned this digreſſion was debated, he was neither for purſuing the enemy, nor for ſtaying in Normandy: he thought it was neceſſary to go before and wait for the prince of Parma on the frontiers of Picardy, through which he would be obliged to paſs in his return to Flanders. A project uncommonly chimerical, which was immediately applauded by the proteſtants, who were devoted to the will of this marechal.

The king ſaw plainly, that all endeavours to retain ſuch diſcontented troops in his ſervice would be in vain. The campaign was drawing towards an end, and a ſiege ſo long and fatiguing as that of Rouen made the ſoldiers extremely deſirous for reſt. The king was reſolved to grant it them: he followed that maxim, that a prince ſhould always have the appearance of doing voluntarily even what he was conſtrained to do. He told the foreigners, that he was willing they ſhould return home, and gave them permiſſion to do ſo. He diſtributed all the money he had amongſt them, leaving himſelf without any to ſupply his neceſſary expences: and though they were not wholly ſatisfied in this reſpect, yet they had reaſon to be pleaſed with the noble manner in which he praiſed and thanked them for their ſervices. As he had left Normandy in peace, and (except Rouen, and a few other cities) entirely reduced under his obedience; and as there was no reaſon to apprehend that the army of the league would come thither ſoon, he permitted all the officers of his army, as well catholics as proteſtants, to retire to their habitations: and, to lay the marechal de Biron under a neceſſity of not abandoning him with his proteſtants, which, after

* "What then, raſcal! wouldſt thou "ſend us to plant cabbages for Biron?" ſaid this marechal to his ſon, who propoſed to him an expedient to finiſh the war at one blow. Perefixe, part ii. ibid.

1592. this permiſſion, he foreſaw he would do, he declared that he would follow his advice, and in a few days would ſet forwards to Picardy; not that he really entered into this marechal's views, but as he had not yet ſhewn himſelf in that province, nor in Champagne, he thought it neceſſary to make himſelf known there, and to endeavour to conciliate the affection of the people towards him. A ſecret * and more powerful motive contributed to favour and confirm this reſolution; and Biron, who knew and flattered the king's weakneſs, drew from thence his beſt reaſon.

* His paſſion for mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées. He ſometimes ſtole away from his army to go and ſee her. He once diſguiſed himſelf like a countryman, paſſed through the midſt of the enemy's guards, and came to her houſe, not without hazarding the danger of being taken. Notes upon the Henriade.

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK V.

WHILE the king with a few proteſtants purſued the road to Picardy, the prince of Parma haſtened to Paris, from whence, without any difficulty, he returned to Flanders, but little ſatisfied with his campaign, diſcontented to the laſt degree with the league, and its chiefs, and much troubled at a wound which he knew was incurable. 1592.

It is in general, and particular hiſtories, that a relation of all that was performed this year, and the preceding, in different parts of the kingdom, muſt be ſought for. The attack of St. Denis *, where the chevalier d'Aumale loſt his life; the taking Stenay and Dun, in Lorrain; the defeat of the ſieur d'Ambliſe, with the duke of Bouillon's † other exploits, either before or after his marriage; the loſs of

* Claude de Lorrain, knight of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, having ſurprized this city at the head of a body of troops in the ſervice of the league, de Vic ran and beat them back. The chevalier d'Aumale was killed in this encounter.

† The duke of Bouillon took Stenay the ſame day that his nuptials were celebrated. Africanus d'Anglure d'Amblize, general of the troops of Lorrain, coming to attack Beaumont in Argonne, a city three leagues from Sedan, which the duke of the

1592. the battle of Craon *; the defeat of the ſieur de la Guerche, and the blockade of Poitiers, are the principal actions, to which an infinite number of others in Provence, Dauphiné, and Poitou may be added. From the departure of the prince of Parma, to the negotiations which preceded the king's coronation, many things happened worthy of notice, and may likewiſe be found there. I have, in another place, excuſed my ſilence on theſe heads, and the liberty I allow myſelf of relating only the moſt important facts; among which are thoſe that regard the count of Soiſſons, and the duke of Epernon; and even theſe the narration I have juſt made has not permitted me to enlarge upon.

The count of Soiſſons †, after having abandoned the king's party, and been at open variance with him at Bearn, ſtill retained hopes of marrying the princeſs, his ſiſter, of whoſe affections he always remained maſter. By the death of Henry III. to whom he had laſt attached himſelf, he was left in the king's army, whom he ſerved without affection, and only till he had reſolved upon ſome new project, or till ſome opportunity favourable to his paſſion preſented itſelf. He thought he found one in the ſiege of Rouen, an enterprize, in his opinion, of too much importance to afford the king leiſure to employ himſelf in other affairs. He pretended to take a journey to Nogent, and, ſtealing away from the camp, went ſecretly, and with the utmoſt expedition, to Bearn, in order to accompliſh his marriage there unknown to Henry. But he was one of thoſe perſons, whoſe moſt inconſiderable actions were ſtrictly obſerved by the king. This prince penetrating into the count's deſigns, ſent ſuch orders there, that the count, upon his arrival at Bearn, found the princeſs Catherine indeed in the moſt favour-

Bouillon had taken from the duke of Lorrain, Bouillon defeated his troops under the walls of this place, and d'Ambliſe was ſlain.

* This battle was fought before the city of Craon in Anjou, which was then beſieged by the royaliſt troops; they were compoſed of French, Engliſh, and Germans, to the number of 7 or 8000 men, commanded by the duke of Montpenſier, the prince of Conty, the duke of Damville, &c. who were defeated by the duke of Mercœur at the head of the Spaniſh troops, and thoſe of the league. About the ſame time, George de Villequier, viſcount de la Guerche, attempting to paſs the Vienne, a river in Poitou, was defeated at the head of a ſmall body of troops of the league, and himſelf drowned in the river. See a relation of the blockade of Poitiers, and the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes before this city, in d'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. chap. 11. For all theſe expeditions conſult likewiſe the hiſtorians above cited.

† Charles of Bourbon, ſon of Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, (ſlain at Jarnac) and of Frances d'Orleans-Longueville. He died in 1612.

able

able diſpoſitions towards him, and ſome ſay that ſhe had herſelf preſſed him to come thither; but it was quite otherwiſe with the council, to which the king, in his abſence, had committed the care of the province. The ſieur de Pangeas, who was at the head of this council, oppoſed him boldly, ſhewed him the orders he had received from the king, raiſed the country upon him, and obliged him at laſt to return to France, with the diſgrace of having failed in his attempt; for which the count could take no other vengeance on Pangeas, than by throwing him down a ſtaircaſe one day, when he met him in the king's apartments at Pontoiſe. 1592.

— de Pardaillan de Pangeas, or Pangeac.

By theſe ſtrokes the count of Soiſſons's character may be eaſily underſtood; to finiſh the picture, let it be added, that there never was a more blind or more boundleſs ambition. To him every new event appeared to lead him a ſtep forwards to the attainment of his ends, and engaged him in new meaſures, which threw him at ſo much the greater diſtance from them, as he imagined he approached nearer. He himſelf knew not the object his wiſhes aimed at; reſtleſs, uneaſy, and jealous, his ambition was fed by every thing, and drew advantage from nothing. Nature had given him qualities quite contrary to thoſe of the king; he reſembled him neither in humour nor manners. The king was open, frank, and generous; the count of Soiſſons to a mind naturally reſerved, and incapable of a wiſe foreſight, added an affected moderation and deſpicable cunning. He endeavoured to impoſe upon the world an aſſumed ſeriouſneſs for an air of grandeur; laboured to appear impenetrable, and miſtook the frozen countenance which falſe gravity wears for reſpect. Pomp, and the oſtentation of grandeur was his taſte: in a word, ambition had taken abſolute poſſeſſion of his heart, and his whole behaviour was made up of ceremony and formality. The near affinity this character bore to that of the Spaniards in general, was perhaps the ſource of that antipathy the king conceived for him, and which he could never ſurmount.

As for the duke of Epernon*, ambition was not his predominant paſſion; he was likewiſe actuated by an unconquerable pride; an inſolence,

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon, colonel general of France, governor of Guyenne, Metz, and the county of Meſſin. He died in 1642, aged 88 years; and, as the author of his life obſerves, he was the oldeſt duke and peer of France, the oldeſt officer of the crown, general of an army, governor of a province, knight of any order, and counſellor of ſtate, and almoſt the oldeſt man of rank in his time. They called him the king's wardrobe, becauſe of the great num-

er

1592. or rather a natural ferocity, that ſhewed itſelf in every word and action. Ambition, 'tis ſaid, makes uſe of various methods to accompliſh its deſigns. Epernon, regarded in this light, could not be an ambitious man, for he uſed only one, which was that haughtineſs by which he expected to carry all before him. In a word, ambition was, in him, but a natural love of independence, inſpired by a harſh diſpoſition, miſanthropy, and a preſumption that made him conſider himſelf ſuperior to friendſhip and rewards. He hated the king, becauſe he hated the whole world; and, without doubt, there were moments when he was not well ſatisfied with himſelf. A conſtant diſobedience to his ſuperiors, an inſolent behaviour to his equals, and a cruel and inſupportable conduct towards his inferiors, make up the reſt of his character.

Epernon, finding that his enterprizes had not the ſucceſs his pride had flattered him with, was obliged to altered his behaviour, and ſometimes, tho' but ſeldom, behaved courteouſly to thoſe whom he might have occaſion for; but even his kindneſſes, if that phraſe may be allowed when ſpeaking of him, had a ſort of ſpleen and contempt in them: ſo that if he hated the world, he was equally hated by it; no one ſerved him from any other motive than fear, which was the cauſe that with great diſpoſitions for war, and in a ſituation which might have made them uſeful, he ruined his affairs. Provence and Dauphiné held for him, and for Valette * his brother. Theſe provinces, whoſe governor, before him, had been the grand prior †, the natural brother

ber of poſts which he poſſeſſed in this prince's houſhold. There is recorded an excellent anſwer of his to Henry IV. who one day in anger reproached him with not loving him. The duke of Epernon, ſays his hiſtorian, without being ſurprized at the king's rage, anſwered coolly, but with great gravity, " Sire, your majeſty has " not a more faithful ſervant than myſelf " in the kingdom: I would rather die, " than fail in the leaſt part of my duty to " you; but, Sire, as for friendſhip, your " majeſty well knows that is only to be " acquired by friendſhip." The king, who equally knew how to admire great actions and ſpeeches of this kind, converted all his indignation into eſteem, &c. Life of the duke of Epernon, page 225. The character which is here given of him by the duke of Sully, is rather too diſadvantageous; however, it would not be eaſy to refute what he ſays: all the hiſtorians agree with him in charging the duke of Epernon with a boundleſs ambition, and his correſpondence with Spain is proved by ſeveral letters of the cardinal d'Oſſat. As for his extraction, " Patrem, ſays Buſbeq, habuit " bello egregium, avum tabellionem ſive " notarium." Epiſt. 17. On the contrary, according to father Vaiſſette, he deſcended from William de Nogaret, famous for his quarrels with the pope in the reign of Philip le Bel. Conſult likewiſe our genealogiſts.

* Bernard de Nogaret, admiral of France.

† Henry, count d'Angoulême, ſon of Henry II. and of —— Livingſton, a Scots lady.

of their three laſt kings, deſpiſed him for his extraction, and hated him for his cruelty. They were rejoiced when Epernon (who when Henry III. was living would not remove far from the court) ſent them la Valette in his ſtead, who made himſelf beloved in Provence, and ſerved the king with fidelity. Henry III. becoming acquainted with the true character of his favourite, began to be apprehenſive of him himſelf; he diſgraced Epernon, and had thoughts even of putting him under an arreſt at Angoulême. La Valette, on this occaſion, loſt his government; but all was reſtored to them after the murder of the duke of Guiſe, which laid Henry III. under the neceſſity of ſtrengthening himſelf with every one whom he could engage in his party, at any price whatever. After the death of this prince, Epernon, whoſe vanity would not ſuffer him to obey the king of Navarre, quitted him at Pontoiſe, notwithſtanding all the inſtances he made him by meſſieurs de Bellegarde and Roquelaure to return, to which he condeſcended himſelf to intreat him. To oppoſe a king was a circumſtance highly flattering to his pride, and in his government of Provence he forgot nothing that might contribute to it: he was the firſt amongſt the nobility to ſign the king of Navarre's excluſion from the crown. It will not be raſh to judge, by Epernon, of the ſincerity of this plea of religion, with which it was then uſual to cover a deſign of reſtraining the lawful authority.

The remainder of the duke of Epernon's hiſtory will give a ſuperficial knowledge of the affairs of the provinces in the ſouth of France. He there experienced great reverſes of fortune: the two brothers aſſiſting each other mutually, were often worſted, and could not prevent three or four conſiderable parties from being formed in Dauphine and Provence, which oppoſed them there, without reckoning one in each of the great towns, who endeavoured to make themſelves independent. The duke of Savoy*, and the duke of Nemours his brother, carried on intrigues there, and their party became very powerful, after the king of Spain had permitted the duke of Savoy, who was his ſon-in-law, and whom he vigorouſly ſupported, to be acknowledged count of Provence, and hold this fief of his crown. In the midſt of their ſucceſſes, theſe two princes met with a formidable rival, who ſtopped their career, and reduced their party to ineffectual menaces. This was Leſdiguieres†, remarkable for his valour and

* Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. He died in 1630.

† Francis de Bonne, duke of Leſdiguieres, conſtable of France.

1592. good fortune againſt the duke of Savoy. He always continued faithful to the king, and could never be reproached with having appropriated to himſelf the fruits of his actions, nor of having coveted the ſovereignty of Dauphiné. Perhaps he only wiſhed that the king might long have occaſion for his aſſiſtance, and never come into this province. Meſſieurs de Montmorency, and d'Ornano, gave great ſtrength to this party. The others were formed by the duke of Joyeuſe *, the counteſs of Sault, and the count of Carces, with the ſieur de Vins. Lewis d'Aix and Cajoux, Ligny, Martinengue, and many others, raiſed tumults there, and filled theſe countries with diviſions and ſlaughter; but their faction did not yet extend itſelf beyond the bounds of one city. La Valette was hardly able to ſupport himſelf longer in Dauphiné, when he was ſlain at the ſiege of a little inconſiderable town. The duke of Epernon immediately invaded this government: for form's ſake he demanded letters patent for it from the king, who durſt not refuſe them to him; but, inſtead of quelling all theſe different parties, he went thither only to make a new one, upon which the king had as little reaſon to depend as any of the others. One may judge of this, by what paſſed at the ſiege of Villemur, the only action which I ſhall give a particular relation of from memoirs, the authenticity of which I can anſwer for.

Alphonſo d'Ornano, colonel of the Corſicans.

Roquebrune in Provence.

A city of Languedoc.

The duke of Joyeuſe, a zealous partiſan of the league in Languedoc, having drawn together five or ſix thouſand foot, and eight or nine hundred horſe, in the neighbourhood of Toulouſe, advanced with them on the 15th of June, in the year 1592, towards Montauban, pillaged the little villages, and the flat countries, and after exerciſing all the cruelties uſual in thoſe miſerable times, came and laid ſiege to Villemur.

The ſieur d'Ariat, after whom I relate theſe circumſtances, and the citizens of Villemur, had recourſe to Thémines †, who commanded for the king in that province, and intreated him to come immediately with powerful ſupplies to their aſſiſtance. Thémines, knowing he was not ſtrong enough, addreſſed himſelf to the duke of Eper-

* Antony Scipio, knight of Malta, who took the title of duke of Joyeuſe after the death of his brothers. Chriſtina d'Aguerre, counteſs of Sault, baroneſs of Vicomc. Gaſpard de Pontevez, count of Carces. Hubert de la Garde, lord of Vins. Charles de Caſaux, &c.

† Pons de Lauſiere de Cardaillac, afterwards marechal of France.

non, and while he waited for the reinforcement the duke promiſed to give him, ſent a detachment of ſmall bodies of cavalry and foot, which got into Villemur with great difficulty, the troopers on foot, becauſe their horſes could be of no uſe to them, the city was ſo cloſely environed. Joyeuſe was ſeverely puniſhed for the error he was guilty of there, as we ſhall ſee preſently. This error was the attacking the town itſelf, inſtead of beginning with the caſtle, which, although much ſtronger in appearance, was in reality the weakeſt. Without doubt he was not ſufficiently acquainted with the place, or had a deſign to make uſe of the magazines of corn, and other ammunitions, of which he knew it was full. 1592.

Epernon ſent indeed a conſiderable body of troops; but as he had given them orders to act but faintly, and particularly to avoid hazarding much in fighting, theſe troops, although great expectations were raiſed by them, minded nothing but recreation, abandoned their poſts, and by their bad example did more harm than good to the other royaliſt ſoldiers. Joyeuſe, who did not want courage, eſpecially when he was to act in perſon, finding the occaſion favourable, and perhaps doubtful of the duke of Epernon's deſigns, fell upon his ſoldiers, ſurprized them, and would have made a great ſlaughter, if Themines had not run thither time enough to ſave the remainder; he could not, however, prevent ſeven or eight hundred from being ſlain. There needed no more to make Epernon * recal them abſolutely. Themines afterwards ſtrongly ſolicited both him and the marechal de Matignon for aſſiſtance, but in vain; and all he could do was to throw himſelf into Villemur, with d'Ariat, two hundred and fifty arquebuſiers, and about a hundred or a hundred and twenty troopers, to ſupport the beſieged, whom Joyeuſe preſſed more vigorouſly than before. He obliged Reiner, who was lord of it, but who was grown too infirm to perform the duties of a governor upon this occaſion, to go out, and reſolved to defend himſelf there till the laſt extremity, being aſſured that the king, whom he acquainted with his ſituation, would not ſuffer him to periſh.

* All this is ſo poſitive, that it may balance the authority of de Thou, who mentions this fact very favourably for the duke of Epernon, and that of the author of this duke's life, who maintains that his ſoldiers drove thoſe belonging to the league from Villemur, and put this place into a ſtate of defence, p. 134. The Chronologie Novenn. agrees here with our Memoirs, book iv. p. 63. as likewiſe the Memoirs of the League, vol. V.

1592.

In effect, this prince wrote inſtantly to the dukes de Montmorency, and d'Epernon, to ſend him ſupplies. Epernon, accuſtomed to diſobey, gave no attention to this order; but Montmorency ſent him Lecques and Chambaut, with ſome brave proteſtant troops. Theſe were ſtill too few in number to oppoſe the army of Joyeuſe, lately reinforced by the inhabitants of Toulouſe: Lecques, and Chambaut, therefore, had recourſe to Meſſilac, lieutenant for the king in Auvergne, and to the viſcount de Gourdon, as remarkable for his courage and fidelity as for his deformity. Theſe two officers marched immediately to the aſſiſtance of Villemur, with eight hundred arquebuſiers, and two hundred and eighty horſe. Joyeuſe ſent to offer them battle, which they refuſed, warned by the misfortune which had happened to Epernon's troops, and ſolicitous only to accompliſh their firſt intention. After this refuſal, the beſiegers cavalry, who found themſelves too much ſtraitened in their lines, demanded permiſſion of Joyeuſe to remove into the neighbouring villages, which this general granted with ſome difficulty, and contrary to the opinions of the ſieurs d'Onous and Montberaut. He obliged the officers to give their words, that upon the firſt ſignal which ſhould be made them, they would return to the camp.

Antony Du-Pleix, lord of Lecques.

Raimont de Meſſillac de Reſſignac.

Messillac, Lecques, and Chambaut, perceiving that this removal of the cavalry had extremely weakened the army of the beſiegers, divided their whole foot into four bands, to each of which they added fifty troopers, whom they cauſed to diſmount. A regiment of eight hundred men was drawn up in battalia within view of the entrenchments, with orders to charge on a certain ſignal. Four hundred men attacked the firſt intrenchment, and were ſupported by the four troops. The guard there uſually conſiſted of no more than two hundred foot; but Joyeuſe, who had ſpies amongſt us, being informed of the deſigned attack a few moments beforehand, ſent thither four hundred men more, and at the ſame time made the cannon fire three times, which was the ſignal agreed upon with his cavalry. It happened, that either through ſlackneſs in obeying on their ſide, or eagerneſs on that of the proteſtants, this cavalry did not come up till after the action was begun. Our men advanced before ſun-riſe, and falling upon the firſt intrenchment, laid a hundred of thoſe who defended it dead upon the ground; the reſt fled towards the ſecond entrenchment, and carrying thither only their fears, this, though much better than the firſt, was likewiſe ſtormed with conſiderable loſs.

The-

THEMINES beholding all within the walls, ſeconded the aſſail- 1592.
ants, and made ſo ſeaſonable a ſally, that he completed the rout of the beſiegers. Their cavalry ſhewed themſelves that moment at the head of the camp; but inſtead of putting a ſtop to this confuſion, they no ſooner perceived the eight hundred men, which compoſed the body of reſerve, with three hundred horſe puſhing againſt them, than they followed the example of the reſt of the army, and ſought for ſafety in flight. Their terror increaſing every moment, it ſoon became a general rout, which it was not in the power of Joyeuſe to prevent. Dragged along himſelf with the fugitives, he gained a bridge of planks and ropes which he had ordered to be thrown over the Tarn. The number of thoſe who haſtened thither, on this ſide, overcharging this bridge, it ſunk under Joyeuſe, and he and all that were with him were ſwallowed up in the river. Fear had ſo blinded the reſt of the troops, that ſtill imagining they ſaw a bridge where none now was, they plunged into the waves where it had ſtood. More than three thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe periſhed on this occaſion, either by the ſword or the water. A prodigious loſs for an army ſo inconſiderable, whereas the royaliſts loſt only thirty men. The citizens of Villemur beheld this aſtoniſhing ſpectacle from the top of their walls, with a joy mingled with wonder and horror; which made them compare an effect of fear, which had the appearance of a miracle, with that which the ſacred hiſtory relates of the Egyptians at the paſſage of the Red-ſea. But to return to the king.

THIS prince went into Picardy, and in order to give employment to his troops, ſent the marechal de Biron to beſiege Epernai. The ſiege was long and obſtinate; Biron was ſlain there by a cannon ball *. And if the king, who during that time ſtaid at Compiegne, had not reſolved to ſhew himſelf before this city, they would have found great difficulty in taking it. He defeated ſome powerful ſuccours that were endeavoured to be thrown into the place, and obliged it at laſt to ſurrender. In Champagne.

HIS funds failing him entirely, he was obliged, after this expedition, to diſband the remainder of the foreign troops. He continued

* Which took off his head. He was almoſt as famous for his learning as his abilities in war. De Thou greatly regrets the loſs we have had of his Commentaries. He commanded in chief in ſeven battles, and every wound he received in theſe battles made a ſcar. He was godfather to cardinal de Richlieu, who was named after him. The city of Gontaut, in Agenois, gave its name to this family. See the panegyric of this marechal in Brant. vol. III.

ſome

1592. ſome time longer in his quarters, upon the report that was ſpread of the prince of Parma's having returned into France to execute the great projects he had formed againſt the king. The death of this brave general * happened very fortunately for Henry, who ſaw himſelf not in a condition to oppoſe ſuch an enemy. The Spaniſh army, having loſt its leader, diſperſed. The time that was taken up in appointing his ſucceſſor, gave the king leiſure to breathe again; he drew near Paris, and thought of nothing but taking advantage of the Spaniards removal.

I DID not attend the king in his journey to Picardy; I went to Mante, where finding madam de Châteaupers in a diſpoſition favourable to my love, I married this lady, and our nuptials were celebrated the ſame day that the prince of Parma †, with his army, paſſed through Houdan.

To confeſs the truth, the king's politics were not to my taſte. I ſaw with pain, that the exigency of his affairs laid him under the neceſſity of complying with every deſire of the catholics, while the proteſtants were neglected; and after the departure of the foreign troops, which gave their rivals many advantages over them, their aſſiſtance was of no conſideration. I had, in particular, often experienced the effects of their hatred or jealouſy, from whence I concluded, that I ſhould never be able to advance my fortune. I was likewiſe diſguſted with the king's behaviour towards me; his coldneſs, though I knew

* At Arras, in the abbey of St. Vaaſt. The Spaniards were accuſed of having poiſoned him through jealouſy, but the wound he received in Normandy the year before, joined to the bad make of his body, was the only cauſe of his death, as was acknowledged when he was opened. Cayet, ibid. 90. See in de Thou, book civ. a panegyric on his great qualities. His body was carried through Lorrain to Italy attended by 160 horſe, capariſoned in black. He was no more than 48 years of age. He complained of being twice poiſoned by the Spaniards, if we may believe d'Aubigné, who aſſures us, that the Italians were ſo fully perſuaded of it, that from that time they could never endure the Spaniards, vol. III. book iii. chap. 28. And this alſo is the opinion of Bongars, book xlix.

† This could not be till the 23d or 24th of May, as the prince of Parma did not paſs the Seine till the night of the 21ſt or 22d of that month. Here then is a miſtake either in the New Journal of Henry III. printed in 1720, (where in the 271ſt page, the duke of Sully's marriage is obſerved to be celebrated on the 18th) or in the Memoirs of Sully. The baron de Rosny's ſecond wife was called Rachel de Cochefilet, daughter of James lord of Vaucelas, and of Mary d'Arbaleſte. She was firſt married to Francis Hurnat, lord of Châteaupers, and Marſac, who died in 1590. She ſurvived the duke of Sully, and died in the year 1659, aged 93 years.

it

it to be feigned, had ſuch an appearance of a total eſtrangement, that I determined to quit war, and retire to my eſtate, there to live far from buſineſs, and the tumult of life. 1592.

The event juſtified the king's prudence, and I was the firſt to come over to his opinion, and to give him advice very oppoſite to my former ſentiments; but then I ſaw things with other eyes. The reflection on all that the proteſtants and myſelf had endured; the little conſideration I appeared to be then of, and ſomewhat of that general diſpoſition of mind which always dictated the intereſt of religion, formed all my reſolutions, and were the foundation of that ſyſtem I built for the king, and which at that time ſeemed to me to be the only reaſonable one. I would have had this prince, doing juſtice to thoſe who had ſerved him with zeal and affection, to have refuſed all other aſſiſtance, and caſt himſelf entirely in their arms. I was perſuaded that after ſuch an open declaration of his dependence upon the proteſtants, England, Holland, and all the proteſtant powers in Europe, would exert themſelves ſo effectually in his favour, that they would ſoon, without any aſſiſtance from the catholics, ſeat him upon the throne. In this, as in every thing elſe, the king's underſtanding was ſuperior to mine. He knew, from the firſt moment, that a kingdom, like France, was not to be gained by foreign hands; and although it had appeared even poſſible, yet it was the hearts of the French, rather than their crown, that this good prince fought to conquer. And he would have thought the rewards which, on that occaſion, he ſhould be obliged to beſtow upon the authors of his elevation, to their prejudice, to have been an encroachment upon their lawful rights.

My laſt motive for retiring was, that a little after I arrived at Mante, the wounds in my mouth and neck, which I had received in that unfortunate rencounter at Chartres, opened again, and obliged me to go to Rofny to be radically cured, to prevent the fatal conſequences which generally attend wounds of that nature. I continued there ſome time: after a life ſo tumultuous, as that which, till this moment, I had led, I taſted, with higher reliſh, the ſweets that retirement offers to a heart detached from ambition. I amuſed myſelf there with writing the events varied by good and bad fortune, to which I had been expoſed for the ſpace of twenty years.

1592.

Buhy *, the king's lieutenant in the Vexin, came one day to visit me, and informed me that the king had written to all the governors to draw together what troops they were able, and to come immediately to his assistance; for it was about this time that they were in expectation of the prince of Parma's return into France; and Buhy, therefore, asked me, if I would not, upon this occasion, do as others did. This question recalled the remembrance of the many governments which I had requested, and had been denied to me; and, lastly, the post of one of the king's lieutenants, which the duke of Nevers, and the catholics had hindered me from obtaining, in a very haughty and insulting manner. I answered this officer, with some emotion, that if the king had had any occasion for my service, he would have done me the honour to write to me. Buhy found something of anger in my reply, and, like a good courtier, exaggerated it, when he repeated it to the king, and gave him to understand, that he ought no longer to have any dependence on me, for I had resolved to spend the rest of my days in the country. This circumstance was added by himself; for I did not esteem Buhy so much as to make him my confidant. "His disposition then is greatly altered," replied the king immediately, "for he never failed to be present on "such occasions as are now approaching. Altho' he excuses himself "on account of his wounds, I know well enough what detains him; "he is offended with me, and not without reason. He would play the "philosopher for the future; but when I see him, I shall be able to "make all up again; for I know him thoroughly."

John Seguier.

This conversation passed in the presence of the president Seguier, who dined with me some time after, and related it to me. Having freely disclosed my most secret thoughts to this great magistrate, whom I knew to be my friend, an honest man, and an excellent politician, he answered me in these words, which I shall never forget, because they first opened my eyes, and removed my prejudices. "Sir, you appear "to me to be touched with resentment. We live in a time when tran-"quility is very difficult to procure. The wisest amongst us are silent, "and patient, in hopes of more favourable days, and the king is so "prudent, and so virtuous, that God has no doubt reserved our resto-"ration for him."

* Peter de Mornay de Buhy, brother of Du-Plessis-Mornay.

From

From that moment, finding no other inconveniency from my wound, than a little difficulty in speaking, I began again to ride, and followed by fifty horſe, I made excurſions over the great road of Verneuil and Dreux to Paris, in order to reſume my former occupation, which I perceived was again likely wholly to engroſs me. In the ſecond of theſe journeys, one day when I was riding toward Dreux, between the villages of Marolles and Gouſſainville, I met ten or twelve men on foot, who, the moment they ſaw us, ſtruck into the woods with which that country abounds. I followed them immediately, and ſeized two of them, who had not quitted the great road. Theſe were peaſants who were returning from Paris, whither they had been to ſell their poultry. I aſked them ſome queſtions, and they anſwered me very ingenuouſly; they told me, that it was their cuſtom to travel in the night, to avoid the inconveniencies they were expoſed to in thoſe roads in the day, but that they had taken courage this once, having nine or ten perſons in their company, among whom they ſaid were three domeſtics belonging to meſſieurs de Mercœur, de Medavy, and de Vieux-Pont. 1592.

There needed no more to make me purſue theſe three men, whoſe myſterious journey excited my curioſity. It was impoſſible to overtake them; my people could only ſeize two others of thoſe that were of Verneuil, from whom finding I could draw nothing by threatenings, I made uſe of another method. I gave them four crowns, and promiſed them more, if they would tell me all they knew concerning thoſe three domeſtics. They deſired me to follow them, and led me directly to a large hollow oak, ſurrounded with thickets, where they told me theſe ſervants had ſtopped, and put ſome papers into the trunk of this tree: in effect, I found there two tin-boxes, and a ticking ſack, which ſeemed to me to be full. This acquiſition conſoled me for the meſſengers eſcape; and after rewarding the two men, I returned to Roſny, very impatient to open my packets.

They appeared to be ſuch as I wiſhed: in the firſt I found commiſſions from the duke of Maienne to levy ſoldiers, ſeveral letters written in cyphers, in this general's own hand, to the duke of Mercœur: but papers more important engaged all my attention; they related to the third party, which was then beginning to be talked of, and amongſt which I found two memorials that ſeemed to be of the utmoſt conſequence. The firſt was a memorial of the demands which

1592. the preſident Jeannin * made upon Spain, in the name of the duke of Maïenne; and the ſecond contained the anſwer given to theſe conditions by the arch-duke Erneſt for the king of Spain. All the reflections imaginable could not throw ſuch light upon the duke of Maïenne's deſigns, the ſpirit of the league, and the politics of Spain, as the contents of theſe two pieces: of which this is an extract.

The duke of Maïenne ſubmitted the league to the pope, and put it under the king of Spain's protection, upon the following conditions, which regarded the party in general, as well as himſelf in particular. Firſt, That the king of Spain ſhould furniſh, and maintain in the ſervice of the league, an army of ſixteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; in which army there ſhould be two thouſand foot, and five hundred troopers, all French, of whom the duke of Maïenne was to have the ſole diſpoſal, beſides four thouſand foot more, and five hundred horſe, French likewiſe, who were to continue near his perſon only, and to be maintained by Spain: That the number of theſe troops ſhould be augmented as occaſion required: That the duke of Maïenne ſhould have the chief command of theſe troops, and thoſe of the party, with the title of lieutenant-general of the crown, till a king of France was elected: That this election ſhould be made in a general conference, by which they certainly meant the ſtates of the kingdom: That till this election was made and confirmed, the penſion which Spain already paid to the general ſhould be augmented to as much more, that is, from thirty thouſand livres a month, to ſixty, beſides a hundred thouſand crowns, which he ſhould receive immediately, and a hundred thouſand livres after the ratification of the treaty; in expectation of which, they ſhould begin, by putting him in actual poſſeſſion of Burgundy: That after the nomination of the future king, the duke of Maïenne ſhould be continued in the government of the ſtate, with the title of lieutenant-general; and that then, and not before, he ſhould yield up the city of Soiſſons to the Spaniards, becauſe it was at preſent the only place of ſecurity he had for himſelf in France: That if he found inſurmountable obſtacles, either in the election of a future king, probably from the king of Navarre, or in the invaſion and keeping of Burgundy for the duke of Maïenne, the king of Spain ſhould make the duke amends, by an annual penſion of three hundred thouſand livres, for the poſſeſſions he might loſe in France; which penſion ſhould never be leſſened or taken away, whatever

* René Jeannin, baron de Montjeu, preſident of the parliament of Dijon.

agreement might be made between the king of Spain and the acknowledged king of France, but be continued to his heirs for ever: That Spain ſhould cancel all the duke of Maïenne's debts, or thoſe of the king elected with the conſent of this crown, if he was a native of France: That they ſhould give ſuitable rewards to the other principal officers of the league; theſe were not expreſſed, either becauſe the duke of Maïenne was leſs ſolicitous about the intereſts of others than his own, or that he thought this article would be eaſily ſettled, becauſe, if money was wanting, the lords might be ſatisfied with penſions, dignities, or governments. 1592.

Such were the demands of the chief of the league, in which, as we have ſeen, he did not forget himſelf. For all this, he offered the king of Spain (beſides the crown, which, although he was not mentioned, could only be deſigned for a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, ſince the duke of Maïenne ſeemed to exclude himſelf) he offered, I ſay, a certain number of towns, for whoſe names, as well as that of the future king, were blanks; thoſe that Spain might take being to be reſtored to the French catholics, under the protection of the king of Spain and the duke of Maïenne. All was calculated for the ſecurity and caution of Spain, till the election of a king, without any further explanation; which proves alſo, that they thought this election would ſufficiently indemnify this crown; at leaſt that they wanted, by this inſinuation, to flatter it with hopes, in order to procure an immediate and effectual aſſiſtance from it. What gave riſe to this ſuſpicion was, their care in inſiſting upon, and often reſuming, the following clauſe: That till all theſe articles were agreed to at Madrid, for which they allotted the ſpace of a month, Spain ſhould firſt begin by ſending a powerful ſupply into Burgundy, which they ſaid was in great danger. The more to haſten the reſolutions of this court, the duke of Maïenne, who throughout the whole treaty ſhewed himſelf to be a faithful ſervant (although a little intereſted) of the houſe of Auſtria, proteſted coldly, that if theſe conditions were not thought advantageous enough for Spain, he might turn to whatever ſide the pleaſed, for he was weary with bearing the burden, and wiſhed for nothing more than to be eaſed of it.

But this was only a feint; he had to do with a council who would not ſo eaſily change, and who underſtood their intereſt ſtill better. To this memorial the arch-duke anſwered, in the name of the king of Spain, That his majeſty was well pleaſed with the title of Defender

1592. of the League, and would look upon himſelf as chief of the party: That they ſhould find him always ready to grant them whatever ſupplies they demanded againſt the king of Navarre, and even more than they demanded; for he agreed to ſend into Picardy alone the nineteen thouſand men formerly mentioned; it is eaſy to ſee with what deſign, this province bounding the Low Countries; beſides thoſe which he offered to ſend into different parts of the kingdom. He did not ſeem to be ſo much alarmed on account of Burgundy as the duke of Maïenne, probably becauſe the council of Spain diſcovered that this general, who had demanded the poſſeſſion of this province, would be glad that the troops ſhould be all employed there. Upon this article, he only granted wherewithal to raiſe a thouſand German foot, and to maintain three hundred horſe. He added, however, that if the whole force of the war was turned againſt this province, his catholic majeſty would not refuſe to ſend a conſiderable number of troops there; and without doubt, in this he meant to keep his word.

As to what regarded Maïenne in particular, his catholic majeſty appeared much leſs liberal. Of all the articles this was the moſt reduced: he would make no addition to the penſion of thirty thouſand livres a month; and would grant him but, and that only while he continued in perſon in the army, two thouſand foot, and five hundred troopers. Upon the other articles he was ſilent. With regard to thoſe places which might be ſeized, Spain conſented that the duke of Maïenne ſhould keep what he had taken, provided ſhe was allowed to do the ſame: ſhe would not relinquiſh her demand of Soiſſons, and was abſolutely reſolved to have this city for a ſecurity for thoſe advances ſhe made in this war; ſhe promiſed only to reſign it after the election of the king: this nomination appeared ſtill uncertain to Spain, who gave them to underſtand, that if ſhe was ſatisfied with it, every thing might be expected from her gratitude, but beforehand ſhe would riſk nothing. For this purpoſe, all the other articles were left unanſwered, and a new one was added, which was, that the duke of Maïenne ſhould remove certain perſons from about him, who, doubtleſs, did not ſupport the intereſts of Spain with the French general; their names were not written; but it was ſaid, that they had been ſignified by word of mouth to the agent for the treaty. Such were his catholic majeſty's diſpoſitions, who by attending only to his own intereſts, and reſolving to ſell his aſſiſtance very dear, followed exactly the duke of Maïenne's example.

The

The reading of these papers left no room any longer for resentment in my mind; and thinking them of great importance to the king, I hastened immediately to Compiégne. I found time and absence had not altered his sentiments with regard to me. I had half an hour's private conversation with this prince, to whom I related in brief the occasion of my journey. The examination of these papers was deferred till the evening of that day, when, all the courtiers being retired, I was introduced into the king's apartment, and remained there shut up with him. After his majesty had sent for Beringhen and Choirin, to decypher the greatest part of the papers, from them we learned whom the third party was composed of, which as yet had been only mentioned in whispers, and had been formed even in the court, and supported and directed by the abbé * de Bellozanne, the two Durets, and I believe the abbé Du-Perron; all of them dependents of the count of Soissons and the cardinal of Bourbon, and particularly attached to the last. In all appearance, these persons were the authors, and at first the only promoters, of this faction, which was afterwards joined by messieurs de Nevers, de Longueville, de Villeroy, d'O; and the rest of those catholics who were in the court, who valued themselves upon being too good Frenchmen to suffer the Spanish dominion, and too zealous for the Roman religion to consent to have a protestant king. The count of Soissons some time after joined these gentlemen; and it was reported, that, inconstant to his former mistress, he was several times upon the point of marrying mademoiselle de Longueville. They had assumed the name of politicians, to distinguish themselves from the royalists and leaguers, and to shew that they regarded the good of the state, and the preservation of the rights of the crown, beyond every other consideration. Their principal view was alike to exclude every foreign prince, the duke of Mayenne, and the king of Navarre, from the throne. The bulk of the party knew no more: but the leaders, who were masters of the secret, thought of nothing but getting rid of the two last by the sword or poison †; after which they might, without any difficulty, make the cardinal of Bourbon king ‡, 1592.

* John Touchet, abbot of Bellozanne; Lewis Duret, lord of Chevry, physician; and Charles Duret, counsellor of state, intendant and comptroller-general of the finances, and president of the chamber of accompts.

† This accusation is to be met with in no other writer, and is of the number of those which the author ought not to assert without giving likewise a proof.

‡ His name was Charles, he was the third son of Lewis I. prince of Condé, and Eleanora de Roye. His other brothers were, Henry, prince of Condé, Francis, prince of Conty, and Charles, count of Soissons.

and,

1592. and not to diſoblige Spain entirely, procure a diſpenſation for him to marry the infanta.

When this project is compared with that of Jeannin, it is matter of ſurprize, that papers which contained ſuch oppoſite ſchemes ſhould be found in the ſame packet. Without ſeeking for the reaſon of it in the ſecrets of providence, which by preſenting the king, at one and the ſame time, with all the plots that were formed againſt his perſon, ſeemed to ſuggeſt to him ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary to prevent them; it is my opinion, that it may be found in the different intereſts of thoſe perſons who correſponded together, and ſome from a great diſtance, ſuch as the duke of Mercœur, without any other motive than that common hatred they bore to the king, which gave birth to a thouſand chimerical deſigns, and delivered them up to thoſe hints which darted into their minds, without any other fixed and determined object than that of excluding the king of Navarre. In ſuch a confuſion of ſentiments, it is not ſurprizing, that he ſhould by the ſame means meet with ſuch oppoſite ſchemes.

Philip Emanuel of Lorrain.

I continued three days at Compiégne, in which time I had ſeveral conferences with the king, who appeared to be ſenſibly affected with the deſigned attempts againſt his perſon, becauſe he had flattered himſelf, that his conduct would have ſuppreſſed ſuch thoughts. He ſent me to Mante, perceiving that my endeavours to ſpeak in theſe converſations might open my wounds. I received from this good prince all the marks of a tender and unbounded confidence. At parting, he deſired me to obſerve carefully every motion of his enemies, and to prepare myſelf to give him good advice on his arrival at Mante, being reſolved, he ſaid, to regulate his behaviour in ſo difficult a conjuncture wholly by my directions. He ſtayed no longer in Picardy than was neceſſary to make ſome proper diſpoſitions there, and ſet out for Mante. This city he preferred to any other, becauſe by its ſituation it was beſt fitted to diſcover and overthrow the different cabals of his enemies, at a time when the intrigues of the cabinet were likely to ſucceed the operations of war. His council was already there, and he cauſed the princeſs, his ſiſter, to be conducted thither alſo. After the diſcovery this prince had juſt made of the plots that were laid againſt his life, it would have been the greateſt imprudence imaginable to have neglected any precautions neceſſary for his ſecurity. He doubled his guards, placed in Limay, which is the ſuburb of Mante, a body of Engliſh troops, whoſe affection to him was unqueſtionable, and reſolved

reſolved to hold all the world ſuſpected, ſince he was convinced that 1592.
thoſe perſons whom he had admitted to his councils, his table, and his pleaſures, were capable of forming the moſt violent reſolutions againſt him.

If of all the favours that a prince (as eſtimable for the qualities of his mind as for the greatneſs of his actions) could grant, eſteem and tenderneſs are thoſe which have moſt effect upon a man of honour, how much I am obliged to this prince, who honoured me in particular with his confidence at a time when infidelity, treachery, and all that intereſt could ſuggeſt to ſubjects who had exalted this idol in the place of love to their king, had left him no other part to take than that of a general reſerve and diſtruſt. Nor can I forbear to add (for why ſhould I omit a circumſtance which of all others ſeems moſt likely to procure me the eſteem of truly virtuous perſons?) that in a conjuncture ſo delicate, this prince was reſolved to reign himſelf wholly to my direction, and to me confide his deſtiny and crown *,

* If we may believe de Thou, Gaſpard Schombergh, count of Nanteuil, Lewis de Revol, receiver of ſtate, and himſelf, contributed to fix Henry IV. in his reſolution of changing his religion. There is not a hiſtorian who aſcribes it to any one particular perſon; they do not even ſo much as have thought of Sully in this affair, which however does not in the leaſt diminiſh the truth of what is aſſerted in this part of his Memoirs, that it is chiefly, and even in ſome manner wholly to him, the honour of it is due. Tacitus tells us, that Auguſtus, after having deprived one of his chief miniſters entirely of his favour, permitted him ſtill to have the appearance of enjoying it: with regard to the duke of Sully, it was quite the contrary, for he already was in poſſeſſion of his maſter's favour, while no one ſuſpected it. And that which is moſt remarkable in their hiſtory is, that a long time after this miniſter's favour with the king was known, by his being in poſſeſſion of the firſt employments in the kingdom, even a month after the duke's death, in public the king ſeemed to live with the utmoſt circumſpection: whereas in private, never were familiarity and confidence carried farther between a king and his ſubject. Hence it was, that in ſome hiſtories of Henry the Great, the conduct of which, without penetrating into the ſecrets of the cabinet, contented themſelves with repreſenting only the public face of affairs, the name of Sully is never mentioned, and that of Sancy, ſo well known to writers better informed, very often, conſidering the part Sancy played during the ten or twelve laſt years of the prince's life. Incomprehenſible as this reſerved and myſterious conduct appears, thoſe who reflect upon the ſituation of affairs at the time, together with the character of the duke of Sully, will comprehend, without any difficulty, the neceſſity the king and his maſter were under, to obſerve this conduct, and never to diſcover it. Nor is this one of the leaſt inſtances of the prudence and abilities of theſe two great men. I thought it neceſſary to make this obſervation once for all. "Sancy," ſays Sully in the hiſtorian, vol. II. page 218, "had a long time a "part in the king's moſt important af"fairs, and from the time of Henry III. "was one of his moſt intimate confi"dants," &c.

for

1592. for without me he undertook not the ſmalleſt affair, perſuaded that the advice of a man actuated by a ſincere attachment to him, and (if I may uſe the expreſſion) a true friendſhip, ought to be preferred to penetration and ability, when they are joined with a doubtful fidelity. Nothing ever gave me ſo pure and noble a delight as the honour of ſuch a diſtinction: but after having reſigned myſelf up to it ſome moments, I perceived the weight of that burden I was loaded with, and trembled amidſt my joy, leſt my weakneſs and incapacity ſhould engage me in ſome falſe ſtep that might prejudice, not me, for on thoſe occaſions ſelf, I believe, is leaſt in one's thoughts, but the prince who had laid it upon me.

From this moment, all thoſe precautions the king made uſe of for the ſafety of his perſon, I alſo obſerved in the advice I was going to give him. I prepared myſelf for it by the moſt ſerious reflections on the ſtate of the neighbouring kingdoms in general; and on that of France, of the parties into which it was divided, and of the king, in particular. I conſidered, that if in ſuch employments as mine, one cannot even be guilty of unintentional faults, without deſerving ſome reproaches, we draw thoſe reproaches upon ourſelves when we act according to the dictates of paſſion. This reflection led me to ſtudy carefully my own diſpoſition, and the bent of my inclinations, and convinced me of the neceſſity of beginning with obliging my own heart to ſubdue and forget itſelf. A ſerious review of my paſt conduct ſhewed me the injuſtice of thoſe complaints which I ſuffered frequently to eſcape me againſt the king's behaviour to me and the reſt of the proteſtants. I ſearched into the ground of it, and I ſoon found it in that common prejudice, that to be worthy of the religion one profeſſes, cruelty, perjury, and deceit ought to paſs for nothing, provided one can ſecure the ſucceſs of it. I ſuppreſſed theſe ſentiments, equally injurious to the author of religion, as dangerous to him who makes uſe of ſuch unworthy means: and when I declare, that there was nothing I more diſtruſted than thoſe ſnares which the zeal of religion might lay for me, I ſhall be eaſily believed, if the advice I gave the king be attended to.

When I was thus certain of myſelf, I the leſs feared to carry my views into that impenetrable chaos of different intereſts, and into future events, which offered, on every ſide, nothing but frightful precipices. Muſt the miſeries of France be perpetuated by giving arms, perhaps,

perhaps, for more than an age, to two parties in religion, then almoſt equal? Muſt a prince, who ſo well deſerved to be happy, wear away his whole life amidſt the horrors of a war, which till then had not given him time to breathe; and, if I determined upon this, prepare for him labours infinitely greater than all he had yet endured? On the other hand, ought I to expoſe the whole body of proteſtants in France, who ſought only juſtice and peace, to become victims of human policy, and deliver them up to the ſnares of their moſt cruel enemies; and while uncertain of the event of the war, and at a time when the king might be ſuddenly taken off, ought I to bring things to ſuch an extremity, that France might, perhaps, become a prey to Spain, and to all her neighbours, or, diſmembered by a thouſand tyrants, loſe in one moment the glory of her name, the luſtre of her monarchy, and the ſucceſſion of her kings? What miſeries to be expected by a war? what ſnares to be dreaded in a peace? how many dangers to be apprehended on all ſides? Was it poſſible to take any reſolution, when alarmed by ſo many inevitable evils? 1592.

But the greateſt danger was the not fixing upon any reſolution at all. At laſt, when all was thoroughly examined, it ſeemed neceſſary to prefer that which would put an end to the civil war, reſtore tranquility to France, ſubmit it to a good king, and put it in a condition to take vengeance on its foreign enemies: I mean that reſolution which might the moſt effectually remove the preſent inconveniencies, and procure time to bring a remedy for thoſe that were to be apprehended. In one word, I reſolved to prevail upon the king to embrace the Roman catholic religion *, and to perſuade him to it by degrees. I was ſenſible, that by this means I ſhould give diſguſt to two ſorts of perſons, the proteſtant neighbours of France, and the French calviniſts. But as to the firſt, France, when united with itſelf, had no occaſion for any foreign aſſiſtance: and it was eaſy to give the ſecond ſuch advantages, as would make them behold this change without murmuring. With regard to both, I depended upon that gratitude which a prince like Henry could not fail of having for perſons to whom he owed ſuch powerful obligations.

These reflections wholly employed my mind from the moment I left Compiégne, and I was ſtill abſorbed in them when the king

* The duke of Sully would then find his ſalvation as much forwarded by the romiſh as the proteſtant religion.

1592. arrived at Mante. The firſt thing he did, was to ſend for me to come to him with the uſual precautions. Jaquinot introduced me into his chamber before day, and we immediately entered upon our ſubject. Henry, who on his ſide had made a thouſand reflections on the perplexing ſituation he was in, began by drawing a very natural repreſentation of it; irreconcileable intereſts in the princes and nobility of the kingdom; hatred amongſt themſelves, and rage againſt him; mutiny and diſobedience in all minds; inactivity in the foreign allies; intrigues and animoſity on the part of the enemies; treachery within; violence without; rocks and precipices on all ſides. The end of this pathetic diſcourſe was to demand what remedy I was able to apply to theſe evils.

I REPLIED that, without taking upon me to give his majeſty advice, I ſaw only three things for him to do, and he might determine upon which he pleaſed. The firſt was to ſatisfy every one's demands at his own expence, or rather at the expence of the ſtate; the ſecond was not to make conceſſions to any, but to endeavour to wreſtle vigorouſly with them all; the third, which held a medium between theſe two, was to take away all obſtacles that oppoſed his advancement to the crown, by turning Roman catholic. The king then told me, that what I had ſaid to him was my opinion only, and commanded me to tell him plainly what I would do in his place. I endeavoured to make him comprehend the full extent of the three different methods I had propoſed to him, by examining them one after the other. I made him perceive, that by following the firſt, he would reduce himſelf to nothing, and that if there was a neceſſity to gratify wholly the rapaciouſneſs of Spain, and the French leaguers, he would ſcarce out of ſo great a kingdom keep a few provinces for himſelf. As to the ſecond, I repreſented to him, that as ſoon as he ſhould give room to believe, that he depended only upon the claim his birth gave him to the crown, the deſertion of all the catholics, and the unbridled fury of a whole nation of enemies both within and without the kingdom, would draw upon him a terrible ſtorm. The inconſtancy of fortune, and the uſual reverſes of war, although this prince had not yet experienced them, found their place in this reflection. As to the third, I was ſilent, only telling the king, that being a proteſtant myſelf, I could ſay nothing upon this ſubject.

WHILE I was ſpeaking, I perceived the perplexity, into which the preſent conjuncture had thrown the king, to increaſe every moment. I did

I did not doubt, but the review of all the difficulties would bring him to the point I desired. I was sure that he would not pause one moment upon the first of my proposals. I knew him too well to believe him capable of agreeing to an accommodation which would leave him only the semblance of a king, a subject or dependent upon Spain, or reduced at last to a small part of France. It was the two others only that embarrassed him. On one side, he said, by continuing in his religion he saw united against him all the princes of his blood, the nobility of the kingdom, and those that were at the head of all affairs, and the finances, such as messieurs de Epernon, de Nevers, de Longueville, de Biron, d'O, de Rieux *, de Villeroy, de Manou, de Châteauvieux, de Vitry, d'Entragues, and de Sourdis. It would be too tedious to mention them all. He saw them ready to resolve upon forming against him a body independent of the league, or, what was most probable, and likewise most dangerous, to unite themselves with the league, and deprive him of the possibility of ascending the throne. On the other, he objected the complaints of the dukes of Bouillon and la Tremouille, and the outcries of the protestants whom he was going to abandon; those who were so dear to him, and from whom he had so long drawn his only assistance. He represented them as passing from discontent to a resolution which despair at being sacrificed by an ungrateful prince would inspire, which was to elect another leader, canton themselves out in France, and oblige him to turn his arms against them. He ended with these words: "I "can never use them ill, nor declare war against them, for I shall al-"ways love them." This sentiment, which discovered a sensibility so seldom to be found in the hearts of princes, moved me extremely. I thanked him, in the name of all the protestants, by bending upon one knee, and kissing his hand. The reasons with which this prince opposed his change of religion, and the manner in which he delivered them, were what alone dissipated my apprehensions, and confirmed me likewise in the opinion, that no other remedy could be applied to the present evils. I told him, that messieurs de Bouillon and de la Tremouille, and all of merit and distinction in the calvinist party, would not be so unreasonable as to take arms against him, for a resolution which necessity only had forced him to embrace, when he continued to treat them with that esteem and respect which was due to 1592.

* René de Rieux, lord of Sourdeac. John d'O, lord of Manou, brother to the superintendant. Lewis de l'Hôpital, lord de Vitry. Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues. Francis d'Escoubleau, marquis of Sourdis. Joachim de Châteauvieux.

1592. their perſons and ſervices. I explained all my thoughts on this ſubject to the king, and added, that the foundation of all religions which believe in Jeſus Chriſt, being eſſentially the ſame; that is, faith in the ſame myſteries, and the ſame notions of the divinity, it ſeemed to me, that one who from a catholic became a proteſtant, or from a proteſtant became a catholic, did not change his religion, but followed, for the intereſt of religion * itſelf, that which policy ſuggeſted as the moſt proper means to compoſe all differences: but although my opinion ſhould be erroneous, yet this muſt be allowed to be an inconteſtible truth, that the embracing the catholic religion did not include the neceſſity of perſecuting all others; on the contrary, that God perhaps diſpoſed the king to this change to give a new example to Europe, and one more worthy of religion itſelf: That the difference of religions had long produced the moſt tragical effects in France, and was a perpetual ſource of diſorders and calamities, by the averſion with which it inſpired people againſt thoſe of a contrary faith from their own, which was equally the caſe with the proteſtants as well as catholics. I told the king, that he might cure this dangerous evil, by uniting thoſe who profeſſed theſe different religions in the bands of chriſtian charity and love; or, if this was impoſſible, preſcribe to them rules ſo juſt, as might make both parties contented with what was granted them. I did not doubt but this prince would be influenced by that ſingle thought of immortalizing his memory, by reſtoring peace, plenty, and ſecurity, to a kingdom waſted with inteſtine diviſions, and of meriting, by the uſe of thoſe abilities he had received from heaven, the glory of giving happineſs to France, after ſhe had begun to deſpair of it, and to look upon her wounds as incurable. I am certain, that this motive was more intereſting than

* Add to theſe words of the duke of Sully what he ſays ſome pages before, and what has been obſerved a little higher, where he ſpeaks of the duty and authority of kings in religious matters; it may be determined that he was a calviniſt without rigour, and conſidered all religion as indifferent which agreed in eſſentials. It is thus, that the author of the MS. which I have quoted in the preface of this work, ſpeaks of it, and it is even the chief of thoſe arguments which he makes uſe of to juſtify the duke of Sully for having given to Henry IV. ſuch advice, as, without this, would agree but ill with the laws of conſcience and natural rectitude. "It being "his opinion," ſays he, ſpeaking of the duke of Sully, "that the king might as "eaſily work out his ſalvation in our re- "ligion as in his own, he offered no "great violence to his conſcience, in per- "ſuading him to this change; on the "contrary, it was effectually ſerving the "ſtate, nay, chriſtianity itſelf, without "hurting his reputation." Happily, Henry the Great did not adopt the neutral opinions of his miniſter, as he himſelf confeſſed very ſincerely.

that of his own quiet; which, however, I did not forget: and I obliged Henry tacitly to confeſs, that his ſpirits, after being exhauſted, if I may uſe that term, with war, demanded a ſituation leſs turbulent, and more tranquil. 1592.

The ſtrongeſt proof of the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the arguments I uſed upon this occaſion, was, that the king, who poſſeſſed that happy ſagacity of diſtinguiſhing immediately the truth or falſehood of any poſition, confeſſed to me that my diſcourſe had penetrated to the bottom of his heart, which, he added, ſtill reſiſted ſtrangely, but that he believed he ſhould follow no other advice. In effect, at the end of three days he had taken his reſolution, and he now only endeavoured to remove the difficulties which remained. Some of theſe regarded his own opinion; for as ſincerity and rectitude were fixed in his heart, and regulated all his words and actions, I am perſuaded, that there is not any thing which could have prevailed upon him to embrace a religion which he inwardly deſpiſed, or even doubted of. A prince who had never deceived mankind, could have no intention to deceive his God.

The other difficulties related to the leaders of the proteſtant party, whom the bare propoſition of changing his religion would not fail to make revolt, as well through fear, as a point of honour. He aſſembled them, and addreſſing himſelf to the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them, which were monſieurs de Bouillon, de Sancy, Du-Pleſſis, de Saligñac, de Morlas, de Conſtans, and Salettes *; I alſo being preſent. He told them (with an intention to ſound their inclinations) that he had brought them together to know their opinions upon what he had to communicate to them. He ſaid he had received certain advices, that Bellozanne, and the two Durets, agents for the third party, had had an interview with Villeroy and † Jeannin, and that it was agreed

* — Salettes was preſident of the parliament of Pau, and counſellor of ſtate at Navarre. Morlas, his natural ſon, was member of the privy-council, counſellor of ſtate, and ſuperintendant of the magazines of France. They were both converted. Henry IV. when he was informed of the death of Morlas, who was a man of great merit, ſaid, "I have loſt one of the wiſeſt "men in my kingdom." Chon. Novenn. book viii. p. 545.

† After having diligently collected all that the moſt judicious of our writers have ſaid concerning theſe two men, of whom the duke of Sully ſpeaks ſo diſadvantageouſly in many places of his Memoirs, I think I may be able to aſſure the reader, with abſolute certainty, that, on one ſide, their great and only object was to preſerve the catholic religion in France, by excluding the king of Navarre from the throne, till he abjured calviniſm, or to force him to

upon

1592. upon to unite all the forces of the league and the other catholics againſt him; that the time which the catholics had ſo often threatened him with was now come, for they were going to abandon him entirely; their common deſign being now to place the cardinal of Bourbon upon the throne, to marry him to the infanta of Spain, and to endeavour by all poſſible methods to rid themſelves of his perſon. That the cardinal, indeed, had expreſſed great reluctance to comply with this laſt propoſition, but, by all appearances, they would ſoon gain his conſent, when they convinced him, that the crown could by no other means be ſecured to him. He conjured them to tell him ſincerely what they thought he ought to do upon this occaſion, eſpecially upon the deſertion of the catholics, which would reduce his party to the laſt extremity.

By the noiſe and confuſion this declaration raiſed in the aſſembly, it would ſeem that all thoſe who compoſed it, having never made any reflections upon what might happen, incapable of conducting their deſigns prudently, of keeping one determined object in view, or of preſerving any ſincere attachment to the king, had till then thought only of living from day to day; of gaining time, and profiting by their maſter's abilities for war. They could never agree, nor form any reſolutions fit to be approved of. They did not know whether to wiſh for peace, or continue the war. One ſaid, that there was nothing to be done but to reſume their arms, and riſque all at one caſt. Another was of opinion, that by arreſting eight or ten of the principal catholics, who were not yet upon their guard, particularly the contrivers of the plot, they might prevent the execution of it. Others more moderate, or perhaps more doubtful, contented themſelves

abjure it; and, on the other, to prevent the effect of the Spaniſh policy, the deſign of which was, either to deprive the royal family of the crown, or to diſmember the kingdom. Theſe are clearly proved to be the views of Villeroy, by the conduct he obſerved in the conference at which he aſſiſted, by the advice he frequently gave to the duke of Maienne, not to confide in the council of Madrid; by the reſerve with which that chief of the league communicated to him his ſecret deſigns; by the account of the preſident Jeannin's negotiations in Spain; by the behaviour of both in the ſtates of Paris, and ſtill more by the hatred the Sixteen bore them. Their prudence, their moderation, and their abilities in regulating affairs, made them the ſoul of the party, even in oppoſition, if one may ſo ſpeak, to the party itſelf: without them this party, actuated by a blind and furious paſſion, would have plunged the ſtate into abſolute ruin. Conſult Matthieu the hiſtorian, vol. II. page 66, 69, 86, &c. Chron. Novenn. book ii. &c. De Thou. Memoirs of Nevers. Villeroy's Memoirs, &c. See alſo what has been ſaid upon this article in the preface to this work.

with

with ſaying, that it would be neceſſary to accommodate matters by negotiations, without adviſing how. I took this hint, and by annexing it to ſome reaſonable expedients, carried all the votes for a negotiation. 1592.

They were not ignorant that I had ſome influence over the count of Soiſſons, and that I had free acceſs to the cardinal of Bourbon. This cardinal often ſaid in public, that although I was a huguenot, there was no perſon in the world for whom he had ſo ſtrong an inclination as me. I offered to uſe my mediation with theſe two princes, to prevail upon them not to liſten to the perſuaſions of the king's enemies; and the better to enſure ſucceſs, I promiſed I would endeavour to gain their dependents and counſellors, eſpecially the abbot de Bellozanne, the Durets, confidents to the count of Soiſſons, and a lady called madam des Roſieres, an intimate of the cardinal's.

No perſon oppoſed this advice, doubtleſs becauſe the proteſtants, who had heard the declaration, ſenſible that they were too weak actually to renew hoſtilities, thought that at preſent there was nothing better to be done. The king, on his ſide, was not ſorry at its being unanimouſly voted by the proteſtants, that he ſhould addreſs himſelf to the princes of the blood, and hold a commerce with the catholics of the league. According to my plan, I began with the abbé de Bellozanne. I knew that jealouſy had made him the ſecret enemy of the Durets, and believed that by taking him on this ſide, confirming him in his hatred, and flattering him with having ſhortly the chief part in all affairs, I ſhould bring him to my purpoſe. I introduced myſelf with telling him, that I was come to thank him, in the name of the king, for having in his favour ſo generouſly oppoſed the attempt of the Durets, which could only proceed from the rectitude of his heart, and his good-will towards the king, which his majeſty, although he had but a ſmall acquaintance with him, eſteemed as he ought: ſo that he might expect the moſt convincing proofs of his affection, which would certainly be the procuring him a cardinal's hat, or at leaſt, one of the richeſt benefices in the kingdom, when thoſe rewards were in his power, by his change of religion, which was likely to happen very ſhortly.

This introduction, which flattered his vanity extremely, gave me occaſion to enter, as if undeſignedly, into the ſecret proceedings of the Durets, which I pretended to be well informed of, in order to learn them from him, and to engage him to oppoſe them more abſolutely.

In

1592. In effect, I had ſcarce dropped a few words on this ſubject, when my man, giving way to his inclinations, fell ſeverely upon the Durets, and ſpoke ſo much to their diſadvantage, that I fell into the other extreme, and believed that he was induced by his hatred of them to accuſe them falſely. The hint of the cardinal's hat and the biſhopric producing its effect, Bellozanne pretended to feel the zeal for the king's ſervice, which I had affected to attribute to him. He endeavoured to perſuade me, that he would oppoſe the violent reſolutions of the catholics, whoſe intrigues and views he informed me of. I flattered myſelf for ſome time, that I had brought over this man to the king; but rogues ſoon reſume their natural character. Immediately after he had made this proteſtation to me, he made one quite the contrary to the cardinal of Bourbon, and afterwards to Villeroy and Jeannin, to whom he repeated all the converſation he had juſt held with me. If he drew advantage from his treachery, by the increaſe of favour it procured him, I, on my ſide, perhaps, made better uſe of it for the king, than if he had kept the ſecret: beſides finding means from thence to inform theſe gentlemen of the king's diſpoſition to embrace their religion, which drew them ſecretly towards this prince, Bellozanne's imprudence produced likewiſe another good conſequence, which was the inſpiring them with a deſire of ſupplanting each other in their endeavours to acquire his favour. I willingly therefore pardoned Bellozanne's double knavery, and even drew a third fruit from it, with regard to the Durets.

These gentlemen, perceiving the honour Bellozanne had gained by the new ſecrets he had diſcloſed to his patrons, and the increaſe of favour they had procured him, were the more ready to hear the propoſitions I went afterwards to make them. I told them, the king, offended at the knavery of Bellozanne (which in reality he was, becauſe he had carried it ſo far as to give umbrage to the proteſtants) would have no commerce for the future with a man ſo little to be depended on, and was diſpoſed to make uſe of them in the meaſures he would ſhortly take. I confided ſome papers to their care, the reading of which I was certain would have a wonderful effect. This was the ſcheme for an agreement between the league and Spain, and the anſwer in conſequence of it, which they had no knowledge of, and which I ſhewed to them that moment. This was a mortifying ſtroke for them; they thought themſelves deſpiſed, and the project ſo reaſonable as to fear it might be executed, and affairs brought to a concluſion without their participation; which to theſe ſort of men

ſeems

ſeems the greateſt of all misfortunes. They heſitated not a moment in offering me earneſtly their ſervices for the king. The change of religion, which I had alſo inſinuated to them, ſeemed to remove all the oppoſition that could be made to this prince. They were charmed at being employed in a ſcheme, the intention of which appeared to them more happy than that which the duke of Maïenne had propoſed to Spain: or rather there remained no other part for them to take, after the advantage Bellozanne had juſt gained over them. In effect, they kept the ſecret better, and laboured in it to more purpoſe. 1592.

I APPLIED myſelf afterwards to the abbé Du-Perron *, who by his character, his fame, and his eloquence, had more power with the cardinal of Bourbon, when he wanted him either to take or change a reſolution, than all the artifices of Bellozanne and the Durets. We had been acquainted a long time, and he had received ſome favours from me. I concerted my diſcourſe beforehand, as having to do with a man for whom eloquence, great ſentiments, and deep reaſoning, had powerful charms †; and I introduced into it as much or more of politics and worldly views as of religion. My brother, the governor of Mante, was preſent at this converſation, when after having ſlided into my diſcourſe ſome mention of the king's future abjuration, I undertook to prove to Du-Perron, that except Spain and ſome turbulent perſons in France, it was the intereſt and advantage, not only of France, but of all Europe, that the king of Navarre ſhould aſcend the throne, and poſſeſs the kingdom in the ſame extent, and with the ſame power, which had been enjoyed by the kings his predeceſſors.

I BEGAN with the pope. I told Du-Perron, that he who had ſo perfect a knowledge of the court of Rome, knew better than any other perſon, that Clement VIII. now in poſſeſſion of the holy ſee, was neither ſo violent as Sixtus V. nor ſo mutable as Gregory XIV. That the pope conſidered the preſent affairs of Europe and chriſtianity in a clear and impartial view. That it was not his intention, by breaking the neceſſary balance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, to ſubject France to Spain, becauſe he was not ignorant of any of the views of this laſt power for univerſal monarchy. That the pope

* James Davy-Du-Perron, afterwards biſhop d'Evreux, and then cardinal: he will be mentioned hereafter.

† The duke of Sully's character of the cardinal Du-Perron ſeems more conformable to truth, than that given him by Joſeph Scaliger, who treats him only as a babler, *locutulejus*, or *locutu levis*.

1592. would in this find not only his intereſt as common father of the catholics, but alſo his temporal intereſt in particular, becauſe Italy and the patrimony of St. Peter would ſoon follow the deſtiny of France, and the other kingdoms; and the pope would be in danger of ſeeing himſelf one day reduced to the quality of chaplain to the kings of Spain. That beſides, his holineſs had too much judgment not to open his arms to a king, as ſoon as he ſhould expreſs his deſire to be received there, without troubling himſelf about that mighty phraſe a relapſe, with which fools only were affected.

There was ſtill leſs difficulty to be apprehended, with regard to my propoſition, from the other crowned heads of Europe; I therefore did not dwell long upon them, that I might be at liberty to reſume the converſation upon Spain. I aſked the abbé Du-Perron, if he did not agree with me in the opinion, that thoſe deep politicians who gave riſe to all the diſorders in France, began to deſpair of the ſucceſs of the great project they had formed to conquer all France, and this upon the knowledge they had, as well of the king and the proteſtants in his intereſt, as of the French catholics. Could the king of Spain ever ſeriouſly intend to make a Spaniſh province of France, and flatter himſelf that his domination would be endured by a people, who had always emulated and hated Spain? Of all this there was already more than bare ſuſpicion.

By the king of Spain's conduct it was plain, that he imagined the dukes of Maïenne, Guiſe, and Mercœur, ſought only to make him their dupe; nor had he a more favourable opinion of the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, whom he ſaw make uſe of his troops and money without ſhewing any greater reſpect for him. One convincing proof that theſe were the real ſentiments of Philip was, the propoſitions he had made, and often renewed, to the king of Navarre, by D. Barnardin de Mandoce, Moreau, and the count de Taxis. For, in reality, this prince ſeeing that all he could pretend to from the troubles in France was, at the moſt, the poſſeſſion of two or three of its provinces, it was of little conſequence to him, whether he obtained them from the king or the league. It is true, that if he divided France amongſt the chiefs of the league, he gained hopes of one day getting it all to himſelf, by ſeparately attacking thoſe petty kings: but that, in effect, he purchaſed theſe hopes at a very high price, by that ſcarcity of troops and money into which the greedineſs of the league had thrown him. And although the king ſhould be able to maintain the war but a ſhort time, Philip perceived that he might be obliged

to recall the ſupplies he lent to France, having but ſufficient for himſelf in Flanders, where the war raged more fiercely every day. 1592.

Observing that Du-Perron liſtened to me attentively, and ſeemed to be convinced of the reaſonableneſs of all I ſaid, I did not ſo ſoon quit the ſubject of Spain. I told him it was not probable that ſo many brave men, fond of their liberty, their laws, and cuſtoms, would ever be eaſy under a foreign ſlavery, and reſolve to bear away no other reward for their gallant actions, than the honour of being dependents upon the grandees of Spain, or at beſt penſionaries of a king, who although he had greater obligations to the prince of Parma than to any other perſon, ſuffered him to expect no reward of his ſervices till his death: That the whole view of the French lords, by ſeeming to join the king of Spain, was only to procure the grant of greater rewards from Henry, while he continued in the profeſſion of the proteſtant religion; after which they would abandon, without any difficulty, that hacknied reproach of a relapſe, as well as the deſign of chuſing a king from amongſt themſelves, the marriage of the infanta, and all the reſt of their idle projects. For a proof of the truth of what I ſaid, I produced the treaty which the league had propoſed to Henry, by Villeroy and Jeannin, ſoon after the raiſing of the ſiege of Rouen, which I have not given a full account of in its place, but ſhall lay before the reader immediately. After this, turning ſuddenly towards Du-Perron, I aſked him if he was not of the intereſt of all good Frenchmen, and would not be the firſt himſelf to prevent ſuch deſigns from being effected; whether the good of the ſtate required, that by deſtroying in a moment an edifice which had coſt the kings of France ſuch labour to raiſe, and which ſome of them had cemented with their blood, France ſhould be again filled with thoſe little tyrants, ambitious and cruel, who claimed a right of giving law to their prince, and who were always ready to fly before the firſt enemies that attacked them? And laſtly, if he did not confeſs that a monarchical government, by which all the members are united, and under the direction of one only head, was the moſt glorious and moſt advantageous of any, and for the French nation in particular?

I cut ſhort my diſcourſe upon this third party of politicians, by obſerving to Du-Perron, that one of theſe two things muſt neceſſarily happen, either that they would unite themſelves to the league, and ſo deprive it of all aſſiſtance from Spain; or take meaſures ſeparately from it, which would produce the neceſſity of deſtroy-

1592. ing, or being deſtroyed by it. In any of theſe caſes, nothing could happen that would not be for the king's advantage. To conclude with what related to the king himſelf, I found no difficulty in making the abbé confeſs, that this prince was abſolutely fitted to reign over the French. I repreſented to him, that his reputation was ſo well eſtabliſhed every where, that the league had great reaſon to fear, and the third party (whoſe intereſt and credit were but very ſmall) ſtill more, that in the provinces, where no one delivered himſelf up ſo blindly to the caprice of the league as in Paris, they would put themſelves entirely under the protection of this prince, when their intoxication was over, and had given place to that love of reſt ſo natural to thoſe who have ſuffered a great deal. That the provinces began already to diſcover their diſcontent openly; but without that, could not the king, brave and experienced as he was, and aſſiſted only by the proteſtants and foreigners, maintain the war a long time, and guard againſt domeſtic attempts upon his perſon? They had ſeen him when he had not ten cities in his party, and with only a handful of men, make a ſtand againſt all the forces of the kingdom. I concluded with ſaying, that inſtead of giving the enemies of France the pleaſure of ſeeing her waſte and deſtroy herſelf, it was the general intereſt, to favour and ſupport a prince, who appeared capable of reſtoring her to her former tranquility, and of raiſing her to a new degree of ſplendor.

The abbé Du-Perron had no reply to make to theſe arguments; he was convinced of their force; and, as I had expected, knew well how to bring over the cardinal of Bourbon to his opinion, by adding to them all thoſe which his own penetration ſuggeſted to him, and which he did not fail to adorn with all the perſuaſive charms of eloquence. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next, were employed by him and I in going backwards and forwards, and in conferences of this kind. As ſoon as a negotiation was begun, we had more negotiators than we wiſhed.

It is certain, that Villeroy and Jeannin had a long time before preſented the king with the ſcheme of a treaty, in the name of the league, by which they offered, upon certain conditions, to acknowledge him for king. This piece is curious enough to deſerve an abſtract ſhould be given of it. The true ſpirit of the league diſcovered itſelf there plainly. The king's abjuration was at the head, as the firſt and principal condition. They required, that in the ſpace of three months he ſhould make a public profeſſion of the catholic religion; that

that he ſhould reſtore it in all thoſe places from whence the ſuperiority of the reformed had baniſhed it; that he ſhould break off all alliance with them; that they ſhould have no ſhare in the dignities, embaſſies, and employments of ſtate of any kind whatever: in a word, that their continuance in France ſhould be tolerated only, and for a certain time. 1592.

Many other articles ſeemed to be inſerted there only to perſuade the people that the chiefs of the league, by treating with Henry, had nothing but the ſervice of religion and the ſtate in view. Such were the clauſes of naming to benefices, conformable to the canons; that of holding the ſtates from ſix to ſix years; and many others.

These were all ſpecious conditions, but they added (which was the moſt eſſential point for the authors of the project) That the king ſhould acknowledge, authoriſe, and ſupport the league with all his power: That he ſhould leave a certain number of towns in their hands, without even putting a garriſon into them; the meaning of which was, that he ſhould reign under them: That he ſhould diſtribute all the governments of France amongſt ſuch of his principal officers as they ſhould name to him: That he ſhould keep a ſufficient number of troops to maintain the roman-catholic religion there: That he ſhould not diſpoſe of the taxes, impoſts, and other revenues of the crown; but they ſhould be all applied to this uſe, according to a diviſion proportioned to the quality and occaſions of thoſe governments: That all the garriſons which ſhould be put in the fortreſſes of the kingdom ſhould be paid in the ſame manner. The diſtribution of theſe governments was as follows: Provence was to be given to the duke of Nemours, Languedoc to the duke of Joyeuſe, Bourbonnois and Marche to the duke of Elbeuf, Bretagne to the duke of Mercœur, the two Vexins, with the title of governor, to d'Alincourt, part of Normandy to Villars, the Iſle of France to the baron of Roſne, Orleanois and Berry to la Chatre, Picardy to the duke of Aumale, Champaigne to the duke of Guiſe, with the poſt of high ſteward, and all the dignities and benefices which his family had enjoyed.

The duke of Maïenne had, with reaſon, the largeſt ſhare. To the government of Burgundy, which was allotted for him, they added thoſe of Lyonnois, Forêt, and Beaujolois; and in all theſe provinces gave him a power that hardly left the king the ſhadow of any authority: the right of diſpoſing, as he pleaſed, of governments, lord-

lieute-

1592. lieutenancies, and other employments, not only in the army, but alſo in the finances, and courts of judicature; and what was ſtill more, the nomination to eccleſiaſtical dignities and benefices: and to all theſe extraordinary advantages, they added the poſt of conſtable, or lieutenant-general of the crown. It was this only that ſeemed worthy of the duke of Maïenne's acceptance. They likewiſe kept in reſerve four marechals batons*, and the league, at their own leiſure, were to name the perſons on whom they were to be beſtowed; beſides very conſiderable penſions to the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them, they carried their violence ſo far as to lay the king under an obligation of clearing the debts of ſome conſiderable perſons of their party whom they ſhould name, to the number of twenty. And, to conclude, with abſolutely tying up his hands, they added, that he ſhould allow the league to chuſe the foreign princes that were to accede to the treaty, and be guarantees for its execution. The pope's name only was expreſſed; doubtleſs, the blanks were to be filled up with the king of Spain amongſt the reſt. By this they too plainly acknowledged the views of the Spaniards. Charles V. required nothing elſe than ſuch a ſcheme when he ſaid, that he had been falſely accuſed of hating a king of France, ſince inſtead of one, he wiſhed there had been twenty.

No perſon believed that the league, by treating with the king on conditions ſo injurious to this prince, could perſuade themſelves that he would ſubmit to them. It was more than probable therefore, that they did it in order to make his refuſal give diſguſt to the dregs of the people. The king likewiſe, far from treating theſe propoſals as a ſerious matter, or anſwering them privately, as he would have done had he thought it poſſible to have come to any accommodation, ſacrificed them immediately to the proteſtants, who gave this treaty all the epithets it deſerved; it even turned the catholics againſt the author; for theſe catholics finding that all there was badly deſigned; that it was full of articles which, being only ſnares, would prove an inexhauſtible ſource of difficulties; and that there were ſome which it was impoſſible to execute, they took no notice of what made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion upon them, which was, that by the diſtribution of favours and rewards, nothing remained for them.

* Theſe four marechals batons were given the following year to Roſne, la Châtre, Bois-Dauphin, and Saint-Pol, each of whom will be mentioned hereafter. On this occaſion there is a *bon mot* related of Chanvalon. Sir, ſaid he one day to the duke of Maïenne, you have made baſtards, which will be legitimated at your expence.

The

The king making no other uſe of theſe propoſals than to bind thoſe who ſerved him more cloſely to his intereſts, gave a very ſhort and cool anſwer to the preſident Jeannin. It was at the camp before Caudebec. There is no neceſſity to repeat the contents. 1592.

Civil wars, eſpecially thoſe wherein religion has a ſhare, give a freedom and boldneſs which on any other occaſions would be very ſurprizing. Jeannin, offended at the ridicule with which his project had been treated, anſwered in writing, which he addreſſed to the king himſelf, That he was greatly aſtoniſhed at his behaviour towards him: That if his project was well conſidered, he would find that he had not yet ſtipulated for ſufficient advantages for the league: That the only fear he had when he drew it up was, that it would be diſavowed, eſpecially by the duke of Nemours, who, inſtead of a government, had already formed a principality for himſelf in Lyonnois, with the approbation of the king of Spain: And he had ſtill more reaſon to believe the duke of Maïenne would be diſpleaſed at it, whoſe intereſts had been too much neglected in this treaty (certainly this moderation of Jeannin's was truly admirable:) That, in his opinion, he had ſhewn the king his readineſs to ſerve him, by not mentioning his giving the league any towns as a ſecurity for the performance of his word (as if thoſe which were to be beſtowed upon the governors did not anſwer the ſame purpoſe:) That, to pleaſe the king, he had eluded the queſtion, of making thoſe governments hereditary. This indeed was true, but after the privileges he had inveſted them with, would it be difficult for them to ſeize this alſo?

Jeannin afterwards obſerved to the king, with great freedom, or rather an exceſs of inſolence, that the catholics having with juſtice taken arms againſt him, he ought not to make uſe of the words crime, and abolition; for they were entitled to treat with him upon the foot of an equal, becauſe they did not look upon themſelves as enemies ſubdued, nor him as king, while the cardinal of Bourbon, the only acknowledged king in France, was alive; nor even after his death could he claim that title, on account of his religion; therefore it was the body of the monarchy which treated with a foreign prince: that, for the ſame reaſon, the king's acceptation could not be called an edict of pacification, granted to a king by his ſubjects, but an amicable contract with a people, who freely choſe a king after the reaſons for refuſing him were removed. Many other impertinences with which this letter was filled, do not deſerve to be repeated. Jeannin concluded, by abſolutely rejecting all aſſiſtance from meſſieurs de Bouillon, Du-Pleſſis, and the other proteſtants whom the king had mentioned

1593. mentioned in his letter, and declared he would have no intercourſe with them.

While the king deliberated upon what reſolutions he ſhould take, the States were held at Paris *. The hint of aſſembling them came from the prince of Parma; and it muſt be confeſſed, that by the methods he purſued there, in order to accompliſh his deſigns, a reſolution more dangerous for the king's cauſe need not have been taken. This general intended to have ſummoned them at Rheims, and to have renewed all his endeavours to make himſelf maſter of the deliberations within; while, with a ſuperior army without, he retained the people in his party, and the nobility in their duty, he perſuaded himſelf that he ſhould obtain an election entirely agreeable to the king of Spain, and cauſe the elected monarch to be crowned immediately. This whole plan was the effect of deep politics †: quick diſpatch, great liberality, a well-choſen opportunity, and, above all, an army capable of inſpiring awe, theſe were indeed the true means of bringing affairs to an iſſue, and of excluding the king for ever from them. But the prince of Parma dying juſt as he was upon the point of executing theſe projects, they all expired with him, or were afterwards conducted neither with order, diligence, or other neceſſary meaſures. It is true, that the count of Mansfield, who ſucceeded him, came at laſt with an army as far as Noyon; but at that time, the ſame ſubmiſſion was not made to Spain, as had been before they had entertained hopes of ſeeing the king abjure calviniſm; and the count of Mansfield returned without having done any thing; beſides, there was now an alteration in a circumſtance, which to the prince of Parma had always appeared of great conſequence; this was, that inſtead of getting the ſtates aſſembled at Rheims, the duke of Maïenne had prevailed upon the pope and the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries, who were don Diego d'Ibarra, the duke of Feria‡, Inigo de Mandoce, and count John-Baptiſt de Taxis, to conſent that they ſhould be aſſembled at Paris. Each of theſe perſons hoped, that in a city which was entirely in their intereſts by their alliances, their intrigues, and their preſents, they might practiſe a thouſand artifices to engage all the ſuffrages for themſelves:

* The States were ordered to meet the 25th of January, but they were not opened till next day, in the Louvre, which was prepared for that purpoſe. All the ſpeeches, acts, and ceremonies of this aſſembly, may be found in many of the hiſtorians. See particularly de Thou, book cv. Davila, book xiii. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Sully, Mem. of State, vol. IV. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. Matthieu, vol. II. Chron. Novenn. for the year 1593. book v. Satyre Menippée, &c.

† See the duke of Parma's letter on this ſubject to the king of Spain, Chron. Novenn. book iv. fol. 5.

‡ Laurent. Saurès de Figueroa y Cordua, duke of Feria.

but

but when this great diſorderly body was aſſembled, they found themſelves croſſed by ſo many, and ſuch different intereſts, that the Spaniards having only their own voices, like the reſt, and deſtitute beſides of the means of making them be heard by force, found that they ſhould meet with more obſtacles than they had foreſeen; and from that time they feared, that they ſhould draw no other advantage from all their intrigues and ſecret practices, than the embroiling affairs ſome time longer; till this entanglement of ſo many different views, and the impoſſibility of ever uniting them, would at length oblige them to obey the dictates of reaſon. 1593.

How would they be able to bring the pope into their meaſures, or rather his legates, who had each his particular deſign, the king of Spain, the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, the dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, Mercœur, and Guiſe, in fine, the princes of the blood, who had alſo their different deſigns *, of which they were no leſs tenacious? All thoſe factions, when the ſtates were opened, reflecting that this was the laſt effort of the party, had recourſe to a thouſand ſtratagems which deſtroyed each other, and according to the notion of what is called policy, involved and concealed themſelves under falſe meaſures to bring others to the purpoſe they deſired. To the great number of counſels already ſo perplexing, they added a flux and reflux of opinions, which formed a maze where no perſon knew where he was. No one declared his ſentiments at firſt, but ſeemed to ſpeak only to hide his emulation, and to make his real deſigns be gueſſed at.

The Spaniards at this juncture regulated their conduct by their uſual maxim, and the particular caſt of their nation; or perhaps their deſign was to ſound the inclinations of the French, to diſcover if they would bear willingly a foreign prince to reign over them. When they perceived that by this delay they were in danger of loſing what they had been ſo long aiming at, they at laſt made the moſt reaſonable propoſition in their power, which was the marriage of the infanta †

* "The league was of this advantage "to France," ſays le Grain, "that every "one was willing to command in it, and "none to obey."

† Clara Eugenia of Auſtria, ſecond daughter of Philip II. of Spain. Catherine, the eldeſt, was married to the duke of Savoy, but not till after the cardinal of Placentia, legate, and cardinal de Pellevé, had endeavoured, in vain, to bring France under ſubjection to Spain, by the marriage of this infanta with prince Erneſt of Auſtria, the eldeſt of the emperor's brothers. Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate impute to the court of Madrid, as an error, by which Spain loſt the crown of France, their not ſuffering this infanta, the future queen, to come to France, unleſs the prince whom

1593. with the cardinal of Bourbon. All the French nobles, with the Guiſes at their head, waited only for this ſtep of the Spaniards, and concurred in one common deſign, which was, to make uſe of this propoſal to kindle between the king and cardinal all the hatred that could animate two declared rivals, and conſequently between the king and the leaders of the contrary party, the count of Soiſſons, the duke of Nevers, Longueville, and others. They ſuffered this propoſition to be carried ſo far, as to have the articles drawn up and ſent by Bellozanne to the cardinal; but the nobles afterwards uniting, knew how to put a ſtop to it, which they did, with a deſign that may be eaſily penetrated into, in order that what theſe lords took away from the cardinal and the princes of the blood might fall into their own power, as the princes of the blood, by ſeeming to reſign their hopes in favour of the cardinal, had an oblique view towards themſelves; which ſhewed them, that after him the crown would more eaſily revert to them, than if a foreigner had firſt poſſeſſed it. The Spaniards comprehended the meaning of all the intrigues of the princes of Lorrain, and, one may eaſily imagine, never forgave them.

This common intereſt of the nobles, which united them againſt Spain and the princes of the blood, divided them afterwards into as many factions as there were perſons. Each thought himſelf moſt worthy of the diadem. Jealouſy and malice ſoon actuated the whole party to ſuch a degree, that each diſputed for the crown, for the ſole pleaſure of hindering another from obtaining it. Some of theſe parties objected to one perſon only, and comforted himſelf for not being able te ſucceed in his own deſigns, if he could overthrow his. Of this claſs was the clergy, which, without naming any perſon for the throne, uſed only their utmoſt endeavours to hinder the king of Navarre from being elected. Another undertook to ſupplant two, three, or more of the competitors: but there was not one from any of theſe motives who was capable of forming a party ſo much ſupe-

they deſtined for her huſband was declared and acknowledged; but I doubt whether the arrival of this princeſs at Paris would have removed all obſtacles. According to de Thou, the duke of Guiſe's party was ſo powerful, by the union of Spain and the clergy of France, that had not his own uncle, the duke of Maienne, ſecretly oppoſed him, and the king of Navarre declared very ſeaſonably his reſolution to embrace the catholic religion, in all probability this prince would have been declared king. "The duke of Guiſe," ſays father de Chalons, after Matthieu, Hiſt. of France, vol. III. p. 227. "was praiſed "for the moderation he diſcovered on this "occaſion. He gave no indications of his "having flattered himſelf with ſuch agree"able hopes, nor ſhewed any ſolicitude "for ſo great a fortune."

rior

rior to the others, as to bear down all its oppoſers. The people, although generally the ſlaves of prejudice to one particular candidate, were here, by the number of them, hindered from determining. And upon this occaſion it happened, as has been often experienced, that adopting the ſtyle of that ſort of indifferent and neutral perſons who are always to be found in public aſſemblies, an affair of this importance was turned into a mere ſhew, and cauſed only laughter at the unhappy candidates who were rejected. 1593.

But theſe intrigues, this play of falſhoods, could not laſt long; in ſuch ſort of debates, the firſt reſolutions, and the firſt motions, are ſuggeſted by the paſſions. If by a concurrence of cauſes they are prevented from ſucceeding, reaſon, though it ſlowly appears in tumultuous aſſemblies, yet forces itſelf at laſt to be ſeen and acknowledged, and after long oppoſition is followed through neceſſity. The firſt thing that was done on this occaſion was by means of the parliament, which weighing deliberately the different propoſals that were brought upon the carpet, either for a Spaniſh king, or one of Lorrain, found that it would be an everlaſting reproach to them, to ſuffer a law ſo fundamental as the hereditary right of ſucceſſion to be infringed, and began, without knowing what would be the conſequence, by granting an edict * which forbad the carrying the crown out of the royal family. This was far from being a new thought; there was not one whoſe mind had not ſuggeſted it to him, and who was not conſcious of the injuſtice of acting contrary to it.

The claims of royal family began to appear ſacred to a thouſand perſons, who a moment before had not reflected on them. Spain, whoſe attempt was fruſtrated by this edict, might have ſtill warded off

* The edict was paſſed the 28th of June. "This action," ſays Villeroy, vol. II. page 58. "was the more applauded by all "good men, as the danger that attended "it was ſo great; it was certainly of great "uſe, and I muſt ſay, that the kingdom "owed its ſafety to the courts." John le Maitre, although made preſident of the parliament of the league by the duke of Maienne, the preſident Edward Molé, the counſellors William du Vair, afterwards keeper of the ſeals, Stephen Fleury, Peter d'Amours, Lazarus Coqueley, &c. were the chief promoters of this edict; in conſequence of it, the preſident le Maitre, with the counſellors de Fleury and d'Amours, were deputed that ſame day, to make remonſtrances to the duke of Maienne, as lieutenant-general of the crown. The duke complained bitterly of this affront from the parliament; and the archbiſhop of Lyons, who was with him, having repeated the word *affront* in a paſſion, and treated the deputies with bad language, the preſident le Maitre filenced him with great authority and dignity. See vol. IX. of the Memoirs of the league. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. page 635.

1593. the blow, had ſhe united with the Lorrains, whom it equally ſtruck at; but the more ſhe thought ſhe was entitled to depend upon their ſuffrages, the more irreconcileable was her enmity toward them, when ſhe found they had betrayed her. They made her no offers, and their conſtant miſunderſtanding inſenſibly paved the way for the victory of their common adverſary.

To accompliſh this, there remained but one ſtep to be taken, which was prevented by the ſtrong oppoſition of the clergy *. A ſtop therefore was put to the affair for ſome time: they reſumed, as if for amuſement, ſome of their former worn-out projects. Different hopes were again raiſed to be ſoon and effectually extinguiſhed; for there was not one perſon who did not tacitly confeſs, that if the king † abjured calviniſm, all conteſt would be at an end. Every one voted for the engaging him to comply with this demand, and they applied themſelves to it, not ſlightly as before, but from a more clear and diſtinct view of the true intereſt of the ſtate: a view which from this moment became that of the parliament, and the whole people, and which met with no more oppoſition, but what ſome nobles for their perſonal intereſt were pleaſed to give it.

The dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, and Mercœur, were the moſt difficult to be perſuaded into theſe meaſures, as was moſt natural, conſidering that they, of all others, had flattered themſelves with hopes of the greateſt advantages: but bad as their intentions were, they could not hinder a conference with the king from being propoſed, and paſſed by a plurality of voices in the ſtates. It was, however, in their power to deſtroy or ſuſpend the effect, and they did not fail to do ſo: for this purpoſe they uſed their utmoſt endeavours, they ſet their emiſſaries to work, took advantage of the king's ‡ bad fortune at

* All the Memoirs of theſe times confirm the violent proceedings and outrageous behaviour of the cardinal de Pleſance, legate, and of almoſt all the biſhops of France, and curates of Paris and the Sorbonne. "*Débourbonnez-nous, Seigneur*," was the explication a preacher gave of theſe words of ſcripture, *Eripe me, Domine, de luto fœcis*. There are an infinite number of ſuch circumſtances, the malignity of which cannot ſurely be excuſed by zeal for the true religion. De Thou obſerves, that the clergy was the only one of the three eſtates that perſiſted in voting for a war.

† It is clear at this time, that Henry IV. was not only the lawful heir to the crown, that was never diſputed, but alſo that in his perſon the three races of our kings were united. See a proof in a new work entitled, Genealogical hiſtories of all the ſovereign families, in the 22d genealogical table.

‡ The journey which Henry IV. took towards Tours, and the neceſſity to which Selles,

Selles, caused Mansfield to advance, who took Noyon, gave all the force they were able to the pope's refusing to allow the cardinal de Gondy *, and the marquis de Pisany, whom the king had sent to him, to enter Rome, or any of his holiness's territories. Could they flatter themselves, that the irregularity of these proceedings would not be commented upon, after having so often protested, that in all their actions they had only the interest of religion in view, and that they were ready to submit to Henry as soon as he should quit his erroneous opinions. No person was deceived; and although they prevented all the consequences which the conference held at Surêne, in the month of April †, might have produced, it was thought the last effort of an expiring power. It appeared plainly, that if the king, after having consented that no protestant deputy should appear at that conference, had not yet entirely complied, it was because the leaguers raised more difficulties about temporal, than the king about spiritual matters. The people, especially, were disposed to do him justice, and the sweets of a truce, which was the only benefit resulting from his conference, drew them entirely into his interests. But I now return more particularly to this prince. 1593.

He made Mante the place of his constant residence, where all his prudence was scarce sufficient to keep a party, composed of persons so opposite in their sentiments, together. He had been alarmed, at first, with the convention of the states; and with so much the more reason, as the first thought which suggested itself to his mind on that occasion, was, that an assembly, in appearance so august and respectable, would soon find a remedy for the disorders of the state. Under this apprehension, the king began to flatter the catholics more than usual; and, as we have just seen, made some efforts to gain the pope, to the end that he might not extinguish in both parties the only hope that could hinder them from coming to an open rupture with him. It may be easily imagined, that this could not be done

he reduced himself of raising the siege of the city of Selles in Berry, were then thought very considerable faults.

* Peter de Gondy, bishop of Paris. John de Vivonne, marquis of Pisany.

† In the latter end of April, and during part of the month of May. See in the records, vol. 8889 of MSS. in the royal library. Villeroy's Mem. of state, vol. IV. Matthieu and Cayet, ibid. &c. The archbishop of Bourges, who pleaded the king's cause, maintained that obedience is due to pagan princes, and supported this assertion by the authority of St. Paul, the privileges of the Gallic church, and by many other unanswerable proofs. Weak as the arguments alledged by the archbishop of Lyons to the contrary were, they carried their point in this conference.

without

1593. without awakening the diſcontent of the huguenots. But the king by his wiſdom was beforehand with them, and it appeared, that nothing was done but in conſequence of that general council of the proteſtants, of which we have already ſeen that the reſult has been to turn every thing into art and negotiation. When their complaints grew too loud, and the king found reaſon to fear that they would carry things to extremity againſt him, he knew how to appeaſe them by ſome new military expedition, which he likewiſe engaged in, to convince the people ſtill more, that a prince, who, by his kind and gracious behaviour appeared deſerving of their love, was, by his valour and abilities in war, no leſs worthy of their obedience.

As ſoon as he was informed of the diſunion that raged in the ſtates, the confuſion and oppoſition that every word gave riſe to, he looked upon this aſſembly to be the happy means by which his deſigns would be accompliſhed, and all his perplexity now was the regulating his conduct with the great number of mediators who meddled in his affairs, as ſoon as it was propoſed in the ſtates to treat with him. This prince would at that time have met with no obſtacle to retard his gaining poſſeſſion of the crown, if he had appeared willing to ſatisfy the exceſſive demands which the nobles and other members of the league began to make him; but he was reſolved that poſterity ſhould never reproach him with his having owed the royal dignity to his meanneſs in ſubmitting to the rapaciouſneſs and caprice of his ſubjects. That he was thus able to reſiſt his natural inclination and ardor to aſcend the throne, was a convincing proof of his being worthy of it.

I OUGHT here to do juſtice to ſome of them (the number indeed is not very great) but I am well aſſured that * meſſieurs de Belliévre, de Belin, and Zamet, had no view to their own intereſts in thoſe applications which they made to the king. Some others there might be who behaved in the ſame manner, but of them I cannot ſpeak with any certainty. As to the reſt, I ſhall content myſelf with naming the principal agents deputed to the king, as well by the league and the ſtates, as by the clergy and French nobility. I ſhall not repeat names already mentioned, but add to them only the cardinal de Gondy, the marechals d'Aumont and de Bouillon, the admiral de Biron, meſſieurs d'O, de Vitry, de Lux, Du-Pleſſis, la Verriere, de

* Pomponne de Belliévre. Francis de Foudoas d'Averton. Sebaſtian Zamet.

Fleury,

Fleury, and the abbé de Chesy. A great many others remained undistinguished in this croud, although there was not one amongst them, who was not persuaded in his own mind, that he should be one day mentioned in history, as the person who had brought affairs to a conclusion. I once counted over to the king, by their names, above a hundred of those persons. These that remained would make a very fine figure here, if one could for a moment only open and display the hearts of these ardent counsellors. Vanity, the desire of favour, self-interest, vile artifice, jealousy, knavery, and treachery, would be all one would discover there. 1593.

There were some, who till the last moment did not quit their disguise, by which they abused the privilege of conferring with this prince, in order to betray him more securely, and to spread snares for him, which any other could not have escaped. It is with regret, that I name Villeroy * and Jeannin here, but the fact is too well known, and the confusion they were afterwards in, when the king publicly reproached them with it at Fontainbleau, is a full conviction of it, as well as the interested conduct Villeroy afterwards observed. Two days only before the king's abjuration, these gentlemen pro-

* In the first volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of state, which consists only of a justification of this secretary's conduct, he candidly confesses that he would never have been prevailed upon to engage in the party of Henry IV. if he had not beforehand taken all the necessary measures for the security of the catholic religion. He confesses also, with the same sincerity, his connections with the league and Spain, and the political principle which he had espoused, that in making peace, it was most advantageous for the king to separate him from the interest of England, and unite him with Spain. With regard to other accusations, he defends himself with great force: He protested, that he never received any money from Spain; and whatever arguments he offered, either in the states or any other councils, were sincerely meant for the king's advantage, and to forward the peace. See the note upon this subject some pages above, and what is said in the preface to this work. As to the oath taken by the league, which the duke of Sully here mentions, and which is the heaviest article against Villeroy, he is so fully justified in Matthieu, vol. II. p. 153. and following, Chron. Novenn. book v. fol. 229. and some other historians, that it must be confessed, that this is an error in our Memoirs. According to these historians, Villeroy had not only no part in this oath, but was also absolutely ignorant of it, till Henry IV. showed him this writing at Fontainbleau, and charged him to remonstrate the baseness of such a proceeding to the duke of Maïenne, whom Villeroy was at that time by the king's command, honestly endeavouring to separate from the league. But it is still more certain that Villeroy reproaching the duke of Maïenne with this criminal design, Maïenne answered him in these words, "I "would neither tell you, nor the president "Jeannin of this oath, because I promis-"ed the Spaniards and the league to the "contrary, and was not ignorant that you "would never be brought to approve of "such a remedy." Matthieu, p. 155.

cured

1593. cured a ſecret aſſembly to be held, compoſed of the pope's, and the king of Spain's miniſters, and the chief partiſans of the league, either in perſon, or by proxy, for the dukes of Nemours and Mercœur, men then abſent. In this aſſembly, the legate made them all ſwear, upon the croſs, the evangeliſts, and even the hoſt, to maintain the league, till they ſaw, upon the throne of France, a king agreeable to Spain, and, above all, never to acknowledge the king of Navarre for ſuch, though he ſhould, to the claim his birth gave him, add that of a ſincere abjuration. This very pious and charitable oath, ſigned by the whole aſſembly, was incloſed in a packet, and ſent to Rome. It was from a letter wrote by the cardinal of Placentia to ſome members of parliament, the bearer of which was taken up at Lyons by the king's ſoldiers, that we came to the knowledge of this oath. In this manner did they ſport with fidelity, virtue, and religion. This circumſtance, though anticipated, ſeems to me not improperly mentioned here.

Amongst that croud of negotiators and counſellors there were many who imagined they could deceive the king, while in reality they deceived themſelves. The king let them remain in this opinion, not to perſuade theſe ſchemers, but the people, that he might be eaſily brought to the point they wiſhed. This I had from the king himſelf. I remember one night, which was, I believe, on the 15th of February, when all the courtiers had quitted his apartment, he ſent Feret, his ſecretary, to bring me to him, who introduced me into his chamber, where I found him in bed. He owned to me, that he was under a neceſſity of uſing this precaution whenever he had an inclination to converſe with me, that he might not give diſguſt to the catholics, and the proteſtants likewiſe, who hated me ſtill more, perhaps, through jealouſy, than the former did through a natural averſion. After complaining of this reſtraint in terms very obliging to me, he talked to me of thoſe affairs which were at preſent upon the carpet, and of the intrigues of the courtiers to obtain each ſeparately the honour of the deciſion. I had ſaid before, and it has been repeated to the king, that I was afraid his eaſy diſpoſition would make him give up more than he ought to do. But the manner in which this prince repreſented to me the ſtate of affairs, and painted the different characters of all the pretenders to his favour, convinced me I had been deceived. I was ſurprized at that juſtneſs of penetration with which he immediately diſcerned truth amidſt the ſhades that obſcured it. Nor was I leſs charmed, when ſubmitting his knowledge to mine, he inſiſted upon

upon my preſcribing to him the manner in which he ſhould finiſh an affair which, to confeſs the truth, was not without danger till the laſt moment. I endeavoured to excuſe myſelf from accepting this honour, but all I could obtain was a delay of three days to take my reſolution: it was during this converſation that the king firſt mentioned to me his deſign of entruſting his finances to my care. 1603.

AFTER three days deep reflection, I waited upon the king with the ſame ſecrecy as before. I did not approve of any of theſe ſchemes that had been recommended to him, and which differed only in the proportion of thoſe rewards which were to be granted to the members of the league, and other intereſted perſons. My opinion was, that matters were not yet ripe for a concluſion, which I ſupported with the following reaſons: That the king was freed from that only fear which could induce him to put a precipitate end to the preſent negotiations, by which I meant the fear that all theſe competitors for royalty ſhould unite reſolutely in favour of one particular perſon, becauſe the miſunderſtanding which had already riſen amongſt the princes, the nobles, and the Spaniſh miniſters, gaining ſtrength every day, we might expect to ſee them ſoon deſtroy each others pretenſions. From whence it muſt neceſſarily happen, that thoſe who were diſintereſted, and had right intentions, would bind themſelves more cloſely to the king's party: That this effect was already indiſputable, with regard to thoſe cities of France which were at too great a diſtance from the league, and the cabal, to be influenced by that eagerneſs and warmth which actuated them: That the heads of the league themſelves, through hatred, jealouſy, or even a conſideration of their own intereſt, would one after the other, throw themſelves into the king's party: That the bare hopes only which this prince would ſuffer them to entertain, would give him beforehand moſt of thoſe advantages he could gain from the accompliſhment of them, without hazarding any thing: That the dangers of a too precipitate execution were, firſt, an open deſertion of the proteſtants, who were not yet ſufficiently prepared for this change, which might produce the moſt fatal conſequences, ſince the king, not being yet ſecure of all the catholics to oppoſe them, would remain at the mercy of both parties; and, ſecondly, the neceſſity he laid himſelf under, by throwing himſelf into the arms of the catholics, of granting all their demands, however exorbitant they were, which, both for the preſent and the future, was of dangerous conſequence: That it was neceſſary to allow theſe ſchemers, and all the chiefs of the league, time to give a diſtinct form to their demands, by

1593. which they would perceive, that they were encroaching upon each other, and they would be obliged voluntarily to reduce their extravagant pretenſions, to agree that by ſetting too high a value upon ſlight ſervices they would put it out of the king's power to ſatisfy them, and at length to ſeek their own intereſt in the general intereſt of the ſtate. I told the king, that he would find the firſt who took this ſtep, would be thoſe, who, having only been influenced by the foreign powers to demand rewards which they were perhaps deſirous of ſharing with them, would begin to be ſenſible of the injuſtice of their proceedings in proportion as their hatred of thoſe foreigners increaſed: and that thoſe very foreigners, finding the king ſo ready to comply with the demands that were made upon him, would prevail upon others to aſk for what they did not believe they could obtain for themſelves.

I SHEWED the king, that, whatever change ſhould happen in his affairs, it could not be ſo ſudden, but he would have it in his power to prevent it, ſince the ſpeaking a few words only would anſwer that purpoſe; whereas, by gaining time, he would diſcover all their deſigns; and ſecretly breaking thoſe connections between them, all that remained to put an abſolute end to the treaty, would be to beſtow rewards upon thoſe who had a right to demand them. To bring affairs happily to this end, I ſaw nothing better to be done, than for the king to perſiſt in the conduct he had hitherto obſerved. To receive every one kindly, promiſe little, ſeem deſirous of bringing matters to a concluſion, aſcribe always the fault of delays to obſtacles, and earneſtly endeavour to remove them. This, in my opinion, is the manner in which one generally ought to act in political affairs which are a little perplexed. It is well known that the difference between precipitation and diligence is, that this laſt, as much a foe to inaction and ſloth as the other, engages in nothing without having firſt conſulted judgment upon it; while in the practice they are almoſt always confounded.

IN theſe arguments which I made uſe of to the king, his ſuppoſed converſion was always the foundation I built upon; and his majeſty, by contradicting none of them, gave me to underſtand, that he would not be ſtopped by that formality. I added only one thing more, which was, that he would not ſuffer this negotiation to degenerate into mere debates, as his adverſaries did, but join ſome military expedition to it. Having many other reaſons to add, I offered the king to give them to him in writing. His majeſty replied, there was no occaſion for it; that he believed he comprehended all I could have

have to say to him; and that when he had more leisure, he would discourse with me upon a system, by which it seemed to him, that after having united himself to the catholics, it would not be impossible to reconcile them to the protestants. 1593.

That this resolution might be fully executed, the king, at his return to Mante, after the breaking off the conference of Surène, caused others wholly upon the subject of religion*, to be held between the catholic priests, and the protestant clergy, at which he was always present; and, on the other hand, made preparations for opening the campaign, in the month of April, by some action of importance, rather indeed to keep up his reputation with the people, than with design to continue in earnest a war, which for want of money he was unable to support.

This designed expedition was the siege of Dreux, for which the king borrowed a large sum of money from the city of Mante; and leaving that place about the beginning of April, came to pass the river of Eure at Serisy, while I on my side assembled, and led the necessary artillery. The admiral de Biron †, by the king's order, invested the city, which made little resistance: all the difficulty lay in taking the castle, and especially the tower Grise, which was impenetrable to the cannon. I promised the king to carry it, if he would give me four English and Scots miners, and a certain number of workmen. My enterprise did not fail to furnish matter for laughter and contempt to my enemies, who eagerly seized this occasion to mortify me. The king, though very doubtful of my success, granted my request. I led my miners and pioneers to the foot of the tower, where to guard them against the fire, and efforts of the besieged, I covered them with mantelets, and strong pieces of wood, and made them apply so closely, and with such eagerness to the work, that out of six and thirty pioneers, which was my whole number, four only could labour at a time: the excessive hardness of the stone exhausted their strength, and covered them with sweat the instant they began to work, but I caused them to be relieved immediately by four others; so that the work was not discontinued for one moment, although the enemies within endeavoured to destroy them, by throwing down large pieces of stone, and firing incessantly upon them.

* At la Villette, at Pontoise, at Mante, and elsewhere.

† Charles de Gontaut, son to the marechal, to whom the king gave the title of admiral.

1593.

When I found that, notwithſtanding this vigorous defence, I had the very firſt day made an opening five feet in height, three in width, and four in depth, I believed the ſucceſs infallible. Six days were conſumed in this work. I encloſed three or four hundred pounds of excellent powder, in ſeveral cavities of ſix or ſeven feet ſquare, in the thickeſt part of the wall, which I ſhut up with ſtrong ſtones cemented together with plaiſter, leaving a paſſage only for two large ſauciſſes of dry hides filled with good powder, the end of which reached to the powder within, and joined on the outſide of the tower a train to which the fire was to be put. The duke of Montpenſier, deſirous of ſeeing the diſpoſition of this machine, received a muſket ſhot there in his face. Every one waited impatiently for my confuſion, which was all the reſult expected from this great work. And when they were informed of the time when I was to ſet fire to it, they eagerly aſſembled to behold the effect, which was not indeed immediate: for at firſt a low ſound was heard, accompanied with a thick ſmoke, during which a thouſand contemptuous glances were caſt upon me, and I was forced to endure as many ſtrokes of raillery upon my mine; but I ſoon had my revenge. A few minutes after, a thick cloud of ſmoke roſe as high as the tower, and, at the ſame inſtant, we ſaw it divide exactly into two parts, one of which fell, dragging men, women, and children with it, who were buried under its ruins. The other part continued ſtill ſtanding, but in ſuch a condition, that we could behold under its uncovered roof all thoſe that were within, who terrified and aſtoniſhed at ſuch an horrible accident, and at our ſoldiers firing immediately upon them, ſent forth moſt lamentable cries. The king, moved with compaſſion, ordered the fire to ceaſe, and ſending for thoſe miſerable objects, gave a crown to each of them. The caſtle inſtantly ſurrendered, and this once I was ſure, that the government of a city, taken almoſt wholly by my means, would not be refuſed me. But d'O enjoyed the triumph of gaining it from me, and I yielded it to him, after the king had repreſented to me, that the terms he was upon with the catholic party made it impoſſible to diſoblige them on ſo ſlight an occaſion.

The king ſtopped only to perform a few more ſuch little expeditions, and returned immediately to Mante, to reſume his conferences. This alternate ſucceſſion of war, and debates, laſted all the time that the ſtates continued to be held, and even till the day that the king abjured the proteſtant religion. I ſhould betray the cauſe of truth, if I ſuf-

I ſuffered it to be even ſuſpected, that policy, the threats of the catholics, the fatigue of labour, the deſire of reſt, and of freeing himſelf from the tyranny of foreigners, or even the good of the people, though highly laudable in itſelf, had entirely influenced the king's laſt reſolution. As far as I am able to judge of the heart of this prince, which I believe I know better than any other perſon, it was indeed theſe conſiderations which firſt hinted to him the neceſſity of his converſion; and I confeſs that I myſelf ſuggeſted no others to him, fully perſuaded, as I have always been, although a calviniſt, from what I have gathered from the moſt learned of the proteſtant clergy, that God is no leſs honoured in the catholic, than in the proteſtant church. But at length the king was fully convinced that the catholic faith * was the ſecureſt. That native candour and ſincerity which I always obſerved in this prince, perſuades me, that he would not have been able, during all the remainder of his life, to carry on ſuch a fallacy. 1593.

The confeſſion I make here ought not to be judged harſhly of. It is not ſurprizing that Henry, who never heard any arguments about religion, but in theſe conferences, and continual controverſies †, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be drawn on that ſide, which they took care to make always victorious. For it muſt be obſerved as an effect of the king's prudent delays, that every one, even the proteſtants, nay more, the proteſtant clergy who were employed in the conferences, were at laſt thoroughly convinced that the king's change of religion was a circumſtance abſolutely neceſſary for the good of the ſtate, for peace, and even for the advantage of both religions; ſo that there was a kind of general combination to draw him to it. The proteſtant cler-

* This is the anſwer M. de Perefixe ſays he made to a proteſtant miniſter, who in a diſputation with the romiſh doctors, was driven to confeſs that a man might be as well ſaved in their communion. The confeſſion here made, ſays Sully open to a very ſenſible attack.

† All theſe diſcourſes of the cardinals and prelates of France, whether intended to enlighten his underſtanding, or increaſe his zeal, may be found in the volume of MS. in the king's library, marked 9214.

The ſincerity of his converſion is there proved by the following circumſtances, his reſpect for the pope, the cardinals, and the whole clergy, his ſollicitude for the converſion of the young prince of Conde, his alliance with the pope, by marrying the princeſs of Florence, his endeavours to cultivate a good intelligence between the ſovereign pontif and the queen of England, the marriage of his ſiſter with the duke of Bar, the erection of the hoſpital for ſick, and other buildings, the ſepulchre of our Lord, and the holy places, the ſatisfaction which he ſhewed at the victory gained over the calviniſts by the biſhop of Evreux, &c.

1593. gy either defended themſelves no longer, or did it ſo weakly, that their adverſaries had always the advantage.

The abbé Du-Perron, whoſe triumph there was complete, was not a man that would loſe the fruits of his victory. With that ſoft and inſinuating converſation, that ſtrong and perſuaſive eloquence, that inexhauſtible fund of learning, ſupported by a wonderful memory, he could neither be overthrown, nor convicted of falſhood, but by the help of a whole library; a ſort of languiſhing defence. With princes, the progreſſion from complaiſaace to flattery is very eaſy. Some of the proteſtant clergy, who were moſt about the king, and whom he conſulted upon his difficulties, formally betrayed * their faith; or, by a deſigned perplexity, flattered that religion which they already looked upon to be their king's.

The leaders of the proteſtant party were not ſo eaſily brought to comply with the preſent exigency. They were often abſolutely untractable. It was in vain to remonſtrate to them, that by their obſtinacy the king would loſe the crown, and that ſince it was neceſſary it ſhould be poſſeſſed by a catholic prince, it was an advantage to them, that this prince was the ſame who had ſo long been affectionately united with them, and upon whoſe friendſhip they had all the reaſon imaginable to depend. They had flattered themſelves, that they ſhould ſee a prince of their own faith upon the throne, and that calviniſm ſhould be the eſtabliſhed religion in France. They thought it hard to be deprived of this advantage. Self-love in all religions makes ſuch a loſs be looked upon as irreparable †.

The king experienced this exceſs of diſcontent, when ſome of the chief cities in the kingdom, that had been ſuffered to groan under the oppreſſion of an infinite number of little tyrants, firſt applied to his majeſty, and deputed the count of Belin to demand of him the freedom of commerce. Henry was either at Mante, or at Vernon, when

* D'Aubigné names ſome of thoſe proteſtants; he obſerves alſo, that the marchioneſs de Monceaux, the king's miſtreſs, acted the ſame part, in the hope of becoming queen herſelf, if Henry ſhould be declared king. Vol. III. book iii. chap. 22.

† "If I follow your advice," replied Henry IV. to a clergyman named la Faye, who addreſſed him in the name of the proteſtant party, "there will in a little time "be neither a king or kingdom in "France. It is my deſire to give peace "to all my ſubjects, and quiet to my own "ſoul; conſider among yourſelves what "is moſt neceſſary for your own ſecurity, "you ſhall always find me ready to ſatisfy "you." Chron. Novenn. ibid.

the

the count of Belin came to make him this propoſition, which he would not receive but in the preſence of his whole council. There was not a proteſtant there, who appeared willing he ſhould grant it; and what is ſtill more ſurprizing, it met with equal oppoſition from the catholics, without their being able to aſſign a lawful, or even a plauſible reaſon, for ſuch a conduct. All theſe perſons were perplexed in their debates, and perceived plainly that their opinion would ſignify nothing, yet could not prevail upon themſelves to alter it. The king looking at me that moment, "Monſieur de Roſny," ſaid he to me, "what makes you ſo thoughtful? Will not you ſpeak your "mind abſolutely no more than the others?" I took the word, and was not afraid to declare myſelf againſt all thoſe that had voted, by maintaining, that it was neceſſary not to heſitate a moment in compleating the gaining the people over to the king's intereſts, by an inſtance of kindneſs which he might revoke if they made a bad uſe of it. This advice raiſed a cry of diſapprobation, which I have always regarded as a retaliation for that conſent I had extorted from the council (which has been mentioned before.) The king was obliged to yield to their importunity, and the count of Belin returned without ſucceſs. 1592.

Henry, reflecting upon this refuſal, and judging that there wanted but little more of the ſame nature to alienate the people's affections from him, without a poſſibility of regaining them, and to induce them to go over to the party of his enemies, he reſolved to defer his abjuration no longer. He was now convinced that there was no probability of his ſubduing the reluctance of ſeveral of the proteſtants, or of ever obtaining their free conſent to this proceeding*; but that it was neceſſary to act independently of them, and hazard ſome murmurs, which would end in nothing. As for the catholics of his party, the king endeavoured only to remove their fears that, looking upon them as perſons of whom he was already ſecure, he would apply himſelf wholly to the gaining the reſt, by beſtowing all rewards upon them. He therefore at laſt declared publicly, that on the 20th of July he would perform his abjuration, and named the church of St. Denis for this ceremony.

* Henry IV. was always ſenſible, that his abjuration would expoſe him to great dangers, which made him write in this manner to mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées. "On "Sunday I ſhall take a dangerous "leap. While I am writing to you, I "have a hundred troubleſome people "about me, which makes me deteſt St. "Denis as much as you do Mante," &c. See the new edition of Henry the Great's letters.

This

1593. This declaration threw the league into confuſion, and filled the hearts of the people, and the catholics of the royal party with joy. The proteſtants, although they had expected it, diſcovered their diſcontent by ſigns, and low murmurs, and did for form's ſake all that ſuch a juncture required of them; but they did not go beyond the bounds of obedience. All the eccleſiaſtics, with Du-Perron, intoxicated with his triumph, at their head, flocked together; every one was deſirous of a ſhare in this work. Du-Perron, for whom I had obtained the biſhopric of Evreux, thought he could not ſhew his gratitude for it in a better manner, than by exerciſing his function of converter upon me. He accoſted me with the air of a conqueror, and propoſed to me to be preſent at a ceremony, where he flattered himſelf he ſhould ſhine with ſuch powers of reaſoning as would diſſipate the profoundeſt darkneſs. "Sir," replied I, "all I have to do by being preſent at your diſputes, "is to examine which ſide produces the ſtrongeſt and moſt effectual "arguments. The ſtate of affairs, your number and your riches, re-"quire that yours ſhould prevail." In effect they did. There was a numerous court at St. Denis, and all was conducted with great pomp and ſplendor. I may be diſpenſed with dwelling upon the deſcription of this ceremony here, ſince the catholic hiſtorians* have been ſo prolix upon that ſubject.

I did not imagine I could be of any uſe at this time; therefore kept myſelf retired as one who had no intereſt in the ſhew that was preparing, when I was viſited by Du-Perron, whom the cardinal of Bourbon had ſent to me, to decide a diſpute that had aroſe on occaſion of the terms in which the king's profeſſion of faith ſhould be conceived. The catholic prieſts and doctors loaded him with all the trifles their heads were filled with, and were going to make it a ridiculous, inſtead of a grave and ſolemn compoſition. The proteſtant miniſters, and the king himſelf diſapproved † of the puerilities and trifles with which they had ſtuffed this inſtrument, and it occaſioned debates which had like to have thrown every thing again into confuſion.

* See, beſides the abovementioned hiſtorians, Mezerai, and the volume of MS. marked 8935, in the king's library, where may be found likewiſe the letter written to his holineſs by the king, the commiſſion given to M. Du-Perron, when he went to Rome to make a tender of obedience to the pope, and the king's declaration of the motives on which he was converted, &c.

† "There is no neceſſity to mention a "requiem," ſaid Henry IV. "I am not "dead yet."

I went

I went immediately with Du-Perron to the cardinal of Bourbon, with whom it was agreed, that none of these articles of faith which were controverted by the two churches, should be omitted, but that all the rest should be suppressed as useless. The parties approved of this regulation, and the * instrument was drawn up in such a manner, that the king acknowledged there all the roman tenets upon the Holy Scripture, the church, the number and ceremonies of the sacraments, the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, the doctrine of justification, the invocation of saints, the worship of relics and images, purgatory, indulgences, and the supremacy and power of the pope †. After which the satisfaction was general ‡. 1593.

* See the original of it in the old Memoirs. Du-Plessis-Mornay, and Mezerai after him, reproached the king and the catholics, apparently without any cause, that this first instrument which they suppressed, was however the same that was sent to the pope, as if the king had composed, written, and signed it with his own hand, but in reality counterfeited, by monsieur Lomenie. These are his own words, book i. p. 198. book ii. p. 207.

† Another act of equal validity, by which Henry IV. acknowledges the pope's authority, is the declaration which he made after his conversion, that it was necessity and the confusion of affairs that obliged him to receive absolution from the prelates of France, rather than from those of the holy father. This declaration is recorded in the third volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of state, p. 61.

‡ It was Renaud, or Beaune de Semblançai, archbishop of Bourges, who received the king's abjuration; the cardinal of Bourbon, who was not a priest, and nine other bishops, assisted at the ceremony. Henry IV. entering the chapel of St. Denis, the archbishop said to him, "Who are you?" Henry replied, "I "am the king." "What is your re- "quest?" said the archbishop. "To be "received," said the king, "into the pale "of the catholic, apostolic, and roman "church." "Do you desire it?" added the prelate. "Yes, I do desire it, replied the king. Then kneeling, said, "I "protest and swear, in the presence of al- "mighty God, to live and die in the catho- "lic, apostolic, and roman religion; to "protect and defend it against all its ene- "mies, at the hazard of my blood and "life, renouncing all heresies contrary to "this catholic, apostolic, and roman "church." He afterwards put this same confession in writing, into the hands of the archbishop, who presented him his ring to kiss, giving him absolution with a loud voice, during which *Te Deum* was sung, &c. See a particular account of the ceremony in the historians. Cayet, book v. p. 222. and following. Matthieu, &c.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK VI.

1593. THE ceremony of the king's abjuration was followed by a deputation * of the duke of Nevers to Rome, who, together with the cardinal de Gondy, and the marquis de Piſany, were to offer the pope the ſubmiſſions uſual in ſuch caſes. Although this change was a mortal ſtroke for the league, the Spaniards and the duke of Maïenne ſtill held out: they endeavoured to perſuade their

* Clement VIII. refuſed to acknowledge and receive the duke of Nevers as ambaſſador, and would oblige the French biſhops to go and preſent themſelves to the grand inquiſitor, pretending that they had no power to abſolve the king. M. de Thou blames, with as much reaſon, the pope's inflexibility upon this occaſion, as he extols the courage, prudence, and the whole conduct of the duke of Nevers, book 108. See tom. II. Mem. de Nevers, MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, and in the hiſtorians mentioned above, the particulars of the embaſſies of Nevers and Luxembourg, and the negotiations of father Seraphin Olivari, de la Clielle, of the abbots Du-Perron and d'Oſſat, with the holy father. The pope ſtill deferred a long time an abſolution which he had a great deſire to grant, and received very ill la Clielle, who preſented to him the letters of Henry IV. Father Seraphin, who was preſent, and plainly perceived that the pope's anger was only feigned, ſaid to him merrily, "Holy father, if the devil himſelf was to come, and aſk an audience "of you, and you had any hopes of converting him, you could not in conſcience deny him it." This ſpeech drew a ſmile from his holineſs.

partiſans.

partiſans that there ſtill remained reſources capable of making it ineffectual; but they ſpoke at that time contrary to their own opinion, and this feigned confidence was only deſigned to obtain greater advantages from the king, before he was ſecurely fixed on the throne. 1593.

This is not a mere conjecture only, at leaſt with regard to the king of Spain, ſince it is certain that he ordered Taxis and Stuniga to offer the king forces ſufficient to reduce all the chiefs of the league and the proteſtant party, without annexing any other condition to this offer, than a ſtrict alliance between the two crowns; and an agreement, that the king ſhould give no aſſiſtance to the rebels in the Low Countries. Philip II. judged of Henry by himſelf, and conſidered his converſion only as the principle of a new political ſyſtem, which made it neceſſary for him to break through his former engagements. It may not perhaps be unuſeful to mention here an obſervation I have made on the conduct of Spain, which is, that although before and after the death of Catherine de Medicis ſhe had put a thouſand different ſprings in motion, changed parties and intereſts as ſhe thought moſt expedient to draw advantages from the diviſions that ſhook this kingdom, the proteſtant party was the only one to which ſhe never made any application: ſhe has often publicly proteſted, that ſhe never had the leaſt intention to gain or ſuffer their alliance. It is by an effect of this very antipathy that the Spaniards have conſtantly refuſed the new religion admiſſion into their ſtates: an antipathy which cannot be attributed to any thing but the republican principles the proteſtants are accuſed of having imbibed. The king being fully convinced, that to ſtifle the ſeeds of ſchiſm in his kingdom, it was neceſſary to give none of the different factions occaſion to boaſt that his power was at their diſpoſal; and that to reduce all parties, he muſt be partial to none; he therefore ſteadily rejected theſe offers from Spain, and thoſe which the duke of Maienne made him to the ſame purpoſe: but at that very time appeared willing to treat with any of the chiefs or cities of the league which would ſurrender, and reward them in proportion to their readineſs and ſervices: and it was this prudent medium that he was reſolved to perſiſt in. Although he now profeſſed the ſame religion as the league, yet his averſion to the ſpirit which actuated that party, and to the maxims by which they were governed, was not leſſened; the very name only of the league was ſufficient to kindle his anger. The catholic leaguers ſuppoſing that his abjuration authorized them to aboliſh, in thoſe cities which depended upon them, the edicts that were favourable to the huguenots;

1593. the king cauſed them to be reſtored; and though in ſome places the leaguers had obtained the conſent even of the huguenots themſelves (determined to purchaſe peace at any price) for this purpoſe, yet the proteſtant party murmuring at it, Henry cancelled all that had been done to that effect *, and ſhewed that it was his deſign to keep the balance even.

The duke of Maïenne, finding that in this laſt ſcheme, which he had believed infallible, he was diſappointed as well as the reſt, placed all his future dependence upon his old friends the Pariſians, and neglected no method by which he might awaken their mutinous diſpoſition. But ſo far was he from ſucceeding in this attempt, that he could not hinder them from diſcovering their joy at what had juſt paſſed at Saint Denis. They talked publicly of peace, and even in his preſence; and he had the mortification to hear a propoſal to ſend deputies to the king to demand a truce for ſix months, and they obliged him to give his conſent to it. The truce for three months, that had been granted them at Surêne †, had only inſpired them with an inclination for a longer one.

The king gave audience to the deputies in full council. The greateſt number of thoſe who compoſed it, liſtening to nothing but their jealouſy of the duke of Maïenne, whom they feared as a man that had the means in his power of purchaſing favour and rewards, were of opinion, that no regard ought to be ſhewn to this demand of the deputies, becauſe the perſon who ſent them perſiſted in his revolt againſt the king, even after his abjuration. Notwithſtanding the juſtice of not confounding the duke of Maïenne with the Pariſians, I ſaw that this advice was likely to be followed, and certainly it might have produced ſome terrible misfortune. I inſiſted ſo ſtrongly upon the advantage of letting the people, already recovered from their firſt terrors, taſte the ſweetneſs of a peace which would intereſt them ſtill more in the king's favour, that this prince declared he would grant

* The king, on the 12th of December this year, held an aſſembly of the proteſtants at Mante, in which he publicly declared, that his changing his religion ſhould make no alteration in the affairs of the proteſtants. Mem. de la ligue, tom. 5. And the calviniſts having aſked many things of him, he told them he could not comply with their requeſts, but that he would tolerate them. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 164.

† Or at Villette, ſituated between Paris and St. Denis, as it is obſerved in the Memoirs of the league. It is dated the 31ſt of July, and was publiſhed the next day at Paris.

the

the truce they demanded of him, but for the months of Auguſt, September, and October, only. 1593.

The next day a prodigious concourſe of the populace of Paris aſſembled at St. Denis. The king ſhewed himſelf to the people, aſſiſted publicly at maſs; wherever he turned his ſteps the croud was ſo great, that it was * ſometimes impoſſible to pierce through them: at the ſame moment, a million of voices cried, *Long live the king.* Every one returned, charmed with the gracefulneſs of his perſon, his condeſcenſion, and that popular air which was natural to him: "God bleſs him," ſaid they, with tears in their eyes, "and grant "that he may ſoon do the ſame in our church of Notre Dame in "Paris." I obſerved to the king this diſpoſition of the people with regard to him; tender and ſenſible as he was, he could not behold this ſpectacle without a ſtrong emotion.

The Spaniards had now recourſe to their uſual artifices. D'Entragues came to me one morning, and told me, that a Spaniard was juſt arrived at St. Denis, charged with diſpatches of great importance from Mandoce, who had ordered him to make his applications directly to me, being the only perſon who had any knowledge of the propoſals which he had a long time ago made to the king at Bearn, by Moreau and the viſcount de Chaux. This Spaniard, whoſe name was Ordognès, or Nugnès, had been a domeſtic of d'Entragues, whoſe ſervice he had quitted for that of Mandoce; d'Entragues correſponded, by his means, with the Spaniſh ambaſſador to the league: This is what I learned of this man by the recital, whether true or falſe, that d'Entragues made me. I did not confide much in this Spaniſh emiſſary, and leſs in d'Entragues, whoſe turbulent diſpoſition I was well acquainted with; I received him therefore coldly enough, for I did not doubt but this was all a Spaniſh ſtratagem: but d'Entragues ſeemed ſo affected with my ſuſpicions of his fidelity, and added ſo many aſſurances of the veracity of his Nugnès, that I permitted him to bring him to me that evening. The king, whom I informed of

* "They are wild," ſaid Henry, "to "ſee a king." Etoile, ibid. In a letter which he wrote to mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées, upon this or ſome other ſuch occaſion, he ſays, "A pleaſant adventure happened "to me at church; an old woman of 80 "years of age, ſeized me by the head and "kiſſed me; I was not the firſt who "laughed at it; to-morrow you ſhall "ſweeten my mouth." Recueil des lettres d' Henry le Grand.

d'En-

1593. d'Entragues's viſit, had the ſame opinion of it that I had; however, he commanded me to hear what the envoy had to ſay.

D'Entragues did not fail to return at the time appointed, accompanied by the Spaniard, who after ſome vague converſation about the joy there was in the court of Spain for the king's abjuration, and a great many proteſtations of kindneſs, which I had no reaſon to believe very ſincere, at length told me, he had a commiſſion to propoſe a marriage between the king and the infanta * of Spain, with ſome other articles, which he declared he had been ordered to explain only to the king, to whom he intreated me to preſent him. Henry being willing to hear him, I told Nugnès, without any ceremony, that ſince he came from ſo ſuſpected a place, he muſt purchaſe the honour of an audience from his majeſty, by ſubmitting to a few precautions that would perhaps be a little mortifying. He thought nothing too hard. I therefore began to ſearch him myſelf, and afterwards cauſed two of my valets de chambre to make a more rigid ſcrutiny about his perſon and cloaths; one of them having been a taylor, acquitted himſelf of this taſk with great exactneſs. When he came into the king's apartment I made him kneel, and held both his hands betwixt mine. He added nothing to the propoſals he had already made me, but talked of the alliance between the two crowns in terms ſo ſpecious and lofty, that the king, who at firſt would hardly liſten to him, could not hinder himſelf from approving of the Spaniard's propoſal, to ſend ſome perſon on whom he could rely, to enquire of don Bernardin de Mandoce himſelf, if what he had ſaid could be depended on.

This deputation, which would have the appearance of a myſtery, I could not approve of, and ſtill leſs of the choice his majeſty made of la Varenne for this occaſion, a man remarkably vain †. The

* Clara Eugenia of Auſtria, ſecond daughter of Philip II.

† We ſhall mention him again, in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs; his name is William Fouquet, and he derives the title of la Varenne from the marquiſate of la Varenne in Anjou, which he bought. His firſt employment was that of a cook to the princeſs Catherine, and his chief excellency in it was larding meat. If it be true, that this princeſs met him one day after his preferment, and ſaid to him, "La "Varenne, thou haſt gained more by car- "rying my brother's poulets *, than by "larding of mine," one may conclude, that the means by which he gained the king's favour were not very honourable. He was firſt made cloak-bearer to this prince, afterwards counſellor of ſtate, and comptroller-general of the poſt-office, and

* *Porter de poulets*, in French, ſignifies to carry love-letters: the jeſt lies in the ambiguity of the word *poulet*, which ſignifies either a pullet or a girl.

king, to whom I discovered all my apprehensions, thought he should avoid any appearance of an engagement or negotiation with Spain, by giving la Varenne no commissions in writing, and making the regulation of some boundaries upon the frontiers of Spain the pretence for his journey. La Varenne had no sooner received orders to depart, than he boasted of his commission, assumed the ambassador, and represented himself as such to Mandoce; who, on his side, paid him greater honours than he had required. This produced the effect which the Spaniards designed it should. It was for some time believed in England and Germany, that Henry sought to gain the king of Spain's friendship, and to break his alliance with the protestant powers; which might have produced an open rupture, if the king had not taken measures immediately to convince them of the contrary. 1593.

The last resource the league now depended upon, and which was the cause that they always protracted an agreement or rupture with the Spaniards, was the horrid resolution of assassinating the king; a resolution with which they knew well how to inspire a small number of determined men, whose heads they had turned with the alluring prospect of great rewards, if they succeeded in their enterprize, and the hopes of meriting a crown of martyrdom if they sunk under it. Nature itself so recoils at the reflection, that those who boast of being the supporters of religion, should so impiously violate its most sacred injunctions, that this passage ought to be blotted from all histories; were it not likewise certain, that there is not any society of men, who bear the name of christians, that would suffer the imputation of authorizing such a crime; such, indeed, that no body of men, or even any individual, ought to be accused of it, without a proof too clear to be contested.

always lived in great familiarity with Henry IV. who ennobled him. La Varenne appointed a gentleman to attend his son. "What," said this prince to him, "if "thou hadst given thy son to a gentleman, "I should have understood what you "would be at, but to give a gentleman "to him, is what I cannot comprehend." They say likewise that la Varenne having obtained some favour of the king which the chancellor de Bellievre made some difficulty to grant him, la Varenne said to him, "Sir, don't have such a high opinion "of yourself: I would have you to know, "that if my master was twenty-five years "younger I would not change places with "you." See d'Aubigne, Geneal. de Sainte-Marthe. Mem. de m. le duc d'Angoulesme. Mem. de Du-Plessis, &c. Menagiana. Cayet, ibid. tom. V. p. 276. speaks of the embassy of la Varenne into Spain, in a quite different manner from our Memoirs.

The

1593. The king had but too * many in thoſe journeys he took from St. Denis to Châlon-ſur-Marne, to Fort de Gournai, to Brie-comte-Robert, to Melun, and afterwards to Meulan and Fontainebleau. Upon this article, the monks eſpecially have contracted a ſtain which they will not eaſily efface. Henry, while at Melun, had like to have periſhed by the hand of one of theſe enthuſiaſts, whom the jeſuits and capuchins every where ſuborned for that purpoſe. Amongſt other informations which were ſent him upon this ſubject, he received advice, that one of theſe villains had ſet out from Lyons †, with a reſolution

* Cayet. Chron. Novenn. liv. v. p. 280. ſpeaks more poſitively of thoſe conſpiracies againſt the life of Henry IV. Mariiot ſays, that a Flamand, called Avenius, came to St. Denis with a deſign to ſtab the prince, but obſerving with what devotion he behaved at maſs, he threw himſelf at his feet, and implored his pardon; but afterwards, reſuming his firſt intention, he was broke upon the wheel in the year 1593. Chap. 33.

† It was Peter Barriére, or Barre, a waterman of Orleans. Davila relates this fact a little differently, book iv. The Memoirs of the league accuſed a jeſuit of Paris, and a capuchin of Lyons, of this bloody deſign, but name neither of them. De Thou ſays expreſsly, book cvii. that this jeſuit was father Varade, rector of the college of Paris, and takes an opportunity from thence of inveighing moſt bitterly againſt the whole ſociety. Mezerai, book lxii. ſpeaks in the ſame terms, and thence ſhews, that he has only copied de Thou; but beſides that the evidence of an enemy ought to be of no weight, it is proper to obſerve here, once for all, that when the duke of Sully and the other calviniſt writers lay ſuch crimes to the charge of the jeſuits, as well as to meſſieurs de Villeroy, Jeannin, d'Oſſat, &c. they only mean, that ſuch or ſuch a thing happened in conſequence of the principles, writings, public diſputations, and ſermons, of the confederates; in a word, that it was owing to the wrong notions of the league; and to the ſpirit that governed them; and don't mean, that ſuch a jeſuit, or ſuch a perſon, was the perpetrator or contriver of ſuch an action. This will appear more plainly in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs. See how we have explained ourſelves on this matter in the preface of this work.

As to the fact related here, whatever de Thou, Cayet, book v. p. 240. and Mezerai ſay, it is certain, that Barriére being put to the rack, in order to extort from him the names of thoſe who had ſolicited him to attempt the king's life, did not name father Varade; it is alſo certain, that this jeſuit was not proſecuted at all; that he was brought into no manner of trouble during the whole courſe of this proceſs; and that he remained in Paris even after the king had entered that city. When, in the following year 1594, Antony Arnaud, in his plea for the univerſity, reproached the jeſuits for the ſuppoſed crime of father Varade, thoſe monks denied it, and the counſellor did not prove the charge. Hiſt. of the univerſity of Paris, tom. vi. p. 884. Laſtly, the king, in 1604. giving an anſwer to the firſt preſident du Harlay, who was repreſenting to him, that it grieved the parliament to regiſter the edict for the reeſtabliſhment of the jeſuits, cleared them in particular upon the article which concerned Barriére, ſaying, that none of them were privy to that deſigned parricide. Mem. Chronol. and Dogmat. for the Hiſtory of the church, tom. i. p. 28. Meſſ. de Thou, Cayet, and Mezerai, have then advanced a moſt notorious falſhood, when they wrote, that father Varade had adviſed Barriére to kill the king. It was father Seraphin Banchi who diſcovered the plot; and the gentle-

to

to come thither and aſſaſſinate him. Fortunately, before he left Lyons, he declared his deſign in confeſſion to a prieſt; who, terrified at this frenzy, revealed it to a gentleman of Lyons. This gentleman poſted away immediately to get to Melun before the murderer, and deſcribed him ſo exactly to the king, from the picture the prieſt had drawn of him, that he was known and ſeized amongſt the croud at Melun, confeſſed his intended crime, and received puniſhment for it. The king, aſhamed even for his enemies, who by this wickedneſs diſcovered the true bent of their diſpoſitions, equally alarmed with all theſe attempts againſt his perſon, and tormented with the precautions he was obliged to take, often complained to me in the moſt affecting manner of his uneaſy ſituation. 1595.

He would not have been unhappy if the behaviour of the catholics in his court had at leaſt compenſated for that of the catholics in the league; but the king's abjuration had produced no more change in them than the others, and they thought they were entitled to make him comply with their inclinations in all things. They bore with impatience the king's not breaking off all commerce with his old proteſtant ſervants, and openly murmured if he but converſed with any of them, eſpecially with me. The apprehenſion of my bringing him back to his former religion affected them much leſs than their ſuſpicions that, in thoſe converſations I had with the king, I ſhould prevail upon him to rectify the abuſes in the government, eſpecially the confuſion of the finances. Henry, who was not yet in a condition to aſſert his authority, ſo far complied with their caprices, as to avoid all private converſation with the huguenots, reſumed his conferences upon religion with the catholics only, and continued them at Andreſy † and Milly. I took this opportunity to aſk the king's permiſſion to go

In Burgundy.

man who travelled from Lyons to acquaint Henry IV. with it, and knew again Barriere at Melun, was called Brancaleon. Chronol. Nov. ibid. Henry IV. talking of this intended crime with F. Matthieu, his hiſtorian, told him, that the villain had at three different times an opportunity to kill him, viz. in a hunting match, when he was gathering ſome fruit from a tree, and in the church of St. Denis; and that Barriere, as well as Clement, had agreed with his accomplices to periſh in his execution a multitude of innocent perſon, and particularly ſeveral French princes and noblemen. Matthieu, tom. II. book i. p. 150.

† And likewiſe, at Pontoiſe, and Fleury, a caſtle in Gatinois, belonging to Henry Clauſſe, chief-juſtice in eyre. The Roman catholics who were there, were, according to M. de Thou, maſſieurs de Schomberg, de Villeroy, de Belin, de Revol, Jeannin, and de Thou himſelf, who ſeem'd alſo to underſtand, that their diſcourſes turned more upon politics than religion.

1593. to Bontin, where I had grain to ſell to the value of five or ſix thouſand crowns. He granted it, and told me, that at my return he might perhaps be able to form a more exact judgment of the ſtate of his affairs, and that he would then talk farther with me.

I came to Bontin, with my wife, at a time when grain bore a very high price. All the great cities, taking advantage of the truce, haſtened to fill their magazines, whatever might happen, and paid for what they bought with the money which the Spaniards had ſcattered throughout the kingdom. Spaniſh piſtoles were then ſo common, that commerce was generally carried on in that money.

I had ſcarce ſold half of my grain, when a letter the king wrote to me from Fontainebleau obliged me to return. He had, in my abſence, opened three letters directed to me, from which he could draw no intelligence, becauſe two of them, one of which came from madam de Simiers †, ſiſter to Vitry, and a great friend of admiral Villars, and the other from la Font, were written in cyphers; and all that the third, which came from a man named Deſportes, of Verneuil, contained, was, that he had ſomething to communicate to me relating to the propoſal I made him in my abbey Saint-Taurin of Evreux. The king, rigidly watched by the catholics, could only give me theſe letters, the contents of which I afterwards acquainted him with. Deſportes was the agent employed by the baron de Médavy † to treat of an accommodation with him, and the ſurrender of Verneuil. The letter from madam de Simiers, and that from la Font, turned only upon ſome favourable circumſtances which now preſented themſelves, to engage Villars in the king's intereſt. But affairs ſoon took another turn with regard to him; the loſs of Feſcamp ſo affected this governor, that for this time he broke off all meaſures towards an accommodation. I was informed of it by letters from madam de Simiers and la Font, in anſwer to mine, at the very moment when, by the king's command, I was preparing to go and confirm Villars in his good reſolutions.

A port and fortreſs in the country of Caux.

The manner in which Feſcamp was ſurprized is ſo remarkable, that it well deſerves a particular recital here. When this fort was

* Louiſa de l'Hôpital-Vitry, wife to James Simiers, chief groom of the ſtole to the duke of Alençon.

† Peter Rouxel, baron of Médavy, count of Grancy, lieutenant-general in Normandy, and counſellor of ſtate, died in 1617. He was remarkable for an uncommon ſtrength of body.

taken

taken by Biron from the league, in the garriſon that was turned out of it, there was a gentleman, called Bois-roſé *, a man of ſenſe and courage, who making an exact obſervation of the place he left, and having concerted his ſcheme, contrived to get two ſoldiers, whom he had bound to his intereſt, to be received into the new garriſon which was put into Feſcamp by the royaliſts. That ſide of the fort next the ſea is a perpendicular rock ſix hundred feet high, the bottom of which, for about the height of twelve feet, is continually waſhed by the ſea, except four or five days in the year, during the utmoſt recefs of the ſea, when, for the ſpace of three or four hours, it leaves fifteen or twenty fathom of dry ſand at the foot of the rock. Bois-roſé, who found it impoſſible by any other way to ſurprize a garriſon, who guarded with great care a place lately taken, did not doubt of accompliſhing his deſign, if he could enter by that ſide which was thought inacceſſible; this he endeavoured by the following contrivance to perform. 1593.

He had agreed upon a ſignal with the two ſoldiers whom he had corrupted, and one of them waited for it continually upon the top of the rock, where he poſted himſelf during the whole time that it was low water. Bois-roſé, taking the opportunity of a very dark night, came, with fifty reſolute men, choſen from amongſt the ſailors, in two large boats, to the foot of the rock. He had provided himſelf with a thick cable, equal in length to the height of the rock, and tying knots at equal diſtances, run ſhort ſticks through, to ſerve to ſupport them as they climbed. The ſoldier whom he had gained, having waited ſix months for the ſignal, no ſooner perceived it, than he let down a cord from the top of the precipice, to which thoſe below faſtened the cable, by which means it was wound up to the top, and made faſt to an opening in the battlement with a ſtrong crow run through an iron ſtaple made for that purpoſe. Bois-roſé giving the lead to two ſerjeants whoſe courage he was well convinced of, ordered the fifty ſoldiers to mount the ladder in the ſame manner, one after another, with their weapons tied round their bodies, himſelf bringing up the rear, to take away all hope of returning; which indeed ſoon became impoſſible, for before they had aſcended half way, the ſea riſing more than ſix feet, carried off their boats, and ſet their cable a floating. The neceſſity of withdrawing from a difficult enterprize is not always

* — De Gouſtiminil, or Gouſminil, lord of the manor of Bois-roſé. See Chron. Noventi. book v. p. 94.

1593. a ſecurity againſt fear, when the danger appears almoſt inevitable. If the mind repreſents to itſelf theſe fifty men, ſuſpended between heaven and earth, in the midſt of darkneſs, truſting their ſafety to a machine ſo inſecure, that the leaſt want of caution, the treachery of a mercenary ſoldier, or the ſlighteſt fear, might precipitate them into the abyſs of the ſea, or daſh them againſt the rocks; add to this, the noiſe of the waves, the height of the rock, their wearineſs, and exhauſted ſpirits; it will not appear ſurprizing, that the boldeſt amongſt them trembled, as in effect he who was foremoſt did. This ſerjeant telling the next man that he could mount no higher, and that his heart failed him, Bois-roſé, to whom this diſcourſe paſſed from mouth to mouth, and who perceived the truth of it by their advancing no higher, crept over the bodies of thoſe that were before him, adviſing each to keep firm, and got up to the foremoſt, whoſe ſpirits he at firſt endeavoured to animate; but finding that gentleneſs would not prevail, he obliged him to mount by pricking him in the back with his poignard; and, doubtleſs, if he had not obeyed him, he would have precipitated him into the ſea. At length, with incredible labour and fatigue, the whole troop got to the top of the rock, a little before the break of day, and was introduced by the two ſoldiers into the caſtle, where they began to ſlaughter without mercy the centinels and the whole guard; ſleep delivered them up an eaſy prey to the enemy, who killed all that reſiſted, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort.

Bois-rose immediately ſent notice of this amazing ſucceſs to admiral Villars, and thought the government of the citadel he had ſo dearly bought was the leaſt reward he might expect. However, he heard that Villars, or rather the commandeur de Grillon*, had a deſign to drive him out of it. Amidſt the firſt tranſports of his rage for this injuſtice, he delivered the caſtle of Feſcamp to the king, whoſe converſion he had juſt been informed of. Villars, at this news, broke off the negotiation which he had permitted madam de Simiers and la Font to carry on in his name, and ſent forces to inveſt Feſcamp. Bois-roſé, finding himſelf too weak to make a long reſiſtance, called the king to his aid, who inſtantly ſet forward for Dieppe, and came to St. Valery in Caux. When this hoſtility broke out, the three months truce was expired; but the king had been prevailed upon to prolong it for two or three months longer, upon the duke of Maïenne's repreſentation, that

* Thomas Berton, governor of Honfleur, and brother to Grillon.

it was neceſſary he ſhould have more time to ſettle an affair of ſuch importance as his treaty, and that of the league, with the king. He failed not to exclaim againſt this violation of the truce, and ſent the count of Belin, governor of Paris, to the king, to complain of it. Belin came to St. Valery, acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion, and demanded a farther prolongation of the truce for three months, which he ſaid was no more than neceſſary for the duke of Maïenne to make known his laſt intentions at Rome and Madrid, whither he had ſent cardinal de Joyeuſe * and Montpezat for that purpoſe. The king, who perceived he only wanted to amuſe him, rejected the count of Belin's propoſals; and, without liſtening to any more complaints of the action, which his enemies had been the firſt cauſe of, marched directly to Feſcamp, forced the troops of Villars to retire, and provided this fortreſs with plenty of all things neceſſary for its ſecurity. 1594.

THE king, at his return to Mante, being informed that the marquis de Vitry was inclined to receive him in Meaux, to favour the good intentions of this governor, he came to Lagny, where all things were ſo ordered, that he made his public entry into Meaux † on the firſt day of the year 1594. La Châtre immediately followed this example, with the cities of Orleans and Bourges. Lewis de l'Hoſpital, Marquis of Vitry. Claude de la Châtre.

THE truce being at an end, the king laid ſiege to Ferté-Milon. I would have taken this opportunity to finiſh the buſineſs that had carried me to Bontin, but his majeſty commanded me to review ſome battalions of Swiſs at Montereau. I ſent to madam de Roſny to meet me at this place, from whence I intended to carry her to Mante: ſhe waited for me there to no purpoſe. Two days before that in which I was to review the Swiſs, I received new diſpatches from madam de Simiers and la Font, which informed me, that the man (meaning Villars) was appeaſed, and that nothing hindered me from returning Between Meaux and Soiſſons. Montereau faut-yonne, in Champagne.

* Francis, the ſecond of the ſeven ſons of William de Joyeuſe. Henry Des-Prés, four of Montpezat.

† The duke of Maïenne upbraiding Vitry for having betrayed him, in delivering the city of Meaux into the king's hands, Vitry ſaid to his meſſenger: "You preſs "me too much: you will at laſt make "me ſpeak as becomes a ſoldier. Suppoſe "a thief had ſtolen a purſe, and confided "it to my care; if afterwards, coming to "the knowledge of the right owner, I "ſhould reſtore it him, and refuſe to give "it back to the thief who had intruſted "me with it, do you think I ſhould commit a wicked and unreaſonable action? I "did nothing elſe when I delivered up the "city of Meaux." Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, tom. II.

the

1594. the ſcheme that had been laid aſide. This affair the king thought of ſuch importance as not to admit of a moment's delay. The count de * Chaligny juſt then coming to the army with a paſſport for Paris, intreated the king to ſend a perſon whom he could depend upon, to conduct him to that city; and the king was willing that I ſhould take advantage of this opportunity, which offered me the means of procuring a more certain knowledge of the deſigns of the duke of Maïenne and the league, and of getting to Rouen ſecurely.

Accordingly, I accompanied the count de Chaligny to Paris; from whence, after having an interview with the duke of Maïenne, I went to Louviers, to the houſe of the ſieur de St. Bonnet, about two leagues from Rouen: from this place I ſent notice of my arrival to the perſons who managed our interview: they came to fetch me the next evening, and introduced me into Fort St. Catherine, where captain Boniface received and treated me very magnificently while we waited for Villars, who came at night, attended only by one ſervant; I likewiſe having none but my valet de chambre with me. We did not part till after a converſation that laſted two hours, which left me entirely ſatisfied of the intentions of this governor. Our interview was conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy; for, beſides that the governors of the chief royaliſt cities in the neighbourhood of Rouen would not have failed, either through jealouſy or ſelf-intereſt, to croſs the negotiation, and perhaps have done ſomething worſe, as in effect they did, as ſoon as they had any ſuſpicion of the affair; there were in this province a great number of forces, as well foreigners as thoſe belonging to the league, over whom Villars had no authority, and which might in a little time be joined by ſuch conſiderable ſupplies, as to make him repent of the meaſures he had engaged in.

I staid five days in Fort St. Catherine with the ſame privacy; during which time I had ſeveral conferences with Villars, and entered upon the principal conditions for an accommodation. Intereſt was not here the greateſt difficulty to get over; he was leſs ſolicitous to gratify mercenary views, than to be convinced that the king, by treating with him, ſought not only to gain the capital of a province, but to bind to his intereſts a man whom he knew to be equally willing and able to ſerve him. It has been already obſerved, what idea Villars had conceived of the king: as ſoon as my diſcourſe had confirmed him

* Henry de Lorrain, count of Chaligny, of the family of Moüy.

in

in it, I could perceive the treaty to be in great forwardneſs; but I could not then go any farther, not having in writing the neceſſary powers for concluding it. 1594.

But to give a more perfect knowledge of this governor's character: his whole conduct was influenced by one or the other of two qualities that predominated in him, or was produced by their concurrence: theſe two qualities were, courage and integrity; the firſt inſpired that elevated generoſity, that inborn noble pride *, which in great ſouls is only a perception of their own worth, without the leaſt mixture of mean vanity, or the intoxication of ſelf-love; the ſecond produces ſincerity and truth, makes its owner incapable of artifice and ſurprize, and always ready to yield to reaſon and juſtice: he who unites theſe two qualities, has ſeldom any other fault than being too quickly moved to ſudden eruptions of anger.

Such was Villars: and what I have ſtill to ſay concerning him will juſtify the truth of this character: there was too great a conformity between his diſpoſition and the king's, to ſuffer him to continue long in a ſtate of enmity with him. The only difference between them was, that Henry, by often reflecting on the fatal effects of anger, by a habit acquired in a long courſe of misfortunes, by the neceſſity he was under of gaining friends; and laſtly, by the native tenderneſs of his heart, converted his firſt violent ſallies of rage into ſuch † emo-

* M. de Thou, ſpeaking of admiral de Villars, ſays, that he was of a harſh and inſolent diſpoſition, book ciii.

† Here is a piece of private hiſtory, extracted out of the Memoirs of the life of the preſident de Thou, which proves what the author ſays here concerning the character of Henry IV. and which has alſo ſome relation to what had been ſaid before upon the ſiege of Rouen. "One day that Grillon "came into the king's cloſet to excuſe "himſelf upon his being reproached, that "his going backwards and forwards, to "treat with the admiral, had afforded "him an opportunity and the means of "making that furious ſally which has been "mentioned, he paſſed from excuſes to "diſputes, then fell into a paſſion and "uttered blaſphemies. The king, being "exaſperated at this behaviour, command-"ed him to go out; but as Grillon was "coming back every moment from the "door, and they perceiving that the king "grew pale with anger and impatience, "they were afraid he would ſeize upon "ſomebody's ſword and run the impudent "fellow through. At laſt, being come to "himſelf, after Grillon went out, and "turning towards the lords who attended "him, and who, with de Thou, had "admired the patience with which he "bore this inſolence, he ſaid to them, "Nature has formed me paſſionate, but "ſince I have been ſenſible of this fault, "I have always endeavoured to guard "againſt the dictates of ſo dangerous a "paſſion; I know by experience that it "is a bad adviſer, and am glad to have "ſuch good witneſſes of my moderation." "It is certain, that his conſtitution, the

tions

1594. tions as were wholly under the government of his reaſon, and ſeldom appeared in his countenance or geſture, and ſtill ſeldomer in his words.

Feb. 17, 1594. The king was juſt come to Chartres, which place he had choſen * for the ceremony of his coronation, when I joined him to give him an account of my journey, and to procure full powers for concluding the treaty with Villars. I had expected to depart again immediately, and did not imagine he would detain me with him ten or twelve days, which was really the caſe. He was then endeavouring to reconcile the count of Soiſſons and the duke of Montpenſier, whoſe enmity was firſt occaſioned by ſome diſputes relating to the prerogatives of their rank as princes of the blood, and ſtrengthened and confirmed by their competition for the ſame poſts, the ſame governments, and, above all, for the ſame miſtreſs, who was the princeſs Catherine, ſiſter to the king. The duke of Montpenſier had certainly the advantage in the king's favour, as well as in fortune, for he had immenſe eſtates; he appeared at the coronation with a train of four or five hundred gentlemen, while his rival could with difficulty maintain a dozen: but, poor as he was, without places, without governments, and diſliked by the king ever ſince his eſcape from Rouen, he had this advantage over the duke, to poſſeſs entirely the heart of the princeſs. The counteſs of Guiche † was their confidant; ſhe was acquainted with all their ſecrets, managed their correſpondence when they could not ſee each other, and ſo confirmed their mutual affection, that ſhe made them

" fatigues he had endured, and the many " viciſſitudes of fortune to which he had " been ſubjected, had given him a firmneſs " of ſoul, that was proof againſt the ef- " forts of rage, but not the allurements " of pleaſure. It was remarked, that while " Grillon was thus conteſting with him, " marſhal Biron, who was then in the " king's room, fitting upon a trunk, pre- " tended to be aſleep; and as the diſpute " grew warmer, his ſleep became more " ſound; though Grillon came near him " in order to abuſe him, and cried aloud " in his ears, that he was a mangy ſnarl- " ing dog. The company were perſuaded " that the marſhal only affected that deep " ſleep, that he might not expoſe himſelf " to the brutality of ſuch a fiery hot- " brained man; which would inevitably " have happened if he had ſeemed to hear " him. It was alſo believed, that he was " willing to leave the king all the fatigue " of the converſation."

* Againſt a frivolous decree of the ſtates of Blois, which annuls this ceremony unleſs it is made in the city of Rheims. It was decided, that his majeſty ſhould be crowned by Nicholas de Thou, biſhop of this city, and not by the archbiſhop of Bourges, who claimed that honour as lord almoner; and that no uſe ſhould be made of the *Sainte-Ampoule*, or holy bottle. See this ceremony deſcribed in the hiſtorians.

† The ſame who had been miſtreſs to Henry IV. but ſhe was grown very fat, coarſe, and red-faced. Journ. of the reign of Henry III. tom. i. p. 270.

both

both ſign a contract of marriage, which the confuſion only of the times prevented them from ſolemnizing. 1594.

His majeſty was ſo paſſionately deſirous of reconciling theſe two princes of the blood to each other, that the treaty with Villars was ſuffered to ſtand ſtill, whilſt he applied himſelf wholly to this affair. He had no regard to my remonſtrance, nor to the danger there was in delaying it; he inſiſted upon my undertaking the difficult taſk of making them friends, conjointly with the biſhop of Evreux, whom he had pitched upon at firſt, but found he was not able to ſucceed alone, in ſo delicate an affair. It is certain, I ſtill preſerved a great ſhare of the count's eſteem, but I was well acquainted with his inſolent and haughty diſpoſition, and that the fear only of ſeeming to yield to a rival who was his ſuperior, would not only confirm him in his pretenſions, but perhaps induce him to form new ones. I will not tire the reader with a detail of the diſputes, refuſals, and ſallies of ill humour which we were obliged to endure; we were more than once upon the point of giving up our taſk, as hopeleſs of ever accompliſhing it: however, by the force of arguments, founded upon the king's command, with much patience, and many importunities, we prevailed upon the two princes to ſee each other, and to embrace. I was not to anſwer for the ſincerity of this reconciliation: the article of their paſſion for the princeſs, and her marriage, which I carefully avoided mentioning, continuing ſtill undetermined, left the ſeeds of diviſion in their hearts: but this I looked upon as an inſurmountable obſtacle.

I was extremely well ſatisfied at having ſucceeded ſo far, without touching upon this article, and I now ſaw nothing to delay my journey to Rouen. But I was deceived: the king's extreme ſolicitude to reconcile theſe princes was with a view of obtaining another end, which he ſtill more ardently deſired; and this was the very ſame that I thought I had ſo prudently laid aſide, the marriage of the princeſs his ſiſter. Unfortunately I was the perſon his majeſty fixed upon to accompliſh this deſign. I was commiſſioned to get the contract of marriage, which I have juſt mentioned, out of the hands of the parties concerned; that, this obſtacle being removed, the king, who was reſolved to refuſe the duke of Montpenſier nothing he demanded, might be able to make uſe of his authority to prevail upon the princeſs to receive him for a huſband, and by that means deliver himſelf from the apprehenſion of ſeeing a marriage concluded, which, though clandeſtinely, would be no leſs dangerous, ſince the count of Soiſſons would

1594. become his heir, whether he conſented to it or not, and make uſe of his own riches againſt him: and if this marriage produced any children, as there was no doubt but it would, that would give his majeſty, who had none, another cauſe for uneaſineſs.

I TREMBLED when I received the king's order for this purpoſe. I would have repreſented to him, that Villars would certainly engage himſelf in the enemy's party for ever, as would alſo Médavy, and ſeveral other governors in Normandy, unleſs I went immediately to thoſe places. The affair was reſolved upon; the king would not hear me, and only granted me what I aſked to inſure the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, which was, to give no ſuſpicion of my being employed in it, and to leave me the choice of what meaſures I thought neceſſary to take.

WHEN I was alone, and had reflected upon the nature of the commiſſion which I had received, I confeſs I was thrown into the utmoſt perplexity. From the knowledge I had of the princeſs Catherine's diſpoſition, from whom it was neceſſary to get this contract, I was convinced it was not in the power of human eloquence to make her approve of the king's deſigns with regard to her. How difficult a taſk! to perſuade a woman, and a princeſs, to renounce the man ſhe loved, and beſtow herſelf upon one whom ſhe hated. There was no probability of ſucceeding but by artifice. I endeavoured to vanquiſh my ſcruples by reflecting, that in deceiving the lady, tho' I did not conſult her inclination, yet I was attentive to her real intereſt; and that it was to free the king and kingdom from the bad conſequences that might attend her irregular conduct, which induced me to act in this manner. I flattered myſelf that the princeſs would one day think herſelf obliged to me for having, by an innocent ſtratagem, prevented the ruin of her fortune, together with the loſs of the king her brother's friendſhip. Specious as theſe reaſons were, I cannot help confeſſing, that I did betray her; and this gave me pain. The impoſſibility of ſucceeding by any other means, and the hope that even ſhe would one day pardon the deceit, and confeſs that I had done her a real ſervice by it, was what at laſt determined me. As for the count, having no occaſion to make any application to him, and being likewiſe but little attached to him, the reſpect that was due to his perſon ought to be laid aſide, when it oppoſed the public utility, and what the ſervice of the king my maſter required of me. However, this affair, in the end, was the cauſe of great uneaſineſs to me, which my

my ſcruples, and the reluctance I had to engage in it, ſhould have preſerved me from. 1594.

There was ſtill another difficulty to be removed. I ſaw the princeſs very ſeldom, on account of the multiplicity of buſineſs in which I was engaged, and I knew her diſcernment too well to doubt that whatever meaſures I made uſe of to obtain the contract in queſtion, my unuſual aſſiduity would, in a mind naturally diſtruſtful, create ſuſpicions which would put her upon her guard againſt all I could ſay or get others to ſay to her: I therefore endeavoured to act in ſuch a manner that ſhe ſhould prevent me herſelf. For this purpoſe I made uſe of the two Du-Perrons, who I knew (eſpecially the youngeſt) were of a humour to make their court to the Great at the expence of betraying a ſecret. I was intimate only with the biſhop of Evreux, the eldeſt: but one riſques nothing in depending upon the good opinion all men have of their own merit; on this article they are always their own dupes firſt. I went therefore to viſit the younger Du-Perron; I flattered him; I inſinuated myſelf into his favour by feigning to impart ſecrets to him. He began to think himſelf a man of vaſt importance, and, through vanity, believed every word I ſaid to him. When I perceived him intoxicated with ſelf-admiration, I told him (with all the appearances of the utmoſt ſincerity, exacting at the ſame time an oath of ſecrecy from him, which I ſhould have been very ſorry he had kept) that the king had imparted to me in confidence his intentions with regard to the princeſs; that he was reſolved to marry her to the count of Soiſſons; and that ſome little difficulties, which ſtill remained to be got over, prevented his majeſty from publicly declaring his deſign. I was aſſured two days only would be ſufficient for Du-Perron to get rid of this weighty ſecret, in ſuch a manner that it would reach the princeſs Catherine. Accordingly, a moment afterwards he told it, with injunctions of ſecrecy, to monſieur de Courtenai, and two other of the count of Soiſſons' moſt intimate confidants. They ran to inform the count of it, and he the princeſs and the counteſs of Guiche. Gaſpard de Courtenai.

I did not doubt but the princeſs, flattered with ſuch an agreeable hope, would make me the firſt advances; and I was not deceived. Going to take leave of her, as a man juſt ready to undertake a long journey, I had a complete proof of Du-Perron's fidelity. The princeſs received me with more than uſual reſpect; and the counteſs of Guiche, not willing to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity, after ſome converſation

1594. upon indifferent matters, made haſte to bring the affair of the princeſs's marriage with the count, who was preſent, upon the carpet, and embracing me in a tranſport of friendſhip, "See," ſaid ſhe to the lovers, "a man who is able to ſerve you." The princeſs then, addreſſing herſelf to me, told me, that I knew the count and her had always eſteemed me greatly; and that ſhe in particular would be extremely obliged to me, if I would aſſiſt her endeavours to reſtore herſelf to the favour of the king her brother. She ſpoke only theſe few words, and left the care of ſaying more to that inſinuating and graceful air, which ſhe knew better than any other woman in the world how to aſſume when ſhe pleaſed. I ſeemed to be abſolutely gained, and after thanking the princeſs for the honour ſhe did me, I added, that if I might depend upon the ſecrecy of all that were then preſent, I would inform them of ſome circumſtances which would not be indifferent to them. Women make no ſcruple to promiſe ſecrecy, though they have been always accuſed of performing that promiſe very ill. The princeſs and her confidant added an oath to the aſſurances they gave me; but it was not my deſign to explain myſelf farther at that time. I aſked them for three days delay: they aſſiſted me in finding an excuſe for deferring my journey to Rouen; and I took leave of the company, who impatiently expected the time I had preſcribed.

I was punctual to my appointment, and waited upon the princeſs at the expiration of the three days. I ſuffered myſelf to be preſſed a long time before I would diſcloſe my ſecret; at laſt, ſeeming to yield to the importunity of the two ladies, I told them, that having ſeveral times ſounded the king upon the marriage in queſtion, he at firſt ſhewed ſome reluctance to it, without caring to explain himſelf farther; but my earneſt intreaties had at length prevailed upon him to open his heart to me upon this ſubject; and he confeſſed, that far from feeling any repugnance to conclude this marriage, he thought it a very proper one; and ſince that he had no iſſue of his own, he ſhould be overjoyed to ſee the offſpring of his ſiſter and a prince of his blood, whom he would look upon as his own children: that the gentle and complying diſpoſition of the count of Soiſſons and the princeſs was highly agreeable to him, but that he would find it very difficult to forget that the count had endeavoured to deceive him, and to obtain his ſiſter without his conſent. This ſpeech, every word of which I had concerted before, produced the effect I deſigned it ſhould: the two lovers and their confidant began to confeſs they had acted indiſcretely, and to condemn themſelves for conducting the affair with ſuch a ſpirit of inde-

independence. This was what I waited for: I ſeized this opportunity to convince them that I believed the offence might be ſoon repaired; that the king was naturally kind, and eaſily forgot paſt injuries; all that was now neceſſary to be done, was to behave in a quite contrary manner, to ſolicit his favour, ſeem abſolutely dependent upon him, leave him maſter of their deſtiny; in fine (and this was the moſt difficult point of all) ſacrifice to him the contract they had both ſigned, as being what he was moſt offended with; and not to fear giving him even a declaration in writing, in which they ſhould both bind themſelves not to marry without his conſent: after this condeſcenſion, I told them, on their ſide, I believed I might aſſure them, that in leſs than three months the king would himſelf prevent their deſires, and unite them for ever. 1594.

I found no difficulty in gaining credit to theſe aſſurances, and that very inſtant they promiſed to reſign the contract of marriage, poſſibly becauſe they thought it would be of no uſe to them, if the king, when he became abſolute maſter in his dominions, ſhould not agree to it. The counteſs of Guiche ſaid ſhe had left it at Bearn, but would ſend for it immediately. They did not ſo eaſily yield to the declaration I demanded afterwards, and without which their reſigning the contract ſignified nothing, ſince the parties might whenever they pleaſed renew it. This was the very argument I made uſe of to enforce the neceſſity of giving it, and I convinced them, that without this the king could neither depend upon their ſincerity, nor be aſſured of their obedience. This article was ſtrongly conteſted; and when at laſt, by the force of remonſtrances, I obtained a writing, by which the princeſs and the count cancelled all promiſes that had paſſed between them, releaſed each other from any engagement, and ſubmitted themſelves abſolutely to the king's diſpoſal, the conſequences of this writing alarmed them, and they had recourſe to a medium, without which it is probable the affair had reſted as it was: this medium was, that I only ſhould be intruſted with it, and ſhould not ſuffer it to go out of my hands, not even though the king ſhould require it. Luckily they did not add, that it ſhould be returned to the princeſs, if matters took an unfavourable turn. I promiſed them, upon my word and honour, that I would not part with it; which ſatisfied them entirely, and the writing was delivered to me, in form, ſigned by the princeſs and the count, and ſealed with their arms. The king's joy for my ſucceſs, which he durſt hardly flatter himſelf with the hopes of, was conſiderably leſs, when he found the writing was to remain in my hands: he

1594. he often intreated me earneſtly to give it him; but finding, by my perſiſting to refuſe him, that the obedience I owed him could not influence me to a breach of my promiſe, he no longer ſolicited me to it. The two lovers ſeeing the agreeable hopes I had given them ſtill unaccompliſhed, could not, as it may be well imagined, pardon me for having deceived them: the ſucceeding part of theſe Memoirs will ſhew how they reſented it.

After the concluſion of this affair, which I cannot remember without pain, I was wholly employed in preparing for my journey to Rouen. I was apprehenſive, and not without reaſon, that ſo long a delay had abſolutely broke all my firſt meaſures with admiral Villars: however, I obtained full powers * from the king to conclude a treaty, not only with this governor, but alſo with all the other governors and officers of the province. Juſt as I was going to ſet out, Deſportes arrived, and ſtopped me once more; he was ſent by the baron de Médavy to the biſhop of Evreux, to deſire that he would lend him his houſe of Condé for a little time; and alſo prevail upon me to come thither, that he might confer with me upon the conditions of his treaty, and that of Verneuil. I left Chartres, and came in the evening to Anet, madam d'Aumale having long earneſtly ſolicited me to viſit her there.

This lady, who had more underſtanding and prudence than her huſband, conjured him inceſſantly to break with the league, and reſign himſelf wholly to the king. She was ſenſible, that not only his duty and ſafety required that he ſhould take this ſtep, but his intereſt likewiſe; for the duke d'Aumale's † domeſtic affairs were in ſuch diſorder, that there was no other way to avoid approaching ruin, but by being amongſt the firſt that returned to their duty and obedience on this occaſion, and were therefore diſtinguiſhed with very conſiderable rewards. I alighted at an inn at Anet, and while my ſupper was preparing, went to wait upon madam d'Aumale, attended only by one page. To the joy that animated the countenance of this lady the moment ſhe perceived me, ſhe added the favour of a moſt obliging and friendly reception; and that ſhe might not waſte moments

* The preſent duke of Sully has the original of this full power in his poſſeſſion, as likewiſe many of the originals of Maximilian de Bethune's letters upon this ſubject.

† Charles de Lorrain, duke of Aumale, who died in 1631, in his retirement at Bruſſels; his wife was Mary de Lorrain, daughter of René, duke of Elbeuf.

ſo

ſo precious, took my hand and made me walk with her in thoſe fine galleries and gardens which make Anet a moſt enchanting place: here ſhe expreſſed to me her earneſt deſire to have her huſband return to the obedience he owed his ſovereign, and named the conditions upon which he might be induced to conſent to it. I omit all the propoſitions, either approved or rejected, that paſſed between us. Hitherto I had ſeen nothing but what did honour to the maſter of a houſe truly royal; and I ſhould have been ignorant of the deplorable extremity to which the duke was reduced, if ſhe had not intreated, and even forced me to ſup with her, and to ſtay there all night. After a repaſt, which we waited for a long time, and when it came was as bad as the attendance we had at it, I was conducted into a very large chamber, all ſhining with marble, but almoſt deſtitute of furniture, and ſo cold, that I could neither get heat, nor ſleep in a bed, where the ſhort narrow ſilk curtains, one thin coverlid, and damp ſheets, were ſufficient to benumb one with cold, even in the midſt of ſummer: not able to continue in bed, I roſe, and thought to ſecure myſelf againſt the inconveniences of my damp lodging by making a fire, but I could find no other wood to burn than green holm and juniper, which it was impoſſible to kindle: I was obliged therefore to wear my gown the whole night, by which means I was very early awake, and joyfully quitting ſo diſagreeable a lodging, I went to join my attendants, the meaneſt of whom fared better, and paſſed the night more comfortably than their maſter. 1594.

I made myſelf amends for this fatigue at Condé, where I found every conveniency that could contribute towards an agreeable reception: as ſoon as I arrived, I got into a good bed, Médavy not being expected till noon. At firſt he regulated his behaviour according to that notion, that in ſuch a conjuncture as the preſent the moſt inconſiderable nobleman has a right to ſet ten times a greater value upon himſelf than he is worth; he performed his part perfectly well, by an air of falſe diſtruſt, and an affected ſuperiority, which he imagined would procure him ſome advantage. I contraſted his vanity with a frankneſs that ſhewed it to himſelf, and told him calmly, that if he waited till the great cities came to an accommodation, he, who had only Verneuil to offer, his ſacrifice would immediately loſe half of its value; and that afterwards perhaps his propoſals would not be liſtened to, and no reward granted him. My ſincerity forced him to be candid likewiſe; he appeared more reaſonable, and we ſoon agreed: he only intreated me not to make the affair public till the end of March,

1594. March, becauſe he had engaged to Villars to do nothing without his participation. He ſent Deſportes with me to Rouen, to pay this compliment to the governor, and to obſerve, at the ſame time, whether I concluded the treaty with Villars, whoſe accommodation drew his along with it, in ſome meaſure neceſſarily.

I came to Louviers the next day, from whence making known my arrival to admiral Villars, he ſent the captain of his guards to receive me at the gate of the city. I did not enter ſecretly as before, but publicly, and with a kind of pomp. The ſtreets were filled with the people; and the hopes of a peace, by which quiet and commerce would be reſtored to their city, drew loud acclamations of joy from them as I paſſed. Villars had cauſed the fineſt houſe in Rouen to be prepared for the reception of me and my train, which conſiſted of twelve or fifteen gentlemen; and had given all the neceſſary orders for treating us magnificently. La-Font, who had the care of my reception, waited to conduct me thither: he outdid his maſter, and at night gave me the muſic, and the diverſion of dancers, and jugglers, whom I could not prevail upon to receive either money or preſents. I ſent Du-Perat to make my compliments to the admiral, madam de Simiers, and the abbé de Tiron *, who all had a great ſhare in the management of this affair: they returned me the ſame civility a few moments after by the ſieur de Perdriel, and deſired him to tell me, that I muſt reſt this day, and we ſhould enter upon buſineſs the next. This, however, did not hinder the abbot from viſiting me in the evening, without ceremony; indeed his whole conduct upon this occaſion diſcovered a degree of rectitude and ſincerity rarely to be found in ſuch negotiations.

I found by his diſcourſe that the king had been within a very little of loſing Villars irretrievably. A deputy from Spain, named don Simon-Antonio, and another called Chapelle Marteau †, from the duke of Maïenne, came to Rouen ſome days before my arrival, and had made very advantageous propoſals to this governor; he had likewiſe daily received letters from the catholics, even thoſe in the king's party, which tended to raiſe unfavourable ſuſpicions of his majeſty's deſigns, and to prejudice him againſt a negotiation entruſted to a proteſtant agent: this argument had great weight with Villars, always zealous for his

* Philip Des-Portes, abbot of Jozaphat, Tiron, and Bonport.

† Michael Marteau, ſieur de la Chapelle.

religion,

religion, and would have infallibly determined him for the enemies party, if in this perplexity his mind had not been ballanced by other letters from the cardinal of Bourbon, the biſhop of Evreux, and the marquis de Vitry, who all aſſured him he might depend upon the king's word and my ſincerity. Tiron ſhewed me part of each of theſe letters, and thought it neceſſary to warn me, that the admiral, having been perpetually beſet by deputies from the league, and offended likewiſe at the delays that had been uſed with him, I muſt not expect to vanquiſh his irreſolution without ſuffering ſome of thoſe ſallies of rage, ſo natural to him, and which with a little patience it was eaſy to allay. 1594.

I went to wait on * Villars, well prepared to ſuſtain all theſe little aſſaults, and at firſt perceived plainly that the ſight of me awakened ſome remains of diſtruſt and anger in his mind. My behaviour ſoon diſſipated this cloud, and he with great calmneſs and ſerenity propoſed his conditions, which were comprized under the following heads: That he ſhould continue ſtill in his poſt of admiral, which had been beſtowed on him by the league; and in his government of Rouen poſſeſs a power independent of the duke of Montpenſier, governor of that province, at leaſt during three years; and that this power ſhould extend over the bailiwics of Rouen and Caux: That the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion ſhould not be allowed in this capital, nor ſix leagues about it: That all the officers poſted by the league in the cities belonging to his government ſhould be continued there, with fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, to be maintained by the king for the ſecurity of thoſe cities: That his majeſty ſhould give him the ſum of an hundred and twenty thouſand livres to pay his debts, and a yearly penſion of ſixty thouſand: That Feſcamp ſhould be delivered to him: And laſtly, that he ſhould have the diſpoſal of the abbeys of Jumiéges, Tiron, Bonport, la Valaſe, Saint-Taurin, and that of Montiviliers, which he deſigned for a ſiſter of madam de Simiers.

If all theſe articles had as much depended upon me as that relating to the abbey of Saint-Taurin, which was my own, and which I immediately yielded to Villars, the treaty had been concluded without any farther delay; and this I aſſured him of with regard to thoſe wherein

* M. de Villars, in the Memoirs of thoſe times, is repreſented to be of a haughty diſpoſition, and ſubject to frequent tranſports of anger. It is there obſerved, that the baron de Roſny was the only one that could ſucceed in theſe negotiations. Memoirs for the hiſtory of France, vol. II. Theſe negotiations of the baron de Roſny are alſo commended by M. de Thou, b. cix.

1594. the king was abſolute maſter. But however full and extenſive the powers I had received from his majeſty were, I could do nothing in thoſe articles which regarded the duke of Montpenſier, and Biron, who was inveſted with the poſt of admiral, and in poſſeſſion of Feſcamp, which he had got from Bois-roſé on a promiſe of indemnification, that had not yet been fulfilled; and I did not think I had a right to ſettle this affair without informing the king of it. As I did not heſitate upon any of thoſe conditions which depended immediately upon the king to grant, I expected that Villars would have been ſatisfied with my conduct; but this governor going out with the deputies from the league at the very moment that I was endeavouring to make him comprehend my reaſons, he interrupted me haſtily with theſe few words, pronounced with great fury: "That I might ſpare myſelf the trouble "of talking to him any more, ſince he was determined either to finiſh "the treaty upon the ſpot, or break it off entirely."

Although I was a little ſtunned with this unforeſeen blow, I anſwered Villars calmly, that I was perſuaded the king would grant him the three articles in queſtion, as well as all the others (that of Feſcamp making two, becauſe Bois-roſé was concerned in it:) That this needed not hinder us from drawing up the treaty, and even ſigning it that moment, as if every thing was agreed to, inſerting only this note in the margin over againſt the three articles, *To be determined by the king*. And to convince him that I ſought not to gain time, in order to betray him afterwards, I offered to remain in his power as an hoſtage, till his majeſty returned an anſwer. Villars ſtill ſtarted new difficulties, but he could not reſiſt madam de Simiers, the abbot Tiron, and la Font, who all ſupported my arguments. I had the treaty drawn up in haſte, we ſigned it; and I ſent a copy of it immediately to the king, with a long letter, in which I gave him an account of all that had paſſed. But before the anſwer could be brought to Rouen, an incident happened, which we once imagined would have rendered it uſeleſs.

Moſt of the governors of the ſmall forts in the neighbourhood of Rouen, far from returning to the duty and obedience they owed their king, perſiſted in their revolt, becauſe, in the preſent confuſed ſtate of affairs, they acquired gains, which they foreſaw would ceaſe with the war. The moſt artful amongſt them made themſelves equally neceſſary to each of the contending parties, and exacted bribes from both. Du Rollet, governor of Pont de l'Arche, was one of thoſe that acted on theſe principles with the greateſt ſubtilty. He had for more than

than a year flattered the king with hopes that he would fall upon means to deliver the city of Rouen and its governor into his hands, provided he would give the government of this place to him, which his majesty at all events gave him a written promise of. Du Rollet failing in an enterprize which exceeded his abilities, took it into his head to blast my negotiation, which he attempted in this manner. 1594.

He commanded an officer named Dupré to mingle with my train as I passed through Pont de l'Arche, and to enter Rouen with me. I had been informed that du Rollet was disaffected, but I had no reason to suspect this officer of having any bad designs, nor could I hinder him from following me. I was likewise absolutely ignorant of this Dupré's being the very same person that had been employed by du Rollet befor to cabal against Villars in Rouen *. He was no sooner entered, than, renewing his former acquaintance, he put himself at the head of a party of rash inconsiderate persons, with whom he had laid a plot to seize the old palace, and secure the governor's person; persuading them that he acted thus by my orders. As he had no other design than to alarm the governor, and to inspire him with the utmost detestation of me, he was not at much trouble to keep the affair secret; in effect, Villars was informed of it immediately.

The excess of anger this news threw him into, and the injurious thoughts it inspired him with against the king, and especially me, may be easily imagined. Convinced that he had now an incontestible proof of my treachery, he would not examine the matter any farther, but sent d'Infreville to me that moment to desire I would come to him. I had dined that day with la Pile, attorney-general of the chamber of accounts, and had just received letters which pleased me exceedingly. The king granted Villars the three articles that had been referred to him, and engaged to procure the consent of the parties concerned. Over against these articles, I had written upon the margin of the original treaty which I had carried with me, *To be agreed by his majesty's command.* I promised myself great pleasure in thus surprizing Villars, who could not expect such quick dispatch; and went out of la Pile's house with the treaty in one hand, holding a white scarf which I had put into my pocket in the other, intending to throw it about Villars's neck, and

* During the siege of Rouen, du Rollet endeavouring to throw himself into that city, was taken and shut up in the old castle, where however, it is probable, he still continued to carry on intrigues for the king's interest. Cayet, b. iv. p. 14.

1594. embracing him, to ſalute him admiral and governor of the diſtricts of Rouen and Caux. The contrariety of reflections that employed our minds as we advanced towards each other had, I believe, ſomething in it very uncommon.

My gaiety was ſoon overcaſt, for Villars perceiving me at a diſtance, came towards me with haſty ſtrides, his face ſwelled and inflamed, his eyes ſparkling, and all his looks and geſtures expreſſive of the moſt violent tranſports of fury. He began by ſnatching the paper out of my hand, and not giving me time to ſpeak, with a voice ſo altered by this inward agitation that it was ſcarcely articulate, he ſtammered out theſe words, too remarkable, not to be related exactly.

" So, ſir, where, in the devil's name, are you going ſo airy, and ſo " full of mirth? By heavens you have not yet attained your purpoſe, " and before the game is ended, you may perhaps have no cauſe to " ſmile, at leaſt if I treat you as you deſerve. You are out in your " reckoning, you, and your king of Navarre alſo, for by my ſoul he " has got a —— in the baſket, and if he can find no other footman " than Villars, I fancy he will be but badly ſerved." Saying this, he tore the treaty in a thouſand pieces, and threw them into the fire. Having given the reins to his fury, he added an infinite number of invectives in the ſame tone, and equally extravagant, intermingling them with oaths, the rage he was in furniſhing him with an inexhauſtible ſource of them.

That I ſuffered him to go on thus, without interruption, was at firſt owing to my aſtoniſhment, or rather indeed to the neceſſity I was under of hearing him, and afterwards to the reflection that theſe ſorts of diſpoſitions cannot bear contradiction: at length ſtopping of himſelf, he began to traverſe his chamber, which was very long and wide, like a man out of his ſenſes. " Well, ſir," ſaid I, when I found he was ſilent, " have you done yet talking at random? You have reaſon to be " ſatisfied at having thus behaved like a madman, without being con- " tradicted in your extravagancies." Perceiving that the calm manner in which I ſpoke to him obliged him in ſpite of himſelf to liſten to me, I proceeded to tell him, that what he had juſt ſaid and done in my preſence appeared to be nothing but an artifice he had conceived to retract the word he had ſo ſolemnly given; but that this turn would always diſhonour him, and greatly leſſen my opinion of his wiſdom and integrity. " 'Sdeath," cried he, ſtopping ſhort, " I never did, nor ever

" will deſerve or ſuffer ſuch a reproach. I am a man of too much 1594.
" honour; ſuch evaſions are only fit for thoſe that betray their friends,
" and endeavour to get them aſſaſſinated." Hitherto he had ſaid nothing ſo plain as this laſt word, by which, though I could not comprehend the whole extent of his meaning, yet I was able to gueſs from whence ſo furious a behaviour proceeded.

I DEMANDED an explanation, and proteſted to him, with that air of ſincerity and confidence with which even the moſt prejudiced cannot help being affected, that I was abſolutely ignorant of his meaning; and that if I could be convicted of any unfair proceedings with regard to him, I was ready to deliver myſelf into his hands, without deſiring either pardon or favour. Thus obliging him to be more explicit, he reproached me with having employed Dupré to aſſaſſinate him, and ſeize upon the old palace. The violence of his agitation not permitting him to ſpeak otherwiſe than in broken and interrupted ſentences, the affair appeared to me utterly improbable, and I could not hinder myſelf from entertaining ſome ſuſpicions of his ſincerity, nor from telling him, that he had been ſeduced by Spaniſh piſtoles to contrive ſuch a ſlight pretence for breaking with me. " Who I?" cried he, relapſing again into a rage. " 'Sdeath, muſt I confeſs that I have " acted treacherouſly with you, and broke my oath? I would rather " die than be guilty of ſuch baſeneſs." " By heaven, ſir," anſwered I, " you teach me to ſwear, it is only by your fulfilling or breaking " off the treaty, that I ſhall know whether to believe you an honeſt " or a perjured man."

WE continued thus expoſtulating a long time, which increaſed rather than leſſened our mutual diſſatisfaction; ſo that at laſt we both became equally enraged. During this conteſt the abbot de Tiron came in, and entering immediately into the occaſion of our quarrel, reduced us both to reaſon. " Depend upon it, ſir," ſaid he to Villars, " the " baron de Roſny is not guilty of the ſchemes that have been laid " againſt you; he is a man of too much honour; and, in ſuch a caſe, " too prudent to throw himſelf into your power."

THESE few words explained every thing. I turned calmly towards Villars, telling him, that I was convinced anger alone had been the cauſe of all the injurious things he had ſaid; and that I expected, as ſoon as it was allayed, he would repair his fault, by performing his firſt promiſe. " Well, ſir," ſaid he, already half pacified, " I will keep

" my

1594. " my word: but take care alſo not to fail of yours, with regard to the " three articles yet undetermined." I anſwered, that if it had not been for his fury, which made him throw the treaty into the fire, he might have ſeen that the king conſented to grant him them all.

We were upon theſe terms when madam de Simiers was introduced. " Don't be angry with me, madam," ſaid he, as he went to receive her: " all is over, we are good friends again; but by heaven, the " traitor that made all this miſchief ſhall die before I eat or drink." He kept his word, for cauſing Dupré to be brought before him, after he had confeſſed the whole affair, he ordered him, without the formality of a trial, to be hung up at a window.

Villars intreating me afterwards to ſhew him the king's letter, I did not ſcruple to tell him, that his majeſty's ſecrets ought only to be communicated to his open and declared ſervants. To make Villars of this number, nothing more was neceſſary but to draw up the treaty again, which we ſigned, and each of us kept a duplicate of it. It was agreed between us, that the affair ſhould remain a ſecret for ſome time, on account of the league and the Spaniards, againſt whom this governor took new meaſures, by reinforcing the troops he had in Rouen. After this, I no longer made any difficulty in ſhewing him all my letters, as well thoſe which I had written to and received from the king before, as that in which I informed him of the ratification of the treaty, and his majeſty's anſwer to it. The courier who carried theſe laſt diſpatches was not more than four hours on his journey.

These letters gave great ſatisfaction to Villars, particularly the laſt, written with the king's own hand. His majeſty in that thanked me more like a friend than a ſovereign, for the ſervice I had juſt done him, and concluded with theſe words, " Come to me at Senlis, on the " 20th of March, or at Saint Denis on the 21ſt, that you may help to " cry *Long live the king* in Paris, and afterwards we will do the ſame at " Rouen:" for I wrote to him that his preſence there was neceſſary. " Shew this letter," added he, " to the new friend you have ac- " quired me, that he may ſee I do not forget him, and be convinced " that I love him, and know how to prize and reward ſuch brave men " as he is." " By heaven," ſaid Villars at this place, " this prince is " too gracious and obliging to remember me, and ſpeak of me in ſuch " advantageous terms." From that moment, Villars continued firm in his obedience and affection to the king; nor had his majeſty amongſt his

his moſt ancient ſervants one more abſolutely devoted to his intereſts than him. He deſired me to be ſatisfied with his word for the faithful execution of all the articles comprehended in the treaty, and I accepted it as the beſt ſecurity he could give me. 1594.

The remainder of the time that I ſtaid in Rouen was employed in regulating ſome affairs of the ſame nature. I uſually ſpent the day with the admiral, and at night retired to my apartment, to give audience to all the officers as well of the city and parliament, as of the army, that were ſcattered throughout that province, and who came to me privately to concert meaſures for ſeparating the people from the intereſts of the league. Médavy was of this number, and I concluded the treaty with him. Verneuil not being a city of ſuch importance as to make it neceſſary to uſe the ſame precautions with it as with Rouen, the king ordered Médavy to publiſh his treaty, for an example to the other governors.

As I was ſollicitous not to neglect meeting his majeſty at the place he had appointed me, I made haſte to leave Rouen. After receiving from the governor every inſtance of gratitude and reſpect, I took a leave equally affectionate of the abbot de Tiron, and madam de Simiers, promiſed them to return ſoon, and aſſured madam de Simiers, I would bring her brother, the marquis de Vitry, along with me, with a body of troops ſufficient to put Villars into a condition to explain himſelf without danger. The obligations I owed to them were great enough to demand this ſervice of me, although his majeſty's intereſt had not been an additional motive to it.

It was upon ſome correſpondencies the king carried on in Paris that he founded his hopes of being ſoon admitted there, and he was on his way thither from St. Denis when I joined him. His party in that city was ſo firmly united, and ſo many perſons of equal courage and fidelity had joined, that it was almoſt impoſſible but that it ſhould ſucceed. Ever ſince the battle of Arques, when the count Belin was taken priſoner by the king's forces, and had an opportunity of diſcovering the great qualities of that prince contraſted with the weakneſs of his enemies, the duke of Maïenne perceived the inclinations of this governor to lean ſecretly towards the king. Full of this ſuſpicion, he did not heſitate a moment about depriving him * of the government of ſo

* The parliament upon this occaſion made a decree, highly honourable for the count of Belin. The citizens are there exhorted rather to partake than ſuffer his ba-

1594. conſiderable a city as Paris, and ſought for a man whoſe fidelity to himſelf and the league could be depended upon, to entruſt the care of this great city to, at a time when the neceſſity of his affairs obliged him to repair to the frontier of Picardy; accordingly he fixed upon Briſſac *, and beſtowed this government upon him.

Brissac, at firſt, anſwered his purpoſe perfectly well. The ſtudy of the Roman hiſtory had inſpired this officer (who valued himſelf greatly upon his penetration and judgment) with a very ſingular project, which was, to form France into a republic upon the model of ancient Rome, and make Paris the capital of this new ſtate. Had Briſſac deſcended ever ſo little from theſe lofty ideas to an attention to particular circumſtances, which in the greateſt deſigns it is neceſſary to have ſome regard to, he would have perceived that a ſcheme, however happily imagined, may, by the nature of the obſtacles which oppoſe it, by the difference of the genius, and character of the people, by the force of thoſe laws they have adopted, and by long cuſtom, which, as it were, ſtamps a ſeal upon them, become alike chimerical and impracticable. Time only and long experience can bring remedies to the defects in the cuſtoms of a ſtate whoſe form is already determined; and this ought always to be attempted with a view to the plan of its original conſtitution †: this is ſo certain, that whenever we ſee a ſtate conducted by meaſures contrary to thoſe made uſe of in its foundation, we may be aſſured a great revolution is at hand; nor do the application of the beſt remedies operate upon diſeaſes that reſiſt their force.

Brissac did not go ſo far; he could not for a long time comprehend from whence the general oppoſition his deſigns met with proceeded, for he had explained himſelf freely to the nobles and all the chief partiſans of the league: at laſt he began to be apprehenſive for his own ſafety, leſt while, without any aſſiſtance, he was labouring to bring his project to perfection, the king ſhould deſtroy it en-

niſhment from the city. Memoirs for the hiſtory of France, vol. II. Memoirs of the league, vol. VI.

* Charles de Coſſé, count of Briſſac, marechal of France.

† The ſenſe in which the duke of Sully underſtands this maxim, and the true one in which it ought to be taken, is, that the ancient form and fundamental principles of government are to be changed as little as poſſible; he does not mean, that we are to admit the abuſes which ignorance or neceſſity have introduced in the different inſtitutions relating to the finances, politics, &c. He will treat this ſubject more largely in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs.

tirely,

tirely, by ſeizing his capital. Poſſeſſed with this fear, the Roman ideas quickly gave place to the French ſpirit of thoſe times, which was to be ſolicitous only for his own advantage. When ſelf-intereſted motives are ſtrengthened by the apprehenſion of any danger, there are few perſons who will not be induced by them to betray even their beſt friend. Thus Briſſac * acted: he entered into the count of Belin's reſolutions, but from a motive far leſs noble and generous; and thought of nothing but making the king purchaſe, at the higheſt price, the treachery he meditated againſt the duke of Maïenne, in his abſence. St. Luc †, his brother-in-law, undertook to negotiate with the king in his name, and having procured very advantageous conditions, Briſſac agreed to admit Henry with his army into Paris, in ſpite of the Spaniards. The troops of the league were abſolutely at his diſpoſal, and they had no reaſon to apprehend any oppoſition from the people. 1594.

D'O ‡ loſt no time in making application for the government of Paris, and the Iſle of France, and obtained his requeſt; but now a conflict between his intereſt and ambition ſo perplexed this ſuperintendant, that, notwithſtanding his new dignity, the reduction of Paris was amongſt the number of thoſe things he moſt feared ſhould happen: he would have had it believed, that the true motive of this fear was, leſt the finances ſhould become a prey to the men of the ſword and gown, by whom, he ſaid, the king, as ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of Paris, would be oppreſſed for the payment of penſions, appointments, and rewards. But this diſcourſe deceived none but thoſe who were ignorant of the advantage he found in keeping the affairs of the finances in their preſent ſtate of confuſion, and with what ſucceſs he had hitherto laboured for that purpoſe.

The king, upon this occaſion, put all the friends of the count of Belin in motion, on whom he had no leſs dependence than upon Briſſac; and at nine o'clock in the morning preſented himſelf, at the head of eight thouſand men, before Porte Neuve, where the ‖ mayor March 22.

* The duke of Maïenne, as de Thou obſerves, was informed of Briſſac's treachery by the ducheſs of Guiſe his mother, but he would not believe her. See the reduction of the city of Paris, Matt. vol. II. b. i. p. 174. Chron. Novenn. b. vi. p. 334. and other hiſtorians.

† Francis d'Epinay, lord of St. Luc, maſter-general of the ordnance.

‡ Our Memoirs make no mention of monſieur d'O's being deprived by the league of this government, which Henry III. had beſtowed upon him. Pere. 2d part.

‖ This mayor of Paris was John l'Huillier, who when Briſſac ſaid to him, "We "muſt render to Cæſar the things that "are Cæſar's," he replied, "We muſt

1593. of Paris, and the other magiſtrates, received him in form. He went immediately and took poſſeſſion of the Louvre, the Palace, the Great and Little Châtelet, and found no oppoſition any where; he proceeded even to the church of Nôtre Dame, which he entered to return thanks to God for his ſucceſs. His ſoldiers, on their ſide, fulfilled with ſuch exactneſs the orders * and intentions of their maſter, that no one throughout this great city complained of having received any outrage from them. They took poſſeſſion of all the ſquares and croſs-ways in the ſtreets, where they drew up in order of battle. All was quiet; and from that day the ſhops were opened with all the ſecurity which a long and continued peace could have given.

The Spaniards had now only the Baſtille, the Temple, and the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin in their poſſeſſion; and there they fortified themſelves, being about four thouſand in number, with the duke de Feria and don Diego d'Evora at their head; all greatly aſtoniſhed at ſuch unexpected news †, and firmly reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, if any attempts were made to force them from thoſe advantageous poſts. The king relieved them from their perplexity, by ſending to tell them, that they might leave Paris, and retreat in full ſecurity. He treated the cardinals of Placentia and Pellevé with the ſame gentleneſs, notwithſtanding the reſentment he ſtill retained for their conduct with regard to him. Soiſſons was the place whither theſe enemies of the king ‡ retired, protected by a

" render them, indeed, but not ſell them " to him." F. l'Etoile's Journal aſcribes this repartee to Henry IV. L'Huillier was rewarded with the poſt of preſident of the chamber of accounts, and counſellor of ſtate; and Martin Langlois, an alderman, was made mayor of Paris in his room. Le Grain, b. vi. It is obſerved, in the volume of MSS. marked 9033. in the king's library, that Henry IV. entering Paris by the new gate, which has been ſince called the gate of the conference, he went out again, and returned ſeveral times, fearing, notwithſtanding the repeated aſſurances of the mayor and aldermen, that by permitting his troops to enter Paris, their deſign was to cut them in pieces, and ſeize his troops.

* The king perceiving a ſoldier to take a loaf from a baker by force, ran to him and would have killed him. L'Etoile's Journal. Pereſixe ſays, that la Nouë being arreſted for debts which his father contracted in this prince's ſervice, complained to him of that inſolence. The king, in public, ſaid to him, " La Nouë, you muſt pay your " debts, I pay mine;" but afterwards, taking him aſide, he gave him his jewels to pawn to the creditors, inſtead of the baggage they had ſeized of his. Peref. part 2d.

† L'Etoile obſerves, that this news being brought to the Spaniards while Langlois was amuſing them with relating circumſtances out of the Roman hiſtory, the duke of Feria cried out two or three times, " He is a great king." L'Etoile's Journal.

‡ The king had a mind to ſee them march out, and looked at them from a window over St. Denis's gate. They all ſtrong

ſtrong eſcort. His majeſty then publiſhed a general pardon * for all the French who had borne arms againſt him. When this ſacrifice is not extorted by neceſſity, but, on the contrary, made at a time when vengeance has full liberty to ſatiate itſelf, it is not one of the leaſt marks of a truly royal diſpoſition. Madam de † Montpenſier being introduced to the king, he received her as politely, and converſed as familiarly with her, as if he had ſome very important reaſon for ſparing her the confuſion which any other perſon in his ſituation would have been fond of throwing her into ‡. 1594.

THE king had not yet found an opportunity to converſe with me upon the negotiations of Rouen; therefore that evening, when the croud of courtiers had quitted his apartment, he took me aſide to a window in the Louvre, and made me give him a circumſtantial relation of all that had paſſed, even to the minuteſt incidents; to which he liſtened with the utmoſt attention. He accuſed himſelf of being the cauſe of du Rollet's unſeaſonable attempt, by not acquainting me with the propoſals he had made him, which would have put me upon my guard againſt all that could have happened from that quarter.

THE king had not yet mentioned to the duke of Montpenſier, or the baron de Biron, the conditions which, at their expence, he had

ſaluted him with their hats off, bowing profoundly low. The king, with great politeneſs, returned the ſalute to the principal officers, adding theſe words, "Remember me to your maſter; go, I permit you, but return no more." Peref. 2d part. This anecdote agrees with that in the Memoirs for the hiſtory of France; but is contradicted by the Journal written by the ſame author.

* All the Memoirs of thoſe times are filled with inſtances of Henry's clemency, and his ſprightly and agreeable repartees. See the Memoirs above cited. A leaguer coming to him one day when he was playing at primero, "You are welcome," ſaid the king to him, "for if we win you will be ours." Le Grain, book x.

† Catherina-Maria of Lorrain, widow of Lewis of Bourbon, duke of Montpenſier.

‡ Perefixe obſerves, that he played at cards with her that very evening. L'Etoile adds, that he returned both hers and madam de Nemours's viſit; and relates a very extraordinary converſation that paſſed between this prince and her; at the end of which, madam de Montpenſier, whoſe hatred for Henry was publicly known, taking notice of his entering Paris, ſhe wiſhed that it had been her brother the duke of Maïenne who had let down the bridge for his majeſty. "Ad-zokers," replied the king, "he might poſſibly have made me "wait a long time, and I ſhould not have "entered ſo early." This lady, purſued he, hearing the populace cry, *Long live the king*, ſaid, laughing, that Briſſac had done more than his wife, who in fifteen years had made but one cuckow ſing; whereas he, in eight days, had made more than twenty thouſand parrots ſing in Paris. L'Etoile, ann. 1594.

1594. granted to admiral Villars: and this was now all that perplexed him; for he conducted himself by quite different maxims from those princes, who, in such cases, instead of submitting to make use of prudent measures to pacify the murmurings they may expect, begin by silencing all complaint, and exact an unwilling obedience by the force of authority only. He ordered me to make him, in the presence of these two noblemen, the same relation I had just now done, as if it were for the first time; and to give them to understand, that the conclusion of the treaty with Villars depended upon their sacrificing to him their rights. This I performed exactly as we had concerted; after which the king, turning towards them, said, with some emotion, that he would rather lose Villars and Rouen both, than gain them by doing any injustice to two persons whom he greatly esteemed. Montpensier and Biron were so affected with this manner of treating them, that they declared they would willingly resign their pretensions. Henry thanked them, and, as an equivalent, gave the first the governments of Perche and Maine, to be joined to that of Normandy, as soon as it should be entirely reduced; but then Villars's generosity changed this disposition: and to Biron a marechal's baton, with four hundred and twenty thousand livres in money, to indemnify him for his loss.

The reduction of Paris engaged the king in new affairs, which obliged him to delay still longer his journey to Rouen. He was employed in receiving the homage of all the different courts *, of the university, and other corporations of the city of Paris; whose early submission he thought he could not better reward, than by applying his cares to the restoring to them that harmony and regularity which the civil wars had interrupted. He had likewise answers to give to several governors of towns and fortresses, particularly of the Isle of France, who, after the example of the capital, came to make their submissions to him.

Villeroy was not amongst the first: it was necessity alone, that either fixed his irresolution, or forced his inclinations. Some places of little importance still held out for him and his son, with which, by means of Du-Plessis his friend, and Sancy, whose daughter was just married to his son, he made very advantageous conditions for himself:

Pontoise, &c.

Treaties de Villeroy.

* The parliament of Paris was recalled from Tours, where it had been removed by letters patent from the king, dated the 28th of March, 1594.

after

after obtaining, by repeated importunities, two truces, the one of two months ſpace, the other for three months; which he procured to be ratified by the duke of Maïenne; after having a long time affected a neutrality, and ſet a thouſand ſprings in motion to protract, till the laſt extremity, his ſeparation from his old friends, he at laſt concluded a treaty * almoſt after all the reſt, and obtained the poſt of ſecretary to the king, in recompence for that he had given up. 1593.

THE day after the king's entry into Paris he thought proper to make me ſet out for Rouen, ſince he could not go thither himſelf. I arrived at that city on the 25th of March, bringing with me Vitry,

* This circumſtance in our Memoirs is poſitively contradicted by de Thou, who ſays, book cviii. that Villeroy's treaty with the king was concluded long before, but that his majeſty would not ſuffer it to be made public, becauſe he was deſirous that Villeroy ſhould make uſe of his influence over the duke of Maïenne, to prevail upon him to join his party. Matthieu, in the places already quoted, is of the ſame opinion; and Cayet, who likewiſe ſupports it elſewhere, does not contradict it by Villeroy's letter to the duke of Maïenne, dated the 2d of January in the ſame year; although, in relating the purport of this letter, he caſts a kind of reproach upon this miniſter. In this letter, which was intercepted by the royaliſts, Villeroy, whoſe deſign was to inform the duke of Maïenne beforehand of his treaty with Henry, which was going to be publiſhed, and to endeavour once more to prevail upon him to follow his example, adviſes Maïenne to conſider in earneſt of a peace for the party in general, and himſelf in particular, "Be-"cauſe," ſays he, "their cauſe is deſpe-"rate;" and adds, "We have loſt all "confidence in each other," &c. Cayet, book vi. p. 293.

With the key that de Thou and other hiſtorians have given us to Villeroy's ſecret tranſactions with the chiefs of the league, and to the part he played by the king's order, the meaning of thoſe words which they would impute to him as a crime, is eaſily comprehended; and it is even plain, that in ſpeaking to the duke of Maïenne he could not have expreſſed himſelf otherwiſe. Indeed if on this occaſion Villeroy could be charged with any fault, it was, in not diſcovering a little more generoſity when he had ſo good an opportunity for it; for beſides thoſe rewards mentioned in our Memoirs, he procured the government of Lyons for Charles de Neufville, marquis of Alincourt, his ſon. But what French nobleman in thoſe times or even what man, however little diſtreſſed in his circumſtances, could boaſt of being exempted from this reproach? Father de l'Etoile does not conceal the covetous and ſelfiſh diſpoſition of Villeroy. "Hen-"ry IV." ſays he in his journal, "going "one day, with twelve or fifteen of his "courtiers, to partake of a ſlight colla-"tion with Villeroy, ſaid to them, when "they were ſeated at table, My friends, "we are an ordinary, let us fare well for "our money, for we have an hoſt that "will make us pay dear for our entertain-"ment." I do not think it will be neceſſary for the future to obviate all thoſe invectives which the duke of Sully, in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, throws upon a man who has been highly ſerviceable to this kingdom, till his death in the year 1617, having poſſeſſed the poſts of miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate under four ſucceſſive kings, Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII.

at

1594. at the head of three hundred men. La Font received me at the gate of the city, and conducting me, with all my train, to the houſe that was prepared for my reception, which belonged to the ſieur de Martinbault, the fineſt in the whole town, and, by Villars's orders, furniſhed magnificently for me. Simon Antoine and la Chapelle did not approve of ſuch a remarkable diſtinction. They were yet ignorant of the treaty, but had taken ſo much umbrage at my firſt journey, that they made uſe of all their credit with the governor to prevail upon him to forbid my entrance into the city.

La Font, who acquainted me with all their intrigues, apprized me alſo, that they were that very night appointed to ſup with the governor; as were likewiſe the abbé Tiron, the preſident Boquemare, Médavy, and d'Hacqueville, two counſellors of the parliament, and ſome others. I was reſolved to take this opportunity to declare myſelf; and la Font having aſſured me, that the admiral would not be diſpleaſed with any thing I did, I was willing to enjoy the confuſion of the two deputies from Spain and the league, by telling them what had juſt happened at Paris.

I went immediately to St. Ouen, where Villars was with all his gueſts; he was talking to the deputies at one end of the gallery when I entered; I did not ſcruple to interrupt their converſation, by running to embrace him, and told him I was come to invite myſelf to ſup with him, having ſome news to acquaint him with. Villars, after returning my embrace, pointing to the two deputies, as if he knew my intended ſcheme and acted in concert with me, told me coolly, that having ſo many people to ſup with him that night, he was afraid I would not find the party well aſſorted. I replied, that I could accommodate myſelf to any ſet of company, and I was perſuaded (the animoſity of party aſide) thoſe two gentlemen would receive the news I had to tell them with pleaſure. The governor glancing a look at Simon Antoine, that deputy replied, with an eaſy air, that he would be very glad to know how the king had treated the Spaniards and the two cardinals: adding encomiums on this prince, and compliments to me, with great art and politeneſs. "By what I obſerve, you will ob-" lige me to treat you all," ſaid Villars; adding an apology for the meanneſs of his entertainment.

The reſt of the company approaching, the preſident Boquemare preſſed me to declare my news; but I would ſay nothing till we were ſeated.

seated. "I am," said the admiral (placing himself first at the middle of the table) "a very bad master of the ceremonies." I was resolved not to use any with don Simon, who I knew did not want ambition, which was likewise supported by his rank; lest therefore he should accept, on a bare compliment, of the chief place, which, on an occasion, when I represented the king's person, might have had some consequence, I seated myself, without any ceremony, at the head of the table, telling the Spanish deputy, that if our own persons only were concerned, I would willingly pay him what I thought due to a stranger of his merit: to which he answered with great politeness. La Chapelle observing to him, that the place I had at table was a type of that the king possessed now at Paris, and that things only followed their natural course, "I perceive it," said the Spaniard, "and I am "afraid this precedence is but a bad augury for us; however, it shall "not hinder us from being merry, and drinking to the health of our "masters, who are not enemies, since there is no war declared be-"tween them." This answer was equally wise and politic; and, during the whole repast, the Spaniard supported his part of the conversation with great spirit and understanding, seemed charmed with the king's fine qualities, and praised him particularly for the clemency with which he acted towards his enemies, whether foreigners or French. I took notice that Tiron, and a priest named Dadré*, were silent while this subject was discussed. 1594.

The whole company either were, or seemed to be, highly pleased with the entertainment of the evening. When we broke up, Villars, as he attended me out, intreated me not to visit him next day, which he would employ in getting rid, some way or other, of his deputies. He knew not yet how these two men intended to take their leave of him, but told me, that if I wanted to be informed of it, I need only spend the afternoon with madam de Simiers: there I learned, that Villars had been closeted three whole hours with the two agents; that they had made use of reproaches, and very harsh language to him. But this governor was not a man to be easily intimidated or induced to alter his resolution; he told them plainly, that he had concluded a treaty with the king, therefore it was necessary they should retire without delay, either to Soissons, or to the duke of Maïenne, whither he would grant them a safe conduct, the only favour he had now in his power to bestow. There was a necessity for coming to this

* John Dadre, penitentiary of the church of Rouen.

extre-

1594. extremity with them: and Villars took care to guard againſt the effect of their reſentment, by giving orders for the newly-arrived troops to enter Rouen; with which he took poſſeſſion of the palace, the fort, and the caſtle. This done, he ſent la Font to me, to tell me, that the next day, at my firſt requeſt, he would declare himſelf for the king, in the preſence of all the inhabitants of the city, whom he cauſed to be aſſembled for that purpoſe, with all the form and ceremony that might make this action more ſolemn.

I never experienced a more perfect ſatisfaction than what aroſe from the reflection of having done the king and kingdom ſo conſiderable a ſervice; nor enjoyed a more tranquil ſleep than that which the ſucceeding night afforded me. The next morning early I haſtened to Villars, at St. Ouen, whom I found walking in the great ſquare, whither he had come an hour before, and which, as well as all the principal ſtreets, was filled with ſuch a prodigious concourſe of people, drawn thither by the report of the deputies departure, and the new ceremony, that Perdriel, d'Iſencourt, la Font, and the ſoldiers whom the governor had ſent to attend me, could with difficulty open me a paſſage: the joy was general, and diffuſed itſelf on every face.

I went up to the admiral, with whom I found the baron de Médavy and the preſident Boquemare: after the accuſtomed ſalutations were over, I told him, that the king being now a good catholic, it was time he ſhould give him ſome teſtimony of his duty and zeal. Villars replied, that in his heart he was already faithfully devoted to his majeſty's ſervice; and that if, to make an open profeſſion of it, nothing more was neceſſary than to put on the white ſcarf, he was ready to receive it at my hand. I took one out of my pocket; and Villars had no ſooner put it on, than, without farther thought, "Come "on," cried he, with a tranſport which marked his character, the league is, to cry *Long live the king*. The profound ſilence that had been held during our conference, was now interrupted at this word by an univerſal acclamation of, *Long live the king:* at the ſame time inſtant, the ringing of the great bell, with all the others in the city; the diſcharge of all the artillery from the fort and other places; added to this general ſhout a noiſe capable of inſpiring terror, if the joy which dilated every heart had permitted them to perceive, that there was not a houſe in the city that was not ſhook by it. "The ſound of theſe bells," ſaid I to the governor, "ſuggeſts to us to go and give thanks to God in "the

" the church of Nôtre Dame." Accordingly, *Te Deum* was ſung there with great ſolemnity, and followed by the celebration of the maſs, at the beginning of which I retired. As ſoon as it was over, Villars took me up in his coach, and carried me to a magnificent entertainment, to which the ſovereign courts, all the officers of the army and magiſtrates of the city were invited. Orders were ſent to Verneuil, Pontaudemer, Havre, where the chevalier d'Oiſe * commanded, and to all thoſe places that acknowledged the admiral's authority, to follow the example of the capital. 1594.

It was my firſt care, as ſoon as I was at leiſure, to inform the king of what had juſt happened, and to intreat him to ſend ſome of his counſellors to re-eſtabliſh the parliament. The next day the citizens came in a body to thank me for my ſervices, and to bring me their preſent, which conſiſted of a ſide-board of plate, gilt and finely wrought, of upwards of three thouſand crowns value; which I was obliged to accept, notwithſtanding all my endeavours to the contrary. It was not long before my courier returned with diſpatches from his majeſty: he brought a letter for admiral Villars, in which the king ſtiled him his couſin, admiral, governor in chief of Rouen, Havre, &c. and invited him to come to court in terms which promiſed him a moſt gracious reception: that which was for me contained an order to return as ſoon as poſſible.

The admiral, who would not appear there till he had an equipage ſuitable to his rank and dignities, took time to prepare himſelf; as for me, I ſet out before, and lay the firſt night at Louviers, where I had the following adventure with Bois-roſé, whom I did not know.

This gentleman having learned by public report that the king had given Villars the fort of Peſcamp, and heard no mention made of any recompence that was to be beſtowed upon him, reſolved to complain of this hardſhip to the king; and having occaſion for the protection and countenance of ſome governor who was known to his majeſty, came to Louviers a few moments after my arrival, to get a letter of recommendation from du Rollet. He alighted at the ſame inn which I had choſen, and was told that a gentleman was juſt come, who by his train, and the diſcourſe of his domeſtics, appeared to be in great favour at court: my name they did not mention. Bois-roſé believing me to be

* George de Brancas Villars, chevalier d'Oiſe, the admiral's brother.

1594. ſtill at Rouen, could not know it but by inſpiration, and did not heſitate a moment in preferring the protection of this lord to du Rollet's. He entered my chamber, and after making himſelf known, told me that he had great reaſon to complain of a nobleman of the court, called the baron de Roſny, who, abuſing his maſter's favour, had ſacrificed him, as well as the duke de Montpenſier, and marſhal Biron, to admiral Villars his old friend. He afterwards explained his demands, but with ſo much emotion, ſo many oaths and menaces againſt this baron de Roſny, that I was never ſo well diverted in my life, as at the figure I made on this occaſion.

When he had vented all his rage, I told him that I was well enough acquainted with the affair he mentioned to me, to aſſure him, that the baron de Roſny durſt not have done any thing in it but by the king's expreſs command; and that his majeſty would not fail to repair his loſs of Feſcamp, by a recompence wherewith he would have reaſon to be contented. I did not think it neceſſary to carry my civility ſo far as to promiſe him to ſerve his reſentment againſt that baron of whom he complained ſo bitterly; on the contrary, I told him that if he knew the baron de Roſny, he would confeſs that a man who, for the good of the ſtate, voluntarily reſigned his abbey of Saint-Taurin, could only be influenced by neceſſity to do what he attributed to injuſtice. I took leave of him ſaying, that I ſhould be glad to ſee him when I arrived at court, where I promiſed to ſpeak to the king concerning him, and to obtain the equivalent he demanded for the loſs of Feſcamp. Bois-roſé went away as much pleaſed with me as diſſatisfied with the baron de Roſny; but having enquired my name of one of my pages, whom he met at the bottom of the ſtair-caſe, he was thunder-ſtruck to hear the name of a man whom he had talked of in ſuch harſh terms to himſelf; ſo that being apprehenſive of the reſentment he ſuppoſed I entertained againſt him, he mounted his horſe again inſtantly, went to another inn, and ſet out with all poſſible expedition for Paris, that he might get thither before me, and ſecure himſelf againſt the bad offices he expected from me, by ſome powerful protector.

The adventure did not end here. While Bois-roſé took precautions againſt me as an irreconcileable enemy, I with more tranquility purſued my route by Mante, from whence I brought my wife to Paris. The firſt thing I did after my arrival, was to wait on the king, and give him an account of my journey. He, according to his uſual cuſtom, obliged me to inform him of the minuteſt particulars. After having exhauſted every thing that was ſerious, I was willing to divert him with

with the ſcene at Louviers; for Bois-roſé had taken no notice of that, and had only conjured his majeſty not to be prejudiced by what I might ſay againſt him, on account of an ancient quarrel between us. The king laughed heartily at the adventure of Bois-roſé. I ſent for him, and he finding I was the perſon to whom he was referred, believed his affairs deſperate: I enjoyed his uneaſineſs and perplexity for ſome time, and afterwards drew him out of it in a manner that ſurprized him greatly. I ſolicited warmly in his favour, and obtained for him a penſion of twelve thouſand livres a year, a company with an appointment, and two thouſand crowns in hand. He had not hoped for ſo much; but, his bluſtering apart, I looked upon him as an officer of great courage and reſolution; and afterwards bound him more cloſely to me, and thought him worthy of the poſt of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, in Normandy, when the king had made me grand maſter of it. 1594.

I CONCEALED nothing from the king of all that had happened to me at Rouen, except the preſent of the ſide-board of gilt plate. He was aſtoniſhed one morning to ſee it brought into his chamber. I told him, that, having in vain endeavoured to hinder the city of Rouen from making me this preſent, I came to bring it to his majeſty, as a thing which belonged to him, ſince I had bound myſelf by a ſolemn vow, never on ſuch occaſions to accept of any gift from his ſubjects, while I continued in his ſervice.

AND here it ſeems not improper to declare my reaſons for this conduct, which I am perſuaded will not be thought a well concerted ſtratagem to gain greater riches; for although the rewards I received from the king were very conſiderable, and even ſurpaſſed my expectations, it will be readily allowed that a man, who for ſo long a time had almoſt the ſole management of the finances and the army, was able to enrich himſelf by a much ſhorter method. It is not neceſſary that I ſhould name it; the paſt age has afforded but too many examples of it; and notwithſtanding all my endeavours to introduce a contrary cuſtom, the future I doubt will ſupply many more.

INTEREST therefore being out of the queſtion, my reſolution to avoid receiving any obligations will be placed to the ſcore of vanity. Againſt this imputation I can offer only a ſimple aſſurance, but a very ſincere one; that I acted thus from no other motive, than the deſire of teaching thoſe who might ſucceed me in the conduct of affairs, that

1594. in this reſpect there is no difference between them and ſuch as are ſet over the diſtribution of juſtice; for if a judge who appears willing to receive preſents, even without any intention of being influenced by them, is looked upon with abhorrence, a miniſter, and any man inveſted with a public employment, renders himſelf equally guilty, who willingly receives gifts, which thoſe who beſtow have always in view the indemnifying themſelves ſome time or other, either at the king's or the people's expence. If we cannot depend on the rectitude of intention of thoſe who make us theſe preſents, (it is to my ſucceſſors I addreſs myſelf now) much leſs can we on our own who receive them; and let us accuſtom ourſelves to regard as two things which can never be reconciled, our maſter's profit, and our own, unleſs, as I have obſerved before, it ſhould be himſelf who beſtows gifts on us; and his liberality will always go ſo far as to leave us no cauſe to complain of him upon this account, after we have been able to convince him that our expectations are confined to him alone. But unfortunately, being accuſtomed to calculate and to ſee immenſe ſums paſs through our hands, we are led inſenſibly to conſider as a ſmall matter thoſe that ſuffice to raiſe a fortune for one individual.

The king did not ſcruple to own that he was not uſed to this ſort of reaſoning; and that if this ſyſtem, ſimple as it was, could be once eſtabliſhed in the finances, it would be a ſure method of enriching both the king and the ſtate; a method that before and ſince has been ardently ſought for in vain. He would not have accepted the ſide-board, but to accommodate himſelf to my way of thinking, by obliging me to take it from his hand. This preſent became publicly known, becauſe he granted me a writing*, in which it was ſpecified, that this ſide-board was a preſent made by the city of Rouen to his majeſty, who had beſtowed it upon me; and the next day this prince ſent me three thouſand

* Roſny's diſpoſition agreed perfectly well with the king's. When he truſted the finances to his care, he deſired him to receive no preſent whatever without his knowledge; and when Roſny informed him of any that were offered to him, the king immediately permitted him to accept of them, being ſo deſirous that he ſhould find his advantage in ſerving him faithfully, that he often added gifts of his own to thoſe perquiſites, to encourage him to perſevere in his integrity. But Roſny never received them till they were duly regiſtered in the chamber of accounts, that every one might know the bounty of his prince towards him; by which means he would avoid the reproach of abuſing his favour to empty his coffers. Peref. pag. 227. This writer as well as the reſt of the world were, through the duke of Sully's modeſty at that time, ignorant that he himſelf was the contriver of this judicious ſcheme.

crowns,

crowns, in his own ſtrong box, to make me ſenſible that ſuch an action in a miniſter ſhould not go unrewarded. I now fulfill his views by informing the public of this double donation. 1594.

Admiral Villars appeared ſoon after at court, with a train of more than an hundred gentlemen, ſome of whom were of the greateſt families in France; but people ſoon drew off their attention from the magnificence of his horſes, and the grandeur of his equipages, to fix it upon his generoſity and modeſty, in which indeed true riches conſiſt, although they are ſeldom poſſeſſed by the ſame perſon. He approached the king with an air perfectly noble, yet full of the deepeſt reſpect, and threw himſelf at his feet. "Admiral," ſaid the king, in pain at this poſture, and raiſing him haſtily, "ſuch ſubmiſſion is due only to "God;" and reſolving to elevate as much as the admiral had humbled himſelf, he began to expatiate to the courtiers upon the great actions which Villars had performed, and did it with a diſcernment ſo juſt as gave them new merit. The admiral, by proteſtations of reſpect, and devotion to his ſervice, endeavoured to ſtop the courſe of thoſe praiſes; and afterwards perceiving the duke of Montpenſier, he went up to him, and, kiſſing his hand, acknowledged him his ſuperior, reſigning to him his government of Rouen with ſo good a grace, that this prince, who had at firſt received him coldly, being charmed with his generoſity, embraced him ſeveral times; and from that moment received him into the number of his moſt valued friends.

The months of April and May were employed in the ſame manner by the king and his council, in receiving deputies from the different cities and governors, who came to treat upon conditions for ſurrendering. Thoſe of Lyons and Poitiers were the moſt conſiderable. A ſtrange fall for the duke of Nemours*! This ambitious man ſuffered the chimerical project of making himſelf king of France, by marrying the Infanta of Spain, to employ his mind; which the public hatred, and the oppoſition of his own brother, the duke of Maienne, obliging him to renounce, he ſoon conſoled himſelf for this diſappointment, by erecting, in idea, a principality compoſed of the provinces of Lyonnois, Beaujolois, Forêt, Maconnois, and Dombes, which he was to hold of Spain. He began by endeavouring to make ſure of the capital of his

* Charles Emanuel of Savoy, duke of Nemours, ſon of James, and Anne d'Eſt, widow of Francis of Lorrain, duke of Guiſe.

new

1594. new kingdom, but the Lyonnois *, more ſubtil than he, took care to ſecure the perſon of their pretended ſovereign, who treated them already like a tyrant; and conſidering him in that light, kept him confined, without any intention however of breaking with the party. The league was offended at the affront offered to one of their leaders; and Saint-Sorlin †, the duke of Nemours' youngeſt brother, intereſting Spain in his cauſe, obtained from the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Terra Nova, governor of Milan, a powerful ſupply of forces, with which he fell upon the Lyonnois. This violence determined them to ſeparate openly from the league; and calling in colonel d'Ornano to their aſſiſtance, they declared openly for the king, pulled down and dragged the arms and colours of Spain, Savoy, and Nemours in the dirt, burnt with inſulting raillery, in the public ſquare, the effigies of a woman, in the habit of a ſorcereſs, with this inſcription on her forehead, *The league*; and allowed only three months time to all the little towns dependent upon Lyons, to return to their duty.

The duke of Nemours remained in great perplexity during this tumult; and apprehending ſomething worſe than confinement from his pretended ſubjects, to effect his eſcape, put on the habit of his valet de chambre, whom he reſembled in his ſtature, and going out of his apartment with his cloſe-ſtool pan in his hand, paſſed through the antechamber where the guards were, without being known, becauſe he turned his face aſide, as if to avoid the bad ſmell; from thence he ſtole into the ſtreet, and gained the fields; too happy, after ſo much imaginary grandeur, to abandon, like a fugitive, a city which he had deſtined for the ſeat of his glory; and convinced by ſad experience of a truth to which we are always blind, that there is nothing ſo difficult as to make effects anſwer our deſires.

Ambition made alſo another madman. Balagny ‡ ſeeing himſelf governor of Cambray, a place by its ſituation of great importance for

* Perefixe ſuppoſes the duke of Maïenne himſelf to be the author of the revolt of Lyons, it being his deſign to ſnatch this city out of the hands of his half-brother. What the duke of Sully ſays here of the duke of Nemours, ought not to hinder us from doing him juſtice in other reſpects: he is allowed by all the hiſtorians, to have poſſeſſed very great and amiable qualities, both of mind and perſon, and to have been one of the moſt deſerving noblemen in all France. See his panegyric, and that of the marquis de St. Sorlin, his brother, in the third vol. of the Memoirs of Brantome, under the article of monſieur de Nemours, pag. 23. and following; and the account of the affairs of Lyons, in Cayet, book vi. fol. 299, and other hiſtorians.

† Henry de Savoy-Nemours, marquis of Saint-Sorlin.

‡ John de Montluc, baſtard of John de Montluc, biſhop of Valence.

the

the king, had the boldneſs to demand his title of governor to be changed into that of ſovereign prince, and the misfortune to obtain his requeſt. Hence he flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſee his name increaſe the catalogue of crowned heads, and forgot that he wanted means to maintain himſelf in that elevated rank. He maintained it, or thought to have done ſo, by exhauſting his purſe to appear with magnificence at court, and to ſend to the ſiege of Laon two thouſand arquebuſiers, and three hundred horſe. But the glory of this new potentate was of ſhort duration; he, as well as Nemours, ſplit upon the common rock ſo fatal to ambitious men, who can never be perſuaded to believe, that the beſt concerted ſchemes are thoſe which afford only moderate advantages, but thoſe advantages ſubjected to no changes, and ſecured from all dangers. 1594.

The Spaniards ſeeing that in the center of the kingdom every thing ſlipped through their hands, reſolved to ſtop the torrent by ſome important blow, and laid ſiege to La-Capelle. The king did not balance a moment upon the neceſſity of leaving all his domeſtic affairs, to go and prevent the reduction of this place. His ſoldiers however were not in the ſame diſpoſition; weary of war, they ſought only to loſe the remembrance of it in retirement and eaſe: ſo much time therefore was waſted before the king could draw his army together, that although he marched before with a ſmall body of troops, yet he came too late; he found the ſiege ſo far advanced, and the count of Mansfield, who commanded it, ſo advantageouſly poſted, that, weak as he was, he could not venture to force him. But the place being of great ſtrength, he flattered himſelf that the governor would hold out long enough to give time to the reſt of the troops to join him, and then he would be in a condition either to throw ſupplies into the place, or force the beſiegers to a battle. But this governor, following the maxim of thoſe times, attentive only to his own profit in every thing, had been ſo ſparing of proviſions, ammunition, and ſoldiers, to man his garriſon, that he was obliged to ſurrender much ſooner than with a contrary conduct he need to have done, and thus ſaw himſelf ruined by his avarice.

The king, by way of repriſal, inveſted Laon: he was not ignorant that the league had put this place, already ſo ſtrong by its ſituation and fortifications, into a condition ſufficient to make whoever attacked it repent of his attempt. Du Bourg * was governor of it; one of the beſt

In Paradin.

* He choſe rather to go out of the Baſtile, of which he was governor, publickly with the Hack ſcarf, than to receive a bribe to put it into the king's hands. P. de l'Etoile. Cayet, vol. II. pag. 691. He was called Antoine du Moine, ſurnamed du Bourg or l'Eſpinaſſe.

1594. and moſt experienced officers the duke of Maïenne had in his army: the duke's ſecond ſon, the count of Sommerive *, with a great number of the nobility, was ſhut up there. The king therefore, conſidering that, on this occaſion, he had his military reputation to ſuſtain, a reputation to which he owed all his ſucceſs, neglected no care or attention, to accompliſh his enterpriſe.

I attended him joyfully to this ſiege, and was charged, according to my taſte, with the direction of a battery of ſix pieces of cannon, conjointly with the elder de Born, who, in quality of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, had the conduct of it in the abſence of the count de la Guiche † grand maſter, and conſented to take me for his collegue. Scarce had I taken poſſeſſion of my new employment, when I was obliged to abandon it. The king was informed by letters from Paris, that the count d'Auvergne ‡, with d'Entragues, his father-in-law, had begun thoſe ſecret practices againſt him which afterwards had like to have brought him to a ſcaffold; and that many diſaffected and ſeditious perſons daily reſorted to Paris. A violent diſpute had likewiſe juſt commenced, between the univerſity and curates of Paris, on one ſide, and the jeſuits on the other; which, in a government yet hardly eſtabliſhed, might produce dangerous conſequences.

John de Durefort, lord de Born.

This news convinced his majeſty that there was a neceſſity for having a vigilant and faithful agent in that great city; yet he delayed mentioning the affair to me, becauſe he knew well that I ſhould not be pleaſed with an employment which would oblige me to leave the ſiege. However, a letter which I received from the cardinal of Bourbon, and which I could not avoid ſhewing him, determined him to propoſe it to me. The cardinal, without giving a particular account of what had happened at Paris, only expreſſed himſelf ardently deſirous of ſeeing me, upon affairs of great importance, which he ſaid I only could ſucceed in. Although all this had only the air of a com-

* Charles Emmanuel of Lorrain, count of Sommerive.

† Philibert de la Guiche, governor of Lyons, was made grand maſter of the ordnance in the year 1578, in the room of the marechal de Biron.

‡ He will be mentioned in the ſequel. Charles of Valois, duke of Angouleme, grand prior of France, ſon of Charles IX. and of Mary Touchet, lady of Belleville, daughter of the lieutenant particulier of Orleans. She died in the year 1638, aged 89 years, and the duke of Angouleme in 1639. He was ſon-in-law to Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues, who by his marriage with Mary Touchet, had Henrietta de Balzac, marchioneſs of Verneuil, miſtreſs of Henry IV. and half ſiſter to the count of Auvergne.

pliment,

pliment, yet his majesty thought he ought not to neglect this advice: and had these affairs related only to the cardinal, the king had so many motives for being solicitous about him, that when he had read this letter, he commanded me to prepare for returning to Paris; which I obeyed, but with great regret at quitting the siege. There was a necessity to fill up the employment I left vacant with a man whose fidelity could be depended upon. I named to his majesty Vignoles, Parabere, and Trigny, and he chose Parabere. I flattered myself that when the affairs which called me to Paris were terminated, I should return to Laon; and I was resolved to use all possible expedition with them; but they were succeeded by others, and that so soon, that from the end of May to the beginning of August, which was the time this siege lasted, all I could see of it was in those little excursions I sometimes made thither from Paris; therefore my account of it will be equally interrupted. 1594.

John le Boutellier de Parabere.

Having received the king's last instructions for my journey, I set out, and reached Crêpy the first night, where I lay, and the next day arrived at Paris. I waited upon the cardinal immediately, and found him * very ill, and as much weakened in mind as body: he embraced me tenderly, and discovered great joy at seeing me; then ordering his chamber to be cleared, made me sit down by his bedside, that I might hear the many important things he had to say to me. Those he began with gave me no great opinion of the rest; but they were such as sat nearest his heart, although they consisted only of domestic uneasinesses, and female quarrels, which I am almost ashamed to entertain the public with. A certain lady, named madam de Rosieres, was the cause of them. The cardinal, either through jealousy, or a disturbed imagination, had taken it into his head, that she hastened his death by magic, to be revenged on him for sowing dissension between her and the abbé de Bellozanne, her favourite: his only consolation was, that if he did not die, his murderess would. My wife had informed him that this madam de Rosieres was dangerously ill; and probably it was upon this information that he had formed his whole dream of magic and death.

He imparted all these secrets to me with such apparent dejection, that I did not doubt but the full possession, which these extravagant notions had taken of his mind, contributed in a great measure to

* The moment he perceived himself ill, he departed from Gaillon, and came to St. Genevieve, and afterwards to his fine house of the abbey of St. Germain, according to de Thou, book cix.

1594. haſten his death. I endeavoured to bring him back to reaſon; and he at laſt was able to ſpeak to me of his other affairs, which he had like to have forgot. Next to madam de Roſieres, the king was the perſon of whom he complained with greateſt bitterneſs; for his mind was in ſuch a ſtate, that he inveighed moſt againſt thoſe whom he loved the beſt. He aſked the king's permiſſion to diſpoſe of his benefices; and his majeſty, he ſaid, had not received his requeſt very favourably, which, he added, could only be occaſioned by this prince's not having any regard for him, or that he was not ſincerely attached to the catholic religion; (for how indeed could he be a good catholic, and diſoblige a cardinal?) Afterwards, without conſidering whom it was he was ſpeaking to, he intreated me to defend the romiſh religion to the king, to confirm him in it, to prevail upon him to keep up a cloſe correſpondence with the pope, to demand the holy father's benediction, that he might afterwards obtain of him the diſſolution of his marriage with queen Margaret of Valois, and be at liberty to marry another princeſs, by whom he might have children that would ſecure the crown to the houſe of Bourbon, and peace and tranquility to France. The end of this diſcourſe was much more judicious than I had reaſon to expect: nor was the pope's panegyric improperly introduced in it; for it muſt be confeſſed that Clement the eighth was not only poſſeſſed of great wiſdom and juſtice, but alſo ſo good a politician, that the court of Madrid could never boaſt of having deceived him by their artifices.

The cardinal afterwards brought the affair of the jeſuits upon the carpet; and although, as a man devoted to the court of Rome, he openly favoured them, yet the arguments he made uſe of to prevail upon me to ſupport them, were founded upon policy and the intereſt of the king, and ſo judicious, that I was convinced his underſtanding was not impaired by ſickneſs, but only on occaſions where he was perſonally concerned. All the ſteps I took in that affair were in conſequence of his eminence's prudent reflections on the danger of baniſhing the whole ſociety from France in ſuch a conjuncture; for, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, nothing leſs was in agitation.

A fourth affair, which he recommended to me, was to ſupport, againſt the ſuperintendant, the old archbiſhop of Glaſgow in Ireland, whom he loved and honoured as if he had been a near relation. This archbiſhop bore the name of Bethune *. The queen of Scotland his

* James de Bethune, archbiſhop of Glaſcow, or Glaſgow, in Scotland, and not in Ireland, came to Paris in quality of ambaſſador in ordinary from the queen of Scotland, and died there in the year 1603, aged eighty-ſix years; having, during fifty-

benefactreſs being dead, all he now deſired was to ſpend the ſhort remnant of his life in peace, far from his native country: but in the ſuperintendant he found an enemy, to whoſe perſecutions he was perpetually expoſed and who ſeemed reſolved to drive him, if poſſible, out of France. I never could diſcover the true cauſe of this hatred; perhaps it was owing to the attachment this prelate always ſhewed to the family of the Guiſes, from whom the queen * of Scotland his miſtreſs was deſcended. The cardinal ſaid, that it had no other foundation than the intereſt he took in whatever concerned the archbiſhop: and it is certain that, as often as his eminence ſolicited the ſuperintendant in favour of the old prelate, he ſeemed to be more eagerly bent upon his deſtruction. The cardinal therefore intreated me to prevail upon the king to take the archbiſhop under his protection: he had promiſed to have no concern, for the future, in any affairs, either within or without the kingdom: indeed he was no longer capable of it, nor could his conduct be juſtly reproached with any fault. To gain me entirely over to his intereſts, the cardinal told me that this archbiſhop had ſo great an affection for me, that he wept continually for my unhappineſs in being educated in the proteſtant religion. 1594.

He reſumed again the ſubject of his benefices, with which he concluded his diſcourſe; and earneſtly entreated me to obtain for him his majeſty's permiſſion to reſign them, confeſſing that the poſſeſſion of theſe benefices had given dreadful uneaſineſs to the deceaſed cardinal his uncle, from whom he had them, as well as to himſelf, ſome of them having been forcibly taken from families who were the lawful proprietors of them; and his eminence thought he ſhould make a ſufficient atonement both for himſelf and his uncle, and pacify his conſcience, by reſtoring them to the injured perſons after his death. He

ſeven years, ſuffered great viciſſitudes of fortune, after the murder of cardinal de Bethune, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, his uncle, which happened in the year 1546. His epitaph may be ſtill ſeen in the church of St. John of Latran. Amelot de la Houſſaye, in his Memoirs, mentions the proceſs that Nicolas Denetz, biſhop of Orleans, had with Maximilian Francis, duke of Sully, in which it appears that they unjuſtly diſputed the right this family had to the name of Bethune. "However this "may be," ſaid he, ſpeaking of this archbiſhop, "the family of Betun in Scot- "land, from whence were deſcended the "cardinal archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and "the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, ambaſſador "from queen Mary Stuart in France, "where he died in 1660, or 1601, (here "is an error in the date) is acknowledged "by meſſieurs de Sully, and de Charoſt, "for a branch of their houſe." Vol. II. p. 68. Therefore, according to our Memoirs, both the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and the archbiſhop of St. Andrews' true true was Bethune, and not Betun.

* Mary of Lorrain, daughter of Claude, duke of Guiſe, married in the year 1530 to James Stuart, king of Scotland.

1594. had finiſhed all he had to ſay to me, when his phyſician entered the chamber. Duret *, for it was he, having recommended ſilence to his patient, took upon himſelf the care of acquainting me with all the ſecrets of the cardinal, whoſe confidence he poſſeſſed; and he acquitted himſelf of this taſk like a man who had a great opinion of his own eloquence, for he wearied me ſufficiently. I made no other anſwer to his tedious harangue, than reiterated promiſes of ſerving his eminence.

During the three days which I paſſed at Paris, I was ſufficiently convinced of the dangerous correſpondences carried on by the count d'Auvergne, d'Entragues, and his wife. Their houſe was the rendezvous for all the king's enemies, either in the league or the Spaniſh party: every night they held ſecret councils againſt the king's intereſt and ſervice. Till I ſhould have an opportunity of conferring with his majeſty upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken to ſuppreſs this wicked cabal, I repreſented to meſſieurs de Chiverny †, de Pontcarré, de Bellievre, and de Maiſſe, that they could not watch too narrowly the motions of theſe diſaffected perſons; and I particularly recommended it to Maiſſe, whoſe diligence I was well acquainted with.

I afterwards applied myſelf with a particular attention to the affair of the jeſuits, againſt whom a proceſs was actually commenced before the parliament, and vigorouſly purſued by the univerſity and curates of Paris, who accuſed them with having monopolized to themſelves the education of the youth, and the direction of conſciences; repreſented them as a ſociety very pernicious to the ſtate; and propoſed their being baniſhed as ſuch from all the dominions of France. It was far from being certain, that all theſe enemies of the ſociety would triumph over them, even if the king ſhould not interpoſe his authority. The jeſuits, on this occaſion, exerted all their power. The party was already ſo well ſupported, that, without laying any ſtreſs upon the pope, Spain, and their partiſans in the league ‡, who were not few, one half of the parliament was on their ſide, and openly ſolicited in their favour. The cauſe was at laſt put into the hands of counſel in the higheſt fame at the bar: the jeſuits retained Duret, and Verſoris ‖; and

* Lewis Duret, lord of Chevry.

† Philip Hurault de Chiverny, or Cheverny, lord chancellor of France.——Canus de Pontcarré, maſter of requeſts. Pomponne de Bellievre. Andrew Hurault ſieur de Maiſſe; in the following year he was made ambaſſador to Venice.

‡ The cardinal of Bourbon, the ſuperintendant d'O, Antony Seguire, king's advocate, and a great many others, publicly ſolicited for the jeſuits.

‖ The cauſe was tried privately, on the 18th of April, 1594. Antony Arnaud pleaded for the univerſity, and their

their adverſaries Arnaud and Dollé. In Paris nothing was talked of but theſe two powerful factions. 1594.

I REFLECTED upon what the cardinal de Bourbon had repreſented to me, That there was no extremity to which this order would not proceed, ſtimulated either by revenge, or by the hope of forcing us to repeal their baniſhment: That by their intrigues they might animate part of Europe againſt us, make their perſecution be looked upon as an injury offered to religion itſelf, and bring the king under a ſuſpicion of being ſecretly attached to that which he had juſt quitted; which, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, might have very dangerous conſequences, Clement VIII. not having yet been able to reſolve upon granting the abſolution ſolicited for at Rome; the king being engaged in one of thoſe enterpriſes, the event of which is always ſo uncertain, and often ſo dangerous; and, in a word, the catholics who had moſt power in the kingdom, as well as thoſe who were at Paris, as thoſe that filled the court, fearing, or ſeeming to fear, for their own intereſt, that they had not yet ſufficiently provided for the ſecurity of the romiſh religion in France. I was ſenſible that meſſieurs de * Longueville, Nevers, and Biron, had publicly expreſſed themſelves to this purpoſe, and had uſed all their endeavours to communicate their apprehenſions to the cardinal of Bourbon, by means of d'Entragues, d'Humiers, des Sourdis, and others. It is not my deſign to impute here any bad intentions to theſe perſons; but it is certain, that amongſt theſe zealous catholics there were few who were not actuated by a motive like that of Biron, who did not propagate theſe ſort of diſcourſes till he had loſt all hope of obtaining the government of Laon.

BE this as it will, prudence, I thought, required that the authority of the abſent king ſhould not be expoſed for a quarrel between prieſts and theologiſts: and did not doubt but his majeſty, in ſuch a caſe, would

Claude Duret, in few words, for the jeſuits. Peter Barne, a jeſuit, ſyndic of the college of Clermont, at preſent the college of Louis le Grand, defended them more fully by a *factum*, in which were many ſolid arguments. He there juſtifies the obedience his ſociety pays to the pope; denies that in any part of their ſtatutes they are permitted to dethrone kings, or to murder tyrants; which, in reality, was a calumny invented by their enemies: he proves, on the contrary, that they were forbid by the court of Rome to concern themſelves with any public affairs, &c. A proceſs had been commenced againſt the jeſuits in the parliament by the ſame parties, thirty years before, concerning their eſtabliſhment in the kingdom; which was ſtill depending in the parliament, inſtead of a peremptory decree, made one, by which the petitions of the univerſity and clergy of Paris were added to the inſtruments of this former proceſs, to be decided together: this they might eaſily have prevented, and yet they did not. De Thou, b. cx. Hiſtory of the univerſity of Paris, vol. VI. p. 866. and others.

* Henry d'Orleans, duke of Longueville.

chuſe

1594. chuſe the moſt moderate ſide. I therefore declared to the council, that the king did not think the accuſations, which were brought againſt the jeſuits, of ſufficient importance to authoriſe any harſh treatment of them; and that his majeſty would be determined by their future behaviour to the ſtate and himſelf, whether he ſhould baniſh them, or permit them to continue in France: and that till he had given more poſitive orders concerning them, he abſolutely forbad any violent proceedings againſt thoſe fathers; that no invectives * ſhould be per-

* Antony Arnaud pleaded with ſuch vehemence againſt them, that, according to l'Etoile, who had no kindneſs for the jeſuits, he was blamed for it even by perſons who hated theſe fathers; and that the firſt preſident obliged him to be ſilent. By the epithets which M. de Thou gives to the advocates for the univerſity and clergy, it is plain, that he, like all other unprejudiced perſons, thought they diſcovered too much heat in their proceedings againſt the jeſuits; although on this occaſion, as well as all others, this hiſtorian declares himſelf abſolutely againſt the ſociety. In the Memoirs of the league I find that the enemies of the jeſuits raiſed another complaint againſt them, but ſo improbable, that they were forced to drop it; this was, that they carried children away from their parents, to tranſport them out of the kingdom.

As to the article relating to the inſtruction of youth, no one, I believe, will appeal from the deciſion of a man, whoſe reflections upon every part of government are known to be ſuperior to all others. Cardinal Richelieu, in his Political Teſtament, part i. chap. ii. § 10. after weighing, as was uſual with him, the arguments for and againſt the univerſity and the jeſuits, decides the queſtion in theſe terms: "Neither reaſon nor juſtice allows, that "we ſhould deprive an ancient profeſſor "of that he has a right to hold: and the "general intereſt cannot ſuffer a ſociety, "not only reſpectable for their piety, but "celebrated for their doctrine, as the je"ſuits are, to be prevented from the exer"ciſe of a function which they perform "with great utility for the public . . . It "is reaſonable, therefore, that the univer"ſity and the jeſuits ſhould both be al"lowed to teach, that each, through an "emulous deſire of excelling the other, "may be animated to a full exertion of "their powers; and that the ſciences may "be ſecured to the ſtate, by being re"ſigned to the care of their guardians; "ſo that if one party ſhould happen to "loſe ſo ſacred a charge, it may be found "with the other."

With regard to the direction of conſciences, this great miniſter gave into the general opinion, that by that, and the inſtruction of children of quality, the jeſuits became maſters of the ſecrets of the hearts, and the affairs of all families: but ſtill thinking it would be unjuſt, to interdict the ſociety from this office of the ſacred miniſtry, any more than other prieſts, whether ſecular or regular; he contented himſelf with making this one of the arguments for not leaving to the jeſuits alone the inſtruction of the youth of the kingdom. The Chronologie Septenaire, a work of which the French Mercury is the ſequel, appears to have done more towards the clearing up this affair, than all the other memorials of thoſe times, by the candour and impartiality with which it is written, as well as the comprehenſive manner of treating it. The Septenaire, I ſay, ſpeaking of the great uſe the jeſuits have been to this kingdom in particular, by their erudition, and their zeal againſt innovators; by the purity of their theological tenets; and by their miſſions; from hence it draws up a panegyric, for which we muſt refer to the book itſelf, fol. 349, and which is ſo much the more remarkable, that it was done at the time when jealouſy gave riſe to the blackeſt accuſations againſt the jeſuits. The author of this piece of hiſtory, altho' his name is not prefixed, is the ſame father Victor Cayet who compoſed the Chrono-

mitted

mitted in the pleadings againſt them; and even that their cauſe ſhould be tried in full court. No perſon expected to find in me a protector of the jeſuits; and I may ſay, without vanity, that my recommendation of them at that time would not have been uſeleſs, although I had not ſtrengthened it with the king's authority. In effect, no farther progreſs was made in this affair. 1594.

The reſpect I owed to the cardinal of Bourbon made me reſolve to ſpeak to the ſuperintendant in favour of the archbiſhop of Glaſgow; though I knew well what I had to expect from a man ſo little ſolicitous to conceal the hatred he bore to my whole family, and which a late quarrel with my youngeſt brother had augmented. I hoped to find more juſtice from the king, and I haſtened to join him at Laon, after taking leave of the cardinal, who continued ſtill extremely ill.

At Bruyeres, where I had left my field equipage, I learned that the duke of Maïenne, being in conſtant expectation of a great army, which count Charles of Mansfield was to bring him, had advanced with ſome troops as far as La-Fere, and twice attempted to throw a ſupply of one hundred horſe and two hundred arquebuſiers into Laon; that the firſt was defeated by Givry, and the ſecond by the count of Soiſſons, whoſe turn it was that day to guard the trench: that the king gave always a glorious example to the princes and officers, and mounted guard in the trenches in his turn.

His majeſty was in bed when I arrived at his quarters, although it was three o'clock in the afternoon: he aſked me if I was not ſurprized to find him in bed at ſuch an hour: this bed, however, was only two mattreſſes upon the bare ground. All night, and the preceding day, this prince had been ſtanding at the trench, where he was employed in directing works to be made in the mountain, upon the declivity of which Laon is ſituated, either to change the place of ſome batteries, or to ſhelter the workmen by parapets. He was ſo greatly fatigued ſtanding upon the ground, which was extremely rugged, that ſeveral contuſions roſe in his feet, which did not, however, hinder him from ſtaying to ſee the work carried on till all theſe contuſions burſting, each of his feet became one continued wound, which obliged him to be put to bed, and ſome dreſſings to be applied to them; theſe he ordered to be changed in my preſence, "That you may be "convinced," ſaid he, "I do not act the ſick man unſeaſonably." I

logie Novennaire, where there is an exact relation of this proceſs againſt the jeſuits, Ann. 1594. B. vi. p. 379, 407.

was

1594. was very far, indeed, from entertaining ſuch a thought, and if I accuſed him of any thing, it was of the contrary exceſs. I believe he perceived it; for ſeeking, as it were, to juſtify himſelf, he told me, that he was under a neceſſity of undertaking and ſuperintending this work, which would give him two days advance upon the beſieged city; and that I would not condemn him after I had ſeen it, or, at leaſt, heard an account of it from the connoiſſeurs whom he had ſent to viſit it, and whoſe return he expected at five o'clock.

I took advantage of this opportunity of being alone with the king to give him an account of my journey, which I did, kneeling on a cuſhion which he made me bring to the bedſide. His majeſty, deſirous of authorizing what I had done, ordered Beaulieu-Ruſé to write three letters inſtantly; the firſt, which was addreſſed to the chancellor, regarded the jeſuits, and contained only a repetition of what I had ſaid. In the ſecond, he informed d'O, that it was his intention the archbiſhop of Glaſgow ſhould enjoy the only two abbeys * he had in France peaceably, and juſtified this prelate's paſt conduct by the gratitude he owed his benefactreſs. The third, to the cardinal of Bourbon, was written in the name of Loménie, ſecretary of ſtate, who made known to his eminence, that the king would approve of the diſpoſition he ſhould make of his benefices, and was ready to ratify it, by ſigning himſelf the form he ſhould ſend him, provided he found in it nothing contrary to the canons, the liberties, and cuſtoms of the kingdom. He concluded this letter with an aſſurance of his protection and friendſhip; and as a proof of his confidence, ſent the two others under cover to him, that he might tranſmit them himſelf to the perſons they were directed to; and had the complaiſance to acquaint him with the contents. I deſired Du-Peirat, whom the king ſent with theſe three letters to Paris, to deliver one from me to the cardinal, in which I exhorted him, by every thing that I thought could make any impreſſion upon his mind, to free himſelf from all his domeſtic uneaſineſſes.

These affairs were but juſt over before the arrival of meſſieurs de Biron, Givry, Saint-Luc, Marivault, Parabere, Vignoles, Fouqueroles, and others whom the king had ſent to examine his works of the preceding day, particularly two mines which he had cauſed to be opened. Every one gave his opinion of them to ſhew his own ſkill: they could not agree, and a diſpute inſenſibly aroſe amongſt them: marechal Biron, vain of his great talents for war, by an aſſuming air,

* Notre-Dame de l'Abſie in Poitou, and the priory of St. Peter of Pontoiſe.

and

and a superiority of accent which made him always master of the conversation, could with difficulty bear to hear any one declare himself of an opinion contrary to his. 1594.

The king, perceiving that words grew high amongst them, in order to oblige them to silence, told them he had received notice from three spies, who came one after the other from different places, that the duke of Maïenne and the count of Mansfield had resolved, at all hazards, to throw a very considerable convoy of ammunition and provisions into Laon, in order to avoid a battle; and that this convoy was to set out instantly upon its march, supported by a very powerful escort, with a design to surprize the guard, force themselves a passage, and enter into the besieged city. This afforded a new subject for contestation, which ended at last in Biron's favour, who procured the command of a strong detachment, with which he intended to post himself in the forest between Laon and La-Fere, and to attack both the escort and the convoy. He composed the detachment himself, which consisted of twelve hundred French infantry, all chosen men, eight hundred Swiss, three hundred light horse, two hundred troopers, and one hundred gentlemen of the king's household. I asked the king's permission to go along with this detachment, which he refused me several times, alledging, that there were many things which he wanted me to inform him of; but, upon my repeated importunities, he allowed me to go.

We began our march at six o'clock in the afternoon, and reached the forest at one in the morning, where we advanced cautiously to the extremity of the wood near La-Fere; here we lay in ambuscade. Marechal Biron detained all the passengers we met on the great road, who he thought might carry intelligence of his design into La-Fere; and placed centinels on horseback at the end of the wood, to bring him an exact information of whatever came out of the city. We waited with great impatience till four o'clock in the afternoon, before we heard any news; and then the centinels came to inform us, that the great road from La-Fere to Laon was covered with so long a file of soldiers, and such a vast quantity of baggage of every kind, that they could imagine nothing else but that the whole army of the enemy was advancing. That instant I perceived several of the most resolute amongst us look pale, and whisper to each other, that it was necessary to make our retreat. This, many of us opposed; and the count under declaring himself for this last opinion, it was agreed upon

1594. by a plurality of voices, that ſome one of the troop ſhould be ſent to reconnoitre, and bring back an exact account of what he ſaw. Fouqueroles, whoſe valour and prudence was well known, was choſen, with two others, for this employment; and returning a little time afterwards, informed us, that this ſeemingly formidable line was compoſed of three hundred carts, laden with ammunition, eſcorted by four ſquadrons of one hundred horſe each, who marched before the convoy, followed by eight or nine hundred muſqueteers, an equal number of Spaniſh infantry brought up the rear.

This number not being equal to ours, it was agreed upon, with one voice, that we ſhould attack them; and we only differed upon the manner of doing it: I, with many others, were of opinion, that it would be better to let the convoy enter the foreſt, and afterwards fall upon them in the rear. Givry *, Montigny, and Marivault, who were at the head of the cavalry, were for the negative, and maintained ſo poſitively, that there was leſs danger in attacking them in the open field, that they drew marechal Biron into this opinion. At firſt this method ſucceeded; the cavalry of the enemy gave way as ſoon as they were attacked, though at the beginning they ſhewed great reſolution, and retired to the ſides of the waggons: but we ſoon found whom we had to deal with; the enemy's infantry which were in front waited firmly for our troopers, whom Biron ſent to attack them, and fired upon them with ſuch excellent order as obliged them to give ground. Biron commanded them to return to the charge by the left flank, while he attacked the right, which was evidently the leaſt dangerous. The onſet was ſo terrible that the enemy's foot was forced to retire, and, like the other ſquadrons, take ſhelter in the midſt of the carts, from whence they ſtill continued to defend themſelves: in the mean time the Spaniſh battalion advanced from the rear to the front, and formed itſelf in ſuch a manner, that it was ſupported on all ſides by the cavalry and the waggons, without loſing the aſſiſtance of the firſt battalion: they made ſo vigorous a defence, that all Biron's intreaties and menaces could not hinder our ſix hundred horſe from quitting the fight, extremely weakened. The Swiſs and French infantry, who took their place, found equal reſiſtance. The battle laſted a long time. Biron apprehending, that an action which paſſed ſo near La-Fere would

* Anne d'Anglure, baron of Givry He was killed at Laon a few days after this encounter, and greatly lamented by Henry IV. Francis de la Grange, lord de Montigny: he is mentioned again. Claude de l'Iſle, ſieur de Marivault.

give

give time for a conſiderable ſupply to be ſent to the convoy, if it was not very ſpeedily ended, for a laſt reſource, commanded the hundred gentlemen to diſmount, to add to their other arms, which conſiſted of a ſword and piſtol, a pike, of which he had brought a great quantity along with us; and to bring up to the charge all our foot, both French and Swiſs, which had not yet encountered the Spaniards. Meſſieurs de Guitry *, de Montigny, de Marivault, de Trigny, d'Arambure, de la Curée, de Lopes, d'Heures, and others, advanced in this manner at the head of three hundred foot; and Biron, with an equal number, followed them. I was in the ſecond battalion. They charged us with ſuch fury that the pike and ſuſee became uſeleſs; we fought hand to hand, and even wreſtled with each other. The Spaniards at length gave ground, and, after throwing away their arms †, fled for ſhelter to the woods and waggons. This laſt refuge was of no ſervice to them: we purſued them there, and made a horrible carnage of them: no leſs than twelve hundred were left dead upon the place. We took but few priſoners. Thoſe perſons that were of any diſtinction in the cavalry had time to get back to La-Fere. We neither purſued them, nor the others who had taken ſhelter in the woods, leſt we ſhould be ſurprized and put into diſorder by new troops ſent from La-Fere to their aſſiſtance: on the contrary, we only thought of rallying, and keeping upon our guard, during the time that was neceſſary to reſt and refreſh ourſelves with ſome of thoſe proviſions of which we found great abundance in the convoy. In the night we marched back to the camp, and brought thither, without meeting with any obſtacle, all the enemy's baggage, but ſo pillaged by the ſoldiers, and ſo careleſſly looked after, notwithſtanding the commander's ſtrict orders concerning it, that above four hundred war or baggage horſes were lamed. 1594.

Biron, with the ſame ſupercilious air which he had aſſumed to procure the command in this expedition, preſented himſelf to his majeſty at his return, to receive the praiſes due to his ſucceſs. Having a ſubject ſo copious to diſcuſs, one may eaſily imagine what a man, who knew

* This is not John de Chaumont de Guitry, who has been ſo often mentioned in the Hiſtory and in theſe Memoirs; he died in the year 1592. See his panegyric in M. de Thou, book ciii. The perſon mentioned here was, according to Cayet, called ſo, becauſe he married the heireſs of this family. Chron. Novenn. b. iv. p. 73. But Cayet is miſtaken; John de Chaumont left ſeveral ſons, who bore arms in the king's ſervice.

† La Curée, who was a good judge in theſe matters, attributes the Spaniards defeat to their cuſtom of uſing too long ſwords, and waiſt-belts too ſhort. Vie, 8029. MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi.

1594. not that on ſuch occaſions ſilence is merit, would ſay to enhance the greatneſs of his victory. Indeed his diſcourſe ſeemed to inſinuate that he had that moment fixed the crown upon the king's head: Experience has ſhewn that this haughtineſs which borders a little upon boaſting, of itſelf ſufficiently in the French taſte, commonly ſucceeds with a general who has Frenchmen to lead: with them to ſeem ſure of a victory, goes a great way towards gaining it. The king was not ignorant of this diſpoſition; and he had found very happy conſequences from it on thoſe hazardous occaſions, when the ſoldiers fought only in the countenance and words of their leader, the idea they ought to have of the preſent danger. Hence a ſeeming confidence of ſucceſs became habitual to him, which was imitated by all the general officers; and, as it often happens, many of them, but particularly marechal Biron, carried that confidence ſo far as to become inſupportable to all the others, and even to the king himſelf, who was not on this occaſion the leſs indulgent.

The obliging reception which his majeſty gave to Biron, and thoſe that had followed him, created great jealouſy in the courtiers who were not of the party, and completely turned Biron's head. However, he could not obtain the government of Laon, which was what he aimed at by exalting his laſt action, and arrogating all the glory of it to himſelf alone, as if the others had had no part in it. The king diſcovered his thoughts of it freely to me, and ſeemed on many accounts greatly diſcontented with this marechal. His majeſty told me, that after ſo many cauſes of complaint which Biron had given him, after his having dared even lately to threaten him with going over to his enemies, and the diſcoveries he had juſt made of the correſpondence he carried on with meſſieurs d'Epernon, and d'Auvergne, he could not reſolve to truſt him with the care of a place ſo near the Low Countries as Laon, which ought only to be given to a man * whoſe fidelity had been tried; but he feared, he ſaid, that Biron would keep no meaſures after this refuſal, and would openly join the party againſt him, or, what was ſtill more dangerous, continue near his perſon, while he ſecretly ſided with his enemies. Henry, who from this moment was perſuaded that he would one day have all this to fear from Biron, added, that he perceived this marechal had ſought my friendſhip for ſome time, doubtleſs with an intention to procure my concurrence to a marriage between his

* This government was given to Marivault.

brother,

brother, and mademoiſelle de Saint-Geniès *, my niece, who was one of the greateſt fortunes in France; and he ordered me to take advantage of this new friendſhip, to penetrate into his deſigns. 1594.

THE great convoy being defeated, the king, without any obſtacle, continued the ſiege of Laon, till he received notice that the duke of Maïenne, and the count of Mansfield, far from being diſheartened by this bad ſucceſs, talked of nothing leſs than coming to force the lines of the beſiegers, as ſoon as they had received ſome troops they were in expectation of. Biron treated this news with contempt; but his majeſty, who neglected nothing, was not eaſy about it till Givry, whom he had ſent to reconnoitre, eſcorted by three hundred horſe, with ſtrict orders not to return without a perfect knowledge of the ſituation and forces of the enemy, brought him, at the end of three days, certain intelligence that there was not a ſingle company of them on this ſide the Oiſe; and that the Spaniards were more inclined to return to Flanders than to Laon. The king, relying upon the juſtneſs of this report, that very evening made a party to go and dine the next day at St. Lambert, a houſe dependent upon the domain of Navarre, and ſituated in the midſt of the foreſt, where he remembered to have often gone to eat fruit, milk, and new cheeſe, during the time that in his youth he had ſtaid in the caſtle of Marle; and he ſtill promiſed himſelf great pleaſure in ſeeing it again.

ABOUT thirty of us attended him to St. Lambert, where, as he had paſſed part of the preceding night in viſiting as uſual the trenches, batteries, and mines, he fell aſleep as ſoon as he had dined: his good conſtitution, joined to a habit of fatigue, had accuſtomed him to ſleep in any place, and when he pleaſed, and to wake at any hour. The weather being then extremely hot, eight or ten of us went into the thickeſt part of the foreſt, not far from the great road leading from La-Fere to Laon. We had not gone farther than twelve or fifteen hundred paces, when a noiſe that came from that ſide near La-Fere drew all our attention; it ſeemed to be a confuſed mixture of human voices, ſmacking of whips, neighing of horſes, and a noiſe like the diſtant ſound of trumpets and drums. That we might hear more plainly, we came forwards to the road, from whence we ſaw diſtinctly, eight hundred paces before us, a column of infantry, which appeared to us to be

The foreſt of Folambray.

* Daughter of Elias de Gontault, lord de Badefou, and Sain-Geniès, governor of Bearn, viceroy of Navarre, and of Jacqueline de Bethune, monſieur de Rofny's ſiſter.

foreigners,

1594. foreigners, marching in good order, and without any noiſe: that which we had heard proceeded from the ſervants and vagabonds who followed, and thoſe that conducted a conſiderable convoy of artillery which guarded it. Extending our view as far as it was poſſible, ſo great a number of troops appeared to us to defile after theſe waggons, that we did not doubt but the enemy's whole army was there.

We returned immediately, and found the king awake, ſhaking a plum-tree, of whoſe fruit he ſeemed very fond. "Faith, ſire, ſaid "we, ſome men that have paſſed us juſt now, will prepare other "plums for you not quite ſo eaſy of digeſtion." We explained ourſelves in few words; and the king the more readily believed us, having, as he told us, heard a noiſe during the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, which (not being able to imagine that Givry could have acquitted himſelf ſo ill of his commiſſion) he thought had proceeded from his own camp. His majeſty ordered twelve of us, who were ready at hand, to go inſtantly to the different quarters of the cavalry (a liſt of which he always carried in his pocket) to ſpread the alarm there, and bring them all with the utmoſt expedition to his quarter, while at the ſame time others were ſent to the infantry to form them into battalions, and poſt them between the ſame quarter and the trenches. He gave theſe orders as he was mounting his horſe, and although he rode with great ſwiftneſs, he continued giving them to all he met, with the ſame juſtneſs and extent of thought as if he had been long before prepared for a battle. Such was this prince's quickneſs of apprehenſion, and admirable preſence of mind, that nothing eſcaped him; whereas any other, in the ſame ſituation, inſtead of forming a well regulated plan, would have been hardly able to have fixed upon a tolerable expedient. The enemies upon their arrival found every one prepared for them; to which perhaps the whole army owed its preſervation: for it muſt be confeſſed, that if the enemies cavalry, which at the ſame inſtant appeared in the front of the camp, where they formed themſelves into ſquadrons with great expedition, had only been able to have thrown the ſoldiers into a conſternation, which the king and part of the officers being abſent, muſt infallibly have happened by an effect of the firſt ſurprize; it would have been eaſy for them, amidſt that ſudden confuſion, to have defeated great part of the army, and probably fear might have delivered up the reſt into their power.

This example is alone ſufficient to prove of what utility it is for a general of an army, not only to poſſeſs that quality of the mind which takes

takes in all poſſible contingencies, but to be well acquainted with the names, abilities, good and bad qualities of all the officers, as well as the different bodies which compoſe his army, and in his turn to be known by it for him of all the general officers, whoſe advice (the quality of leader apart) they would chuſe in any difficult conjuncture to follow, as the wiſeſt and beſt; to give that advice with firmneſs, but without the oſtentation which ſeems to ariſe from the certainty of having found out the beſt; to inſpire them with a fondneſs for their occupation; to render their diſcipline pleaſing, by never oppreſſing them with orders, but at the ſame time to accuſtom them never to expect that thoſe already eſtabliſhed, will on any occaſion whatever be diſpenſed with or diminiſhed; in a word, to poſſeſs the art of making himſelf be at all times readily obeyed by them, without inſpiring that timidity which keeps them ſilent, when by a ſeaſonable hint they might aſſiſt the thoughts of their leader; an inconvenience which has often been the ruin of many armies, and their commanders. 1594.

Notwithstanding the expedition the king uſed on this occaſion, if the enemy's general had taken advantage of the opportunity which chance had given him, it is probable we might have ſuffered a conſiderable ſhock; but knowing the prince he had to deal with, he durſt not ſuffer the van of his army to appear, till the whole was come out of the foreſt, that one part might be deprived of the aſſiſtance of the other, in caſe the king ſhould be informed of his march, and meet him with his entire army. It happened alſo, that the march of this army was protracted by the breaking of a carriage, upon which a piece of ordnance was placed, which embarraſſed them greatly. The waggons ſplit in pieces when the convoy was defeated, the luggage of which, with the bodies of men and horſes, overſpread the road, cauſed a ſecond embarraſſment ſtill greater: and laſtly, the perſon whom the duke of Maïenne had ſent to reconnoitre a place proper for pitching his camp, did not return ſo ſpeedily as he might have done.

The king took advantage of all theſe delays. He drew out from the trenches as many men as were ſufficient to cover them, without leaving too few within, and ranged the reſt of his army in order of battle before, when the enemies, who no longer hoped to ſurprize him, gave him time. That day was employed on each ſide in chuſing the moſt advantageous poſts for a battle. It was not however the intention of the two generals of the enemy to engage; they dreaded the king's aſcendant, and our cavalry which was almoſt all compoſed of gentlemen.

1594. men. Their whole design by this motion was to oblige the king to raise the siege of Laon by coming to meet them, and afterwards to evade a battle, or throw, at least, in the confusion caused by their arrival, three thousand foot, and three hundred troopers into the place; but as we did not know their intention till afterwards that we were informed of it by some prisoners whom we took, it was not doubted but that there would be a general action the next day; our two camps being so near that we heard distinctly the sound of their trumpets, and the shouts of their soldiers.

In the midst of the ground that separated us from the enemies, there was one single hill almost round, which, with regard to the besieged city, might be of great importance, if the enemy should possess themselves of it. The king, who had sent me to reconnoitre it, gave me two pieces of cannon, to support a regiment that were by his order to post and fortify themselves there. I caused a hut to be erected for myself, and when the king came to visit this post, he found every thing in good order. The next day the enemy making a shew of greater resolution than the evening before, began a skirmish with all their small shot, and endeavoured to make themselves masters of a little wood which lay between the two camps. Above fifty thousand small arms were fired, but with so little effect that Parabere, who came to my hut to sup with me, assured me that they had not twenty men slain, nor twice that number wounded.

Night coming on during this tumult; and the two generals of the enemy's army, who thought of nothing less than engaging farther, took advantage of it to retreat, without being discovered, to La-Fere. The king suffered them to fly, contenting himself with the disgrace they had drawn upon themselves by this ridiculous attempt.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK VII.

I CONTINUED no longer in the camp before Laon after this event. Some difficulties which arose in the treaties, particularly that with the baron de Médavy, obliged me, in obedience to his majesty's orders, to take a journey to Rouen, which was followed by a second to Paris, and another, more considerable than both, to Sedan. 1594.

The duke of Bouillon gave daily new occasions of discontent to the king. When, thro' his majesty's interest, he had married the heiress of Sedan, he promised to bring him a certain number of troops; but he not only neglected to perform this promise, but also retained, without asking the king's permission, the troops which he had lent him to guard his frontier till he was in peaceable possession of his new principality; nor did he make any excuse for not sending them back, or give him any account of the situation of his affairs. His new grandeur inspired him with the vanity of making himself be looked upon as a formidable potentate in Europe. This, which he could not hope from a state so weak and confined as his, he sought to obtain by all sorts of artifices and intrigues in the neighbouring courts. All the malecontents in Europe were sure of finding a protector in him, and

1594. he was the main ſpring that gave motion to the cabals of Auvergne and Entragues.

One day when the king ſent for me ſo early in the morning that I found him in bed, having only Ozeray and Armagnac in his apartment, and that we were all conſulting upon meaſures to prevent the dangerous deſigns of ſo many ſecret enemies, his majeſty dwelt in particular upon the duke of Bouillon, and ſeemed greatly affected with his ingratitude, after having conferred an obligation on him which ought to have bound him for ever to his intereſts. In effect, the king, by promoting his marriage with mademoiſelle de Bouillon, had given him a proof of friendſhip ſo much the ſtronger, in that he acted againſt his own judgment, and the advice of all thoſe to whom he had mentioned it. The next day after this converſation had paſſed, Beringhen preſented a gentleman to the king, in his chamber, who brought him a letter from Bouillon, in which the duke informed his majeſty of the death of his wife, and excuſed his delay, by the grief and perplexity into which her death had thrown him. This letter likewiſe gave the king to underſtand, that madam de Bouillon had left a will, in which ſhe bequeathed the principality of Sedan and all her eſtates to her huſband, and put them under the protection of the king of France; becauſe it was expected, that her relations would give the duke of Bouillon great diſturbance about this donation. "That is to ſay," ſaid the king, when he had finiſhed reading the letter, "that the duke of Bouil-"lon has occaſion for my aſſiſtance: Is not this a very honourable "way of proceeding?"

To humble and puniſh the duke, his majeſty was ſtrongly inclined to leave him to ſtruggle alone againſt theſe difficulties; but the native ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, and the remembrance of the duke's former ſervices, ſtill influenced him in his favour. He anſwered the duke by a compliment of condolance upon the death of the ducheſs of Bouillon; and aſſured him of his willingneſs to aſſiſt him. If the king had thought that this laſt mark of his friendſhip would have recalled and fixed the duke of Bouillon for ever in his duty, the commiſſion of him whom he ſent with this letter would have ended in barely delivering it to the duke; and any inconſiderable perſon might have ſufficed for that: but this prince, accuſtomed to confer benefits only on the ungrateful, would make this deputation anſwer ſeveral purpoſes. He turned towards me, and told me, that in his opinion I was the propereſt perſon to carry this letter, becauſe if of itſelf it was not able to make

make Bouillon adhere conſtantly to his duty, the arguments of a man, who had a right to repreſent it to him ſtrongly, might perhaps accompliſh it; and thus, if neither produced the deſired effect, it was neceſſary to penetrate into the duke's ſecret deſigns, and to examine carefully the will and the ſuppoſed donation of madam de Bouillon. 1594.

This embaſſy ſeemed too like that which had drawn the hatred of the princeſs and count of Soiſſons upon me; and my firſt emotions upon receiving it were cauſed by my grief that the king's ſervice generally engaged me in ſuch affairs. Henry, who gueſſed part of my thoughts, forgot nothing which he imagined capable of leſſening what was diſagreeable in this commiſſion: he told me, That the ſucceſs which fortune ſeemed to annex to all affairs wherein I was employed, as a reward due to my fidelity, induced him to chuſe me, preferably to any other, to tranſact this buſineſs: That none of my ſervices were loſt upon him: And that he took extremely kind the attention I always ſhewed to avoid or break off all connections which were capable of cooling my zeal for him. Speaking theſe words, he embraced me tenderly; adding, with a kindneſs that went to my heart, that he earneſtly intreated me to be careful of my own ſecurity, ſince I ſhould be obliged to paſs through places ſubject to the Guiſes, and to preſerve myſelf for a prince who loved me. Princes who behave in this manner cannot be too faithfully ſerved.

It happened very fortunately that I was at that time very well provided with money, having ſent for remittances from Rofny and Moret, where my wife was: therefore I ſaw myſelf in a condition to ſatisfy, without delay, the king's impatience for my departure. Three hours after I had received this order I went to Bruyeres, where my equipage lay, and, followed by five and twenty troopers well armed, in four days I arrived, without meeting with any bad accident, within view of Sedan. The duke, being informed of my arrival, came to meet me as far as the village of Torcy, which ſeparates this little ſtate from France: there he alighted, and aſſumed a melancholy air to receive my compliments, and to read the king's letter. He loaded me with perſonal civilities; ſeemed charmed with the choice his majeſty had made; and perſiſted (notwithſtanding my repeated inſtances) to treat me as an ambaſſador. I was conducted to very magnificent lodgings, and all the expences of my retinue defrayed. He ſhewed me, with great complaiſance, the fortifications he had raiſed about his caſtle of Sedan, by which, he aſſured me, it would be impregnable. I was

1594. not of the ſame opinion: all the expence the duke was at to ſtrengthen this place, could not ſupply the defect of its ſituation.

The ſiege of Laon, of which the duke enquired ſome news, afforded us matter for entering into a more particular converſation. After reiterated aſſurances of his attachment to the king, the duke aſked me, if the many ſubjects of complaint which his majeſty had received from the Spaniſh Low Countries, had not determined him to carry the war there; and ſpoke to me of this project, as an affair he ardently wiſhed to ſee executed. He dwelt much upon the advantage of this war; upon the manner in which the provinces of Luxembourg, Liege, and Namur, might be attacked; upon the correſpondences which, with this view, he carried on in the principal cities of Flanders; and upon the powerful aſſiſtance he offered to lead there. It was not difficult to believe, that he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to promote a war, of which all the advantage would be his: but it was far from being ſo with the king. His intereſt was not concerned in it; and with regard to him, this fine project was a mere chimera. Indeed the duke, fearing that at court it would be treated with contempt, omitted nothing which he thought might bring me to approve of it, by painting it in the fineſt colours, and with an air of diſintereſtedneſs capable of impoſing upon me. After having thus diſcourſed upon Flanders, he plunged into politics, and diſplayed all the powers of his eloquence in proving to me, that, it being the king's chief intereſt to depreſs the houſe of Auſtria, he could never attain this end but by keeping up a ſtrict union with the proteſtants. The king's late abjuration he ſuppoſed was but a neceſſary ceremony, which had only changed him in appearance; and which he thought to prove ſufficiently, by two or three ſtrokes of raillery upon ſome ſuperſtitious practices of devout catholics, upon the mendicant monks, and the equivocations of the jeſuits *.

The duke of Bouillon ſtopped here, like a man who was afraid to explain himſelf too freely, and looked upon me earneſtly with a feigned inquietude. Hitherto I had liſtened to him without interruption; and diſcovered, without his perceiving it, all the ideas which roſe in that ambitious brain. But many things ſtill remained to be known, for

* The duke de Bouillon was generally known for ſo hot-headed and furious a calviniſt, that praiſe or blame from his mouth, on the opinions as well as on the perſons of catholics, was almoſt of equal weight.

which

which it was only neceſſary to let him ſpeak a long time; for it is not poſſible but that a man, who is at once extremely vain, and a great talker, ſhould, at length, betray all his ſecrets: I therefore forced a ſmile into my countenance, and aſſumed the air of one filled with admiration of his wit, his policy, and his eloquence. The duke's ſelf-love thus agreeably flattered, he did not wait for much intreaty, but reſuming his diſcourſe, he went on to make me ſenſible of the true intereſt of the proteſtants, in the ſituation affairs were at preſent in France. Here it became neceſſary for me to ſupply, by my own ſurmiſes, what he left unſaid; either becauſe the duke of Bouillon's expreſſion ſuffered a little from the conſtraint he laid himſelf under, for fear of falling into ſome indiſcretion *, or that he thought the affectation of a myſterious air did more honour to himſelf and the party, or indeed, that his diſcourſe was built on a ſyſtem ſo ſublime, and ideas ſo abſtracted, that he likewiſe was loſt in it as well as I. 1594.

I RECALLED the duke from this too elevated flight; and he told me in terms more plain, that the proteſtants were ſo much diſguſted at the king's converſion, that he could allay their apprehenſions no otherwiſe, than by declaring war againſt Spain conjointly with them; that, unleſs this was done, it would be impoſſible to perſuade them that they were not made a ſacrifice of, and for the future would be always expoſed to the violences of the French catholics acting in concert with the pope and the Spaniards. This piece of intelligence, from the proof he brought of it, it is probable the duke himſelf thought as falſe as it really was. He ſaid that Villeroy was commiſſioned by the dukes of Lorrain, Maïenne, and Mercœur, to propoſe to the king, who was then at Fountainebleau, this union between France and Spain; and that the pope would not have refuſed the king his apoſtolic benediction, with a bull, acknowledging him king of France, but becauſe he would

* The true character of the duke de Bouillon, is thus given us: "On ſet pur-"poſe he uſed to expreſs himſelf," ſays the writer of his life, "in ſo dark and "perplexed a manner, that he could give to "what he ſpoke any ſenſe that he pleaſed. "He pretended that there were ſome nice "conjunctures, in which a man muſt either "be ſilent, or follow his manner of ſpeak-"ing." Another maxim of the duke de Bouillon's, according to the ſame writer, was, "That a man ought to be very cau-"tious of giving any thing under his hand. "A man interprets what he has ſpoken as "he pleaſes; and he agrees only to ſo much "of it as he thinks proper, retrenching "more or leſs. He approves or diſap-"proves as he thinks convenient. But "the caſe is not the ſame with regard to "what is written, &c." M. de Sully was of a quite contrary opinion. We may find ſome politicians, who will not condemn the duke de Bouillon; but none who does not commend the duke de Sully.

have

1594. have this union the preliminary. To this proof Bouillon added others equally groundleſs, by which he thought to make it appear that the catholics had wholly eſtranged the king from the proteſtants, and had prevailed upon him to uſe them with great injuſtice. The grievances of the proteſtants thus eſtabliſhed, the duke was willing to inform me of the remedy they had thought proper to apply. They were preparing, he ſaid, to fortify immediately all their ſtrong towns, to chuſe a leader out of the kingdom, and within it (but the place he did not name) to eſtabliſh a general council for the affairs of religion, to which all the different churches were to addreſs themſelves, and which was to determine, in the laſt reſort, all the affairs of the ten other provincial councils, into which the calviniſt part of France was to be divided; and that the power of this ſovereign council might be abſolute and unconteſted, a protector or foreign prince was to be put at its head, capable of making it reſpected.

Whilst he was talking of theſe ſubjects, the duke of Bouillon, according to the occaſion he had to dazzle, convince, or deceive me, aſſumed ſucceſſively the character of a friend and ally of the king's, a good proteſtant, or a mere relator of facts, but always that of a man conſummate in the politician's art, and the depoſitary of all the ſecret affairs of the proteſtants. He could not, however, involve himſelf ſo well in myſtery, but that I comprehended plainly enough, that all theſe ſchemes of high and low councils, theſe regulations ſo particulariſed, might very probably have their riſe in the duke's own brain, and not in the ſynods of St. Maixant, and St. Foi, as he would have had me believe. This foreign prince for protector, eſpecially, ſeemed to me to be entirely his own invention, and in reality himſelf, who gave his own views for determined ſchemes, and whoſe ſole end (for what ſprings will not ambition put in motion?) was perhaps merely this; that by communicating theſe deſigns to the court, as if the calviniſts had really formed them, and were ready to put them in execution, I ſhould raiſe the king's indignation againſt them; and by this artifice he would oblige the huguenots to take ſuch a reſolution as he wiſhed, but durſt not openly inſpire them with; which was, to chuſe him for a leader, whom the hatred and complaints of the catholics pointed out to them for a defender. All that happened in the ſequel has but the more confirmed me in this belief.

After having thus, as he imagined, made me ſubſervient to his deſigns, the duke reflected that he ſhould loſe more than he gained, if the

the king, of whose assistance he stood in need, should entertain any suspicion to his disadvantage; he therefore reserved a most refined stroke of policy for the last. This was to assure me, that these proposals had indeed been made him, but that, far from approving them, or offering his assistance, he had done every thing in his power to prevent such designs taking place; in which he had not the good fortune to succeed. Can any thing be imagined more treacherous and crafty! Certainly, if the duke of Bouillon was able to flatter himself, that these arts would leave me in absolute ignorance of the affairs of the protestants, and the dispositions of the seditious, he could not hinder me from perceiving at least some of his own particular sentiments with regard to the prince whom he betrayed. 1594.

I could no otherwise answer a discourse so full of artifice, than by confining myself to plain and simple truths, which is the most effectual way to disconcert these so curiously-disguised politicians. I assured him, in few words, that the king was not, nor ever would be, changed with regard to the protestants; that he was willing to grant them all the advantages they could reasonably demand, but that the present situation of his affairs would oblige him to defer some time longer those testimonies of his friendship: that his majesty had not forgot any of those causes which Spain had given him to hate her: and that he would always preserve a lively resentment of them, even if he were not to enter into the common concern of Europe, to put a stop to the design of the house of Austria for universal monarchy; but that, in order to secure success, it was necessary that all should be quiet within his kingdom, since it might be expected that Spain would defend herself in a different manner, when she saw herself directly attacked, than she had done in a war, wherein she had only engaged as an auxiliary.

I told the duke de Bouillon, that I readily believed all he had said to me with regard to himself, since he must be sensible that the principles of honour, justice, and gratitude, pointed out to him too plainly the conduct he ought to observe with the king, to leave him a possibility of mistaking it. He refused me the troops I demanded for Henry, nor would he permit me even to peruse madam de Bouillon's last will; saying, that she had sealed it in a casket, and exacted a promise from him, that he would not open it but with the usual forms of law, if any one should question the validity of it; and that she had afterwards obliged him to confirm this promise with an oath. It was not difficult for me to comprehend that any remonstrances from me would be useless; therefore,

1594. therefore, my commiſſion being now completed, I reſolved to return immediately to Laon.

I was greatly ſurprized, on my arrival at the camp, to meet the king, who was going to hunt, paſſing ſo near the walls of the city that he was within muſquet-ſhot of it: but I was ſoon informed that both ſides had lain down their arms, the city having capitulated upon condition to ſurrender in ten days, if within that time they were not aſſiſted by an army, or at leaſt if a reinforcement of eight or nine hundred men were not thrown into the place. Henry made me keep cloſe beſide him during the chace, that he might hear all the particulars of my journey. When I told him that the duke of Bouillon refuſed to ſhew me the will of the deceaſed ducheſs, he replied, that he knew from thence what he ought to think of the donation *. He entertained the ſame opinion of the duke of Bouillon as I did, "who offers," ſaid he, "to be a mediator in diſturbances which he himſelf has been the "author of." Nor was he leſs diſpleaſed at his refuſing to ſend the troops he demanded: but in the preſent conjuncture it was neceſſary that his majeſty ſhould diſſemble all theſe occaſions of diſcontent with the duke; and therefore, in public, he ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied

* In order to deſtroy the ſuſpicions which the whole of this account might raiſe as to the reality of that donation of the ducheſs of Bouillon, I will give you what the duke de Bouillon's biographer ſays on this head. "By her laſt will," ſays he, "ſhe "appointed the duke de Bouillon, her huſ-"band, her univerſal heir. It was cur-"rently reported that, notwithſtanding "this laſt will of the ducheſs, the ſuc-"ceſſion would be conteſted with her "huſband: the truth is, Charles de la "Mark, the count de Maulevrier, uncle "to Charlotte de la Mark, alledged that "this ſucceſſion belonged to him, and that "ſhe could not diſpoſe of it, in favour of "her huſband, to his prejudice. The "duke de Montpenſier pretended like-"wiſe, that the ſovereignties of Bouillon, "Sedan, Jametz and Raucourt, could not "be conteſted with him; as he had been "ſubſtituted therein by Robert de la Mark, "the laſt duke of Bouillon. The duke de "Bouillon thought it more eligible to "accommodate matters with theſe two "claimants, than to engage in a law-ſuit, "which would divert him from the exe-"cution of his grand deſigns: the accom-"modation was concluded; and the ſo-"vereign juriſdiction of Bouillon, Sedan, "and Raucourt, remained in property to "him." Hiſt. de Henry duc de Bouil-lon, par Marſolier, tom. II. liv. iv. This hiſtorian likewiſe ſpeaks of the duke de Sully's journey to Sedan, and of the pro-tection which Henry IV. offered the duke de Bouillon on this occaſion. But here we cannot but obſerve, that it would have been much better not to quote, on this ſubject, Sully's Memoirs, than to diſguiſe their ſenſe, and conceal, as he has done, the objection that ariſes from the text of theſe Memoirs: and this ſo much the rather (it would be to no purpoſe to diſſemble it, after all that has been ſaid of it, and very lately, by Amelot de la Houſſaye, in his Memoirs, in the ar-ticle Bouillon la Mark) ſo much the rather, I ſay, as Henry IV. and the duke de Sully, are not the only perſons who ſeem to doubt of the reality of ſuch donation.

with

with all conduct, and determined to maintain him in Sedan. With respect to the war with Spain, which I was commiſſioned to propoſe to him, he deferred deliberating on it to another time, in full council. 1594.

THE count of Sommerive, du Bourg, and Jeannin, finding it impoſſible for them to prevent the inſurrection of the citizens and the garriſon of Laon, who were incenſed againſt them as tyrants that had rendered their domination inſupportable, thought proper to yield before the time preſcribed for delivering the city to the king. They had no longer any hopes of aſſiſtance after the misfortune which happened to a reinforcement the duke of Maienne endeavoured to throw into the place. This reinforcement coming too late near Laon, to have any hopes of ſurprizing the beſiegers, thought it beſt to wait for night in the wood, where they kept themſelves concealed all day. The king hunting in that part of the foreſt at the ſame time, his dogs diſcovered the ambuſcade. The enemies, although eight or nine hundred in number, inſtead of ſhewing themſelves, or attacking the king, who had only three hundred horſe with him, thought they ſhould be able to avoid an abſolute diſcovery by ſeparating, the better to conceal themſelves: but the dogs ſtill continued to purſue them, and the king's troop arriving in the mean time, they were ſurprized in ſo great a diſorder, that our footmen and ſervants only, without any aſſiſtance from the three hundred horſemen, made themſelves maſters of them, and pillaged them entirely.

AFTER the ſurrender of Laon, the king judged it neceſſary to take a journey to the frontiers of Flanders; his chief inducement to it being the hopes that many of theſe cities would ſurrender to him at his approach. The event did not anſwer his expectations; and his majeſty drew no other advantage from his journey, than confirming in their allegiance Amiens, Abbeville, Montreuil, Peronne, and ſeveral other cities, into each of which he made a ſolemn entry. I can ſay no more of the tranſactions here, the king's ſervice calling me at that time to Paris upon affairs of leſs importance than the former, and which for that reaſon I ſhall not enter into a particular detail of, any more than of what paſſed in the different provinces of the kingdom. The reduction of Morlais, and Quimper, by marechal * d'Aumont, with the

* He was killed the following year when beſieging Comper, by a cannon-ball that broke his arm to ſhatters; being upwards of ſeventy years of age: he ſaid no more when he found himſelf wounded, than theſe words, *I have got it.* He was generally eſteemed, and generally regretted. See his eulogy and great qualities in M. de Thou, b. cxiii.

1594. assistance of the English forces; the building of Fort du Croisic, by the duke of Mercœur, at the head of the Spaniards, to be a check upon Brest, were the most considerable exploits of the two parties in Brittany. Savoy, Piedmont, Provence and Dauphiné, continued to be the theatre of a * war always favourable to Lesdiguieres, against the duke of Savoy, notwithstanding the defeat and taking † of Crequy.

The duke of Maïenne, seeing Laon taken, almost all Picardy in the king's party, the chief officers of the league, and the duke of Guise himself, disposed to treat soon of an accommodation with his majesty, yielded at last to the advice of the president Jeannin ‡, who had long pressed him to fix himself in one particular province, and there make powerful efforts in time, to render himself independent; so that, after fortune had subjected all to the king, which he doubted not would soon happen, he might at least have secured a retreat to shelter him in the reverse of his.

Burgundy was the province ‖ fixed upon by the duke of Maïenne; and he marched thither with his forces, after placing good garrisons in Dourlens, La-Fere, and Soissons. Besides his being already in possession of great part of this province, its contiguity to Savoy, Franche Comté, Lorrain, Switzerland, and Germany, from whence he hoped to draw great supplies, was a farther inducement for him to fix there. The pope, and the emperor, seemed to enter into his views: he might strengthen his right of conquest, by a resignation in form, which Spain would grant him so much the more willingly, as by that means she would revive a claim upon Burgundy, long since suppressed, but never wholly renounced. All these probable advantages made it be believed by many persons, that the ancient kingdom of Burgundy was upon the point of being restored. The duke of Maïenne's conduct in these quarters, the remaining part of this year, and till the month of April in the following, supported this opinion; and I had less reason

* See these military expeditions in the historians.

† Charles de Crequy, son-in-law to Lesdiguieres, coming to the relief of Aiguebelle, besieged by the duke of Savoy, was defeated and taken prisoner. This did not happen till 1598.

‡ I know not if the author does not here a little too lightly tax this president: at least it has been said that more than two years before, at his return from Spain, he had been the first to advise the duke de Maïenne to come to an agreement with the king; as being disgusted at the haughtiness and excessive vanity with which the king of Spain in treating with him, had said, *my town of Paris, my town of Orleans*, as if France had actually been his own.

‖ The duke of Maïenne was governor of this province.

than

than any other to doubt of his intention in this reſpect, after the letters I ſaw at Paris, in the hands of the cardinal of Bourbon. 1594.

BUT, unfortunately for the duke of Maïenne, the Burgundians were not diſpoſed to make choice of a ſubject for their maſter: they never before gave ſuch convincing proofs of their fidelity to their ſovereign. The duke of Guiſe beginning with endeavours to ſecure Beaune, by throwing a ſtrong garriſon into it, the burghers roſe againſt them, defeated them, and forced them to ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle: and as they might ſtill ſuffer great inconveniences from them, they fortified themſelves with barricades againſt the caſtle, and invited marechal Biron to come to their aſſiſtance, permitting him to lodge his little army ſix weeks within their walls. They afterwards attacked the caſtle in form, with a battery of twelve pieces of cannon; and carried on their works ſo vigorouſly, that they drove out at laſt the garriſon of the league. I ſhall give an account hereafter of the expeditions in Burgundy; at preſent I muſt leave them, to return to the affairs of the capital.

I PERCEIVED the cardinal's illneſs to increaſe ſo prodigiouſly every day, that, not doubting but his end was very near, I ſtaid at Paris to give the king immediate notice of it. He died without making that diſpoſition of his benefices * which he ſeemed to have ſo ardently deſired. His majeſty was afflicted at his death, having loſt a good kinſman and an affectionate ſubject. He wrote to me, that he was tired with the importunity of ſeveral perſons who coveted the cardinal's ſpoils; and that, to get rid of them, his general anſwer was, that they were already diſpoſed of. His deſigns with regard to theſe benefices were as follows: In the agreement with the abbot de Tiron, certain abbeys belonging to the chancellor and the governor of Pont de l'Arche were yielded to him, for which thoſe two gentlemen demanded to be largely indemnified out of the benefices of the deceaſed cardinal. The king was deſirous that the abbé de Tiron ſhould releaſe theſe abbeys to the proprietors, and receive in exchange for them the archbiſhopric of Rouen, valued at thirty thouſand livres a year, but charged by the king with the payment of a penſion of four thouſand crowns, which he had

* He was archbiſhop of Rouen, abbot of St. Denis, of St. Germain-des-Pres, of St. Ouen and St. Catherine of Rouen, of Ocamp, &c. De Thou repreſents him as a prince who loved learning; he was eloquent, mild, and of an agreeable converſation, but extremely weak. He died on the 28th of July.

1594. promiſed to the chevalier d'Oiſe *, retaining for himſelf Gaillon-houſe, which he deſigned to purchaſe from the abbé; and ordered me to prevail upon him to accept of this equivalent. As for the abbey of St. Ouen, one of the fineſt benefices the deceaſed cardinal had poſſeſſed, the king, as yet, had not beſtowed it on any one; and he had the goodneſs to tell me, that he would not do it without charging it with a penſion of ten thouſand livres for me.

The greateſt difficulty I met with in managing the king's affairs at Paris, was to communicate his prudent oeconomy to the directors of his finances, the ſuperintendant eſpecially. The abuſe of ſuffering the finances to become a prey to favourites (an evil, the ſource of which may be traced back to the reign of Charles VIII.) had in this laſt reign increaſed to ſuch a degree, that had a man of the greateſt induſtry, prudence, and integrity imaginable, been at the head of the finances, he perhaps would not have been able to prevent the bad conſequences of ſo prodigious a diſſipation: and, unhappily, d'O † poſſeſſed none of theſe qualities. His diſpoſition, naturally leaning towards profuſion, indolence, and voluptuouſneſs, had been wholly ruined by all thoſe vices for which the court of Henry III. was famous, deep play, unbounded debauchery, expenſive follies, domeſtic diſorders, and extravagances of every kind. D'O was on a footing with Bellegarde ‡, Souvrai, Villequier, Quélus, Saint-Luc, Maugiron, Saint-Mégrin, Livarrot, Joyeuſe, Epernon, la Valette, du Bouchage, Thermes, and many other leſs declared favourites: and the title of minion was all the recommendation he had for a poſt which the moſt careleſs princes think fit, for their own intereſt, to except from thoſe with which they reward ſuch ſort of ſervants.

* George de Brancas Villars, brother to admiral de Villars.

† Francis d'O, lord of Freſnes, Maillebois, &c. firſt gentleman of the bedchamber, governor of Paris and the iſle of France, ſuperintendant of the finances, &c. "He ſurpaſſed kings and princes in "extravagance and prodigality; for, even "to his ſuppers, he had pies made of muſk "and amber ſerved up, that amounted to "twenty-five thouſand crowns." Journal de l'Etoile, ann. 1594, p. 37.

‡ Roger de St. Larry de Bellegarde. Gilles de Souvrai. Rene de Villequier. Jacques Levis de Caylus or Quélus. Francis d'Epinai de St. Luc. Francis de Maugiron. Paul Stuart de Cauſſade ſieur de St. Mégrin. Jean d'Arces de Livarrot. Anne de Joyeuſe. John Louis and Bernard de Nogaret. Henry de Joyeuſe, count du Bouchage, afterwards a capuchin. John de St. Latry de Thermes, or Auguſtus baron of Thermes. Tho' Souvrai had been one of Henry III's favourites, he ſhould not be ranked in the number of this prince's minions: he was a man of an acknowledged merit and probity. Henry III. ſaid, that if he were neither king nor prince, he would gladly be Souvrai. He refuſed the commiſſion with which Henry III. would have charged him, to aſſaſſinate the marechal de Montmorency, when in priſon. De Thou, b. lxi.

Such was the man by whom the finances were conducted at a time, when, minions and miſtreſſes being excluded from the council, one would have expected they ſhould have been put under other management: and what is ſtill more ſurprizing, the king, in his moſt urgent occaſions, had not even the privilege of dividing his own revenues with the ſuperintendant. D'O did not ſcruple to let him loſe a city or a governor for the want of a very inconſiderable ſum of money, while at the ſame time he denied none to his own pleaſures. Lieramont *, governor of Catelet, applied to me, to ſolicit the payment of his garriſon from d'O: I thought the affair of ſuch importance, that I ſubdued my reluctance to aſk a favour of him, and acquitted myſelf of my commiſſion; but with little ſucceſs. The ſuperintendant, after I had left him, ſaid to meſſieurs d'Edouville † and de Mouſſy, that he had rather ſee this place in the hands of Spaniards than proteſtants. Lieramont was of that religion. Mouſſy, who was my kinſman, repeating this diſcourſe to me, I declared to the ſuperintendant, that he ſhould be anſwerable for the place, if it were loſt for want of this payment. But the menace had little effect on him. 1594.

Fortunately for the king, a retention of urine delivered him, a few days after, from ſo bad a ſubject. And it is worthy of obſervation, that this man, who was poſſeſſed of more than four millions, or rather all the money in the kingdom, which he diſpoſed of almoſt abſolutely; more ſplendid in his equipages, his furniture, and his table, than the king himſelf, was not yet abandoned by his phyſicians, when his relations, who had always ſeemed to bear him great affection, his domeſtics ‡, and ſome others, under the title of creditors, pillaged him with ſuch eagerneſs, and ſo completely, that a long time before he expired there was nothing left but bare walls in the chamber where he lay; as if fortune thought fit to finiſh with him at leaſt by an act of juſtice ‖.

* Francis de Dampierre, ſieur de Lieramont or Liermont.

† . . . . ſieur d'Edouville, ... Boutillier, ſieur Mouſſy.

‡ He had no children by Charlotte Catherine de Villequier, his wife. "Henry IV. playing at tennis with M. d'O, "made him obſerve that the marker ſtole "their balls, and afterwards called to "him with a loud voice, "D'O, you ſee "that all the world cheats us." Le Grain, b. vii.

‖ "If," ſays M. de Grillon, "each "muſt give in his accounts above, I be"lieve that poor d'O will find himſelf "much at a loſs to find good documents "for his. It was ſaid that he died very "much in debt, more than he was worth; "and that there were five and twenty "or thirty officers in his houſe when he

The

1594. The king returned to Paris to treat of a truce, which the duke of Lorrain requeſted inſtantly; and of an accommodation with the duke of Guiſe, who ſolicited it by the ducheſs * of Guiſe his mother, the king's couſin-german, and mademoiſelle de Guiſe his ſiſter. It muſt be confeſſed, that of all thoſe perſons who had been in arms againſt the king, the duke of Guiſe deſerved moſt indulgence. To the common motives of religion and independence, which ſeemed to authorize all things, he joined that of a father aſſaſſinated by the command of the preſent king's predeceſſor. It was madam de Guiſe, his mother, whoſe perſuaſions chiefly induced him to take this ſtep: ſhe was continually repreſenting to her ſon, that the revolt of the princes and nobility of the kingdom, which in the beginning was juſtified by religion, became criminal after Henry had removed the only obſtacle that could hinder him from enjoying his right of inheritance to the crown.

In any other age, which had not, like this, loſt every diſtinction between virtue and vice, this woman would have been the ornament of her ſex, for the qualities of her heart and mind. Her whole conduct was regulated by a native rectitude of ſoul; ſo that it was eaſy to ſee that ſhe had not even the idea of evil, either to act or to adviſe it: and at the ſame time of ſo ſweet a diſpoſition, that ſhe never was ſubjected to the ſmalleſt emotion of hatred, malignity, envy, or even ill humour. No woman ever poſſeſſed ſo many graces of converſation, or added to a wit ſo ſubtil and refined, a ſimplicity ſo artleſs and agreeable. Her repartees were full of ſalt and ſprightlineſs; and the pleaſing, as well as greater qualities, ſo happily blended in her compoſition, that ſhe was, at once, tender and lively, tranquil and gay. It

" died. The treaſurers regretted him ex-
" tremely, and called him their father:
" it was even ſaid, that three of them
" gave each fifty crowns to Collot to en-
" gage him to dreſs him properly. M. le
" Grand, his good friend, was almoſt diſ-
" tracted for his loſs; for he allowed him
" every year one hundred thouſand franks
" to ſpend. Madame was not all ſorry for
" it, becauſe he almoſt ſtarved her: thoſe
" of the religion regretted him as little,
" for he wiſhed them no good. Madam
" de Liancourt mourned for him, becauſe
" ſhe could do with him as ſhe pleaſed;
" and if he kept her in favour with the
" king. ——M. Seguier, the dean, who
" aſſiſted him to the laſt, as likewiſe did
" his brothers, repeated to him, as he
" was dying, *Have mercy on me, O God.*
" Some of the laſt words he ſpoke were,
" Remember me to his majeſty; he will
" know better, after my death, wherein
" I have been of ſervice to him, than he
" did while I lived." L'Etoile, ibid.

* Catherine of Cleves, wife to the duke of Guiſe who was killed at Blois. Charles of Lorrain duke of Guiſe.

was

was not long before the king became perfectly well acquainted with the character of this lady; and from that moment he not only forgot all his refentment, but alſo behaved towards her with all the familiarity and frankneſs of a ſincere friend. He conſented to give the neceſſary paſſports to the ſieurs de la Rochette, Perigord, and Bigot, whom the duke of Guiſe ſent to propoſe his demands; and, wholly ſubdued by the inſtances of theſe two ladies, named, on his ſide, three agents to treat with the duke: theſe were the chancellor de Chiverny, the duke de Retz, and Beaulieu-Ruſé, ſecretary of ſtate. 1594.

These three perſons, to ſhew their great ſkill in negotiating, began at firſt by uſing all thoſe turns and artifices which policy has unſeaſonably introduced in the place of that frank and open conduct, that without deceiving any one, produces the ſame effect. Their conferences laſted ten days ſucceſſively; yet at the end of this time the ſmalleſt preliminary was not ſettled. Madam de Guiſe, who was tortured by theſe affected delays, came one day into the king's apartment, when his majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me, holding my hand; and turning the diſcourſe upon the treaty with her ſon, ſhe complained to the king, with her uſual gracefulneſs, but mingled with a little impatience, that he had employed three men, "who go," ſaid ſhe, "three different roads to reach no end; the firſt, by never ſaying "more than theſe words, *We muſt conſider*; *We muſt adviſe*; *Let us* "*do better*: the ſecond, by not underſtanding himſelf, although he "ſpeaks continually: and the third, by never ceaſing to find fault." This was, in reality, the true character of the three negotiators. This lady, ſuffering herſelf to be wholly tranſported by her zeal for the king, and tenderneſs for her ſon, taking his majeſty's hand, which ſhe kiſſed, notwithſtanding Henry's endeavours to the contrary, ſhe conjured him to receive the returning allegiance of the duke of Guiſe, and give her the conſolation to ſee her family reſtored to the favour of their king. She ſpoke with an effuſion of heart ſo ſtrong and lively, that the king, affected by it even to tears, could not hinder himſelf from anſwering, "Well couſin, what is it you deſire me to do? I "can refuſe you nothing." "All I deſire," replied ſhe, "is, that "you will name the perſon whoſe hand your majeſty holds to treat "with my ſon." "What!" returned the king, "this wicked hu-"guenot. Truly I grant him you very willingly, although I know "that he is your kinſman, and that he has a very great friendſhip for "you." That very moment he took away the cognizance of this affair from the three commiſſaries, and cauſed a commiſſion, under the great

1594. great ſeal, to be given to me; not only for ſettling the treaty with the duke of Guiſe *, but alſo for the affairs of the whole province of Champaigne. It may be eaſily imagined, that after this the chancellor bore me no good-will; but it is the part of an old and artful courtier, to appear ſo much the more obliging and reſpectful to thoſe who are in favour, as the reſentment he harbours againſt them in his heart is ſevere and laſting. Chiverny †, indeed, excelled in this art.

The duke of Guiſe had begun with very extravagant propoſitions, which if he had inſiſted upon, would have rendered his treaty ineffectual. Doubtleſs, he was induced to make them, through his knowledge of thoſe perſons to whom he was referred: he thought, that to obtain ſomething he muſt demand a great deal. He claimed no leſs than the poſt of high ſteward of the king's houſhold, which the count of Soiſſons had been in poſſeſſion of ever ſince the aſſaſſination of the duke of Guiſe, when it was beſtowed upon him; to poſſeſs the government of Champaigne, which had likewiſe been given to the duke of Nevers; to enjoy alſo the benefices of his uncle, the cardinal of Guiſe, particularly the archbiſhopric of Rheims, then actually poſſeſſed by M. du Bec, a relation of madam de Liancourt, the king's miſtreſs. He added ſeveral other articles; but theſe three gave riſe to the greateſt difficulties. The duke of Guiſe, being informed of the change of the commiſſioners, reſolved immediately to leſſen the extravagance of his demands; and wrote to the ducheſs, his mother, and to his agents, to conclude a treaty with me upon reaſonable conditions, and even at any price whatever. He had ſoon after a new inducement to finiſh the treaty, as ſoon as poſſible, which I was ignorant of: he had diſcovered that the city of Rheims (the moſt conſiderable preſent he had to offer the king) deſigning to make a merit of returning to its obedience voluntarily, had ſolicited the reſt of the province to do the like; and had already drawn great part of it into their views. The duke of Guiſe, to prevent this inconvenience, having attempted to place a garriſon there, the inhabitants declared that they would guard the city themſelves; and this refuſal cauſing a debate, they anſwered the duke's menaces by others no leſs haughty.

* See M. de Thou, b. cxi. who gives himſelf ſome ſhare in this accommodation with the duke of Guiſe.

† Philip Hurault de Chiverny, chancellor of France, died in 1599, aged 72.

After

AFTER the second conference I had with the duke's agent, there was no mention either of the post or high steward of the household, the government of Champaigne, or of the benefices; and those three obstacles being removed, I saw very little difficulty remaining. I proposed to the king, the drawing the duke of Guise from Champaigne, to fix him in Provence, by giving him that government for a recompence; so that, his interest there being united with that of Lesdiguieres, and Ornano, who supported the king's party against the duke of Epernon, they might at once join to reduce the power of that formidable subject. The king consented to this so much the more willingly, as by the manner in which the family of Guise acted with him, he judged he might depend upon their fidelity; and he ordered me to conclude with him upon this plan. I made the proposal to the duke's agents, and, upon reiterated commands from his majesty, used so much diligence in settling all other matters, that the next evening the treaty with the duke of Guise was concluded and signed by me for the king, and by madam de Guise, and the duke's three commissioners, for him. 1594.

THE next day six deputies from the city of Rheims arrived at Paris; and, addressing themselves to me, told me that the king needed not bestow any great rewards upon the duke of Guise, not only because Rheims was no longer in his power, but because the inhabitants were ready to deliver him up to the king. They did not require to be introduced to his majesty, but said that they would be satisfied with his approbation in writing, or only mine; submitting it to the king to grant them what recompence he should think fit: and ended with offering me, according to custom, a present of ten thousand crowns, which I neither could, nor would accept of. I thanked them in the king's name for their good-will; and assured them that he would, with great pleasure, receive this testimony of it. I deferred giving them an answer, till I had received orders from his majesty, to whom I went immediately to relate all that had passed. The king was at that time in his closet, from whence he made every one but Beringhen depart, and listened to me walking, often shaking his head, and smiling, through a reflection on the natural levity and inconstancy of the people. He afterwards took me aside to the window, and desired me to tell him what terms I was upon with the duke of Guise. As soon as I had informed him that the treaty was concluded, he did not hesitate a moment whether or not he should observe it; but he would not, however,

1594. appear inſenſible of the affection of the city of Rheims. I introduced the deputies to him, whom he thanked as became a king, beſtowing upon them a very conſiderable reward with an air ſo gracious, that they returned full of joy and admiration.

The treaty with the duke of Guiſe being with the uſual form ſigned by * Gévres for the king, the ducheſs and mademoiſelle de Guiſe demanded his majeſty's permiſſion for the duke to come himſelf, and aſſure him of his obedience. I wrote to him to ſeek for no other ſecurity than that permiſſion: and he made no ſcruple to comply with my injunctions. He aſſembled as many of his friends as he could, and came and threw himſelf at the king's feet, with ſo many marks of a ſincere repentance, that the king, who penetrated into his inmoſt ſoul, inſtead of reproaches, or a ſilence which on ſuch occaſions is more terrible than the ſevereſt reproaches, made uſe of all his endeavours to reaſſure him: he embraced him three ſeveral times, honoured him with the name of nephew, treated him with the greateſt tenderneſs and freedom, and without affecting either to avoid or recall what had paſſed, mentioned the deceaſed duke of Guiſe with honour. He ſaid that they had been friends in their youth, although often rivals for the ſame ladies; and that the duke's good qualities, and a conformity of diſpoſition, had united them in a fixed averſion to the duke of Alençon. A friend, who endeavours to reconcile himſelf to his friend after a ſlight quarrel, could not have behaved otherwiſe; and all thoſe that were witneſſes of this reception, could never ſufficiently admire a king, who, with ſo many qualities to inſpire fear, employed only thoſe that created love.

The duke of Guiſe, abſolutely gained by this diſcourſe, replied to the king, that he would neglect nothing to render himſelf worthy of the honour his majeſty did the memory of his father, and the ſentiments he was pleaſed to entertain of himſelf: and from that time he took ſuch care to convince him that his reſpect and fidelity to him would continue inviolable, that the king, forgetting all which any other, in his ſituation, would have apprehended from the raiſing again a family which had made kings tremble, lived with him familiarly, and admitted him with the other courtiers into all his parties of pleaſure: for ſuch was the character of Henry, that that exterior gravity, which the royal

* Lewis Potier de Gévres, ſecretary of ſtate. From him is deſcended the branch of the Gevres; and from Nicolas Potier de Blanemenil his elder brother, that of Novion.

dignity

dignity makes it neceſſary to aſſume, never hindered him from reſign- 1604.
ing himſelf up freely to pleaſures, which an equality of conditions ſpreads over ſociety. The truly great man knows how to be by turns, and as occaſions require, whatever he ought to be, maſter, or equal, king, or citizen: it is no diminution of his greatneſs, to unbend himſelf in private, provided that he ſhews himſelf, in his public character, capable of performing all the duties of his high ſtation: the courtier will never forget that he is with his maſter.

MADAM de Guiſe entering the king's apartment ſome days after, when the duke of Guiſe preſented the napkin to his majeſty for a light repaſt which he took in the afternoon, ſhe again took occaſion to expreſs her gratitude to him for his goodneſs to her ſon, and told him, with a lively emotion, that if ever the duke of Guiſe was deficient in his duty and obedience, ſhe would diſinherit him, and diſown him for her ſon. The king, running to embrace her, aſſured her that he, on his ſide, would ever preſerve for the duke, and his whole family, the tenderneſs of a father.

THE treaty I had juſt concluded with the duke of Guiſe did not fail to be loudly exclaimed againſt. His own particular enemies, and that ſort of people which ſwarm about a court, who have no other buſineſs than to decry the conduct of perſons in place, united themſelves againſt me, and being ſecretly ſupported by thoſe from whom the cognizance of this affair was taken, proclaimed every where, that I undertook this commiſſion only to pleaſe madam de Guiſe. The duke of Epernon was not ſilent on this occaſion; and whenever the duke of Guiſe and he were mentioned together, he conſtantly ſaid, that I had offended the one without cauſe, to oblige the other againſt all reaſon. Theſe diſcourſes were ſo often repeated to the king, that he was at laſt made to believe, I had acted with rather too much precipitation: however, he was not diſpleaſed with me upon that account.

IT was not difficult for me to juſtify myſelf; which I did by an apology in writing, and preſented it to the king. I there defended my conduct with the following reaſons: That the king could not poſſibly grant the three articles before mentioned, without giving diſguſt to a great many other perſons; notwithſtanding which, he would have been obliged to grant them, if he had not had a government to beſtow upon the duke, which was the leaſt recompence he could expect, after reſigning Champaigne, and yielding up ſo many other claims: That with

1594. regard to the government which was given him, no other could be chosen, from whence fewer bad consequences might be feared, than from Provence *. For upon a supposition that the duke of Guise might hereafter become capable of forgetting the new oath of allegiance he had taken, there was little danger to be apprehended from him in a province which had no communication with Lorrain, the Low Countries, and Burgundy especially: on the contrary, although none of the duke's demands had been complied with, except the continuing him in the government of Champaigne, yet by that, the danger of perpetuating the war in those countries was incurred: That it was the king's interest to reserve to himself the power of bestowing the government of Champaigne upon a man who should not be only sincerely attached to his service, but whose integrity likewise should be so well known, that the rebels in Burgundy might despair of ever bringing him to favour their views. With regard to the conveniency of fixing upon Provence for the duke of Guise, I added that argument relating to the duke of Epernon, which I have already touched upon. I recalled to the king's remembrance, in a few words, the many occasions of complaint this man had given him, his repeated revolts, his intrigues to disengage all the catholics from his majesty's party, his insolent boast that he would never acknowledge any superior in his government, his last proceedings at Villemur, and many other circumstances which certainly would do no honour to the history of this imperious subject. It was opposing one leader of the league by another, whom a thousand motives, besides that of his own interest, which ought always to be regarded as the most powerful, concurred to regulate his conduct by a system quite contrary to his former views.

Without dwelling upon the orders his majesty had given me with regard to the duke of Guise, nor the danger of a longer delay; although the treaty with him had not been so advantageous as it was easy to prove it was, I represented to the king, that he could not act rigorously towards a man, who had so steadily refused all the offers and most flattering promises from Spain, the dukes of Savoy, and Lorrain, and the other enemies of the state †, to prevail upon him to continue a war, which, however short a time it had lasted,

* The government was afterwards taken from him by cardinal Richelieu; who likewise took that of Picardy from the duke d'Elbeuf, and that of Burgundy from the duke de Bellegarde.

† The duke of Guise was hated by the league, especially since the time he had killed with his own hand, in a tumult, the sieur de St. Paul, his field lieutenant, who was much beloved by them.

would have been a greater inconvenience to him, than all he had granted to the duke of Guiſe. Nor ought it to be thought a matter of little conſequence (whatever his and my enemies could ſay) to gain over a man whoſe name and birth would always procure him a powerful party. I agree with them, if they pleaſe, that this lord after all made but an inconſiderable ſacrifice of unjuſt claims, and uncertain expectations; nay I will reduce it lower, and aſcribe it all to the king's generoſity; yet, if by that means he bound to his intereſt, not a ſingle man only, but a family reſpectable for their alliances, their riches, and influence, it cannot be called an uſeleſs generoſity. 1594.

The king was ſtruck by theſe reaſons, and ſeemed greatly ſurprized at my exact knowledge of Epernon. He did not think it proper to permit this writing to be publiſhed, becauſe of the truths it contained, which it was not yet time to reveal. I ſubmitted, without any difficulty, for I never gave myſelf much trouble about the efforts of envy, having always looked upon that paſſion as an incurable diſeaſe. The duke of Guiſe's whole conduct for the future made a ſtill greater apology for me: he began his government by ſo clear and abſolute a declaration of his ſentiments, that the ſeditious were deprived of all hopes of ever being able to ſeduce him. In all occaſions wherein the king's ſervice, or the good of the ſtate, required his aſſiſtance, he behaved with equal firmneſs and prudence. The reduction * of Marſeilles, which was with reaſon thought one of the beſt ſtrokes of that kind, was his work; and with the help of Leſdiguieres, and the counteſs of Sault, he ſo well humbled the haughty Epernon, that he at laſt obliged him to reſtrain his rebellious diſpoſition; and this proud ſubject was ſeen to ſubmit to the king's mercy, and became one of his moſt aſſiduous courtiers.

I never was unwilling to do juſtice to the duke of Epernon, to be among the firſt to enhance the value either of his perſonal ſervices,

* This town was upon the point of being delivered up to the king of Spain, by two of its burgeſſes, named Charles Caſault, and Lewis d'Aix; when the duke of Guiſe found means to make himſelf maſter of it, by intelligence held with Peter and Bartholomew Libertat, two brothers, who were alſo burgeſſes of the ſame town. They ſeiz'd Caſault, beat the troops of the Spaniſh faction, and let in, thro' the Porte-neuve, the duke of Guiſe, who performed this enterprize with a great deal of conduct. See de Thou, b. cxvi. D'Aubigne, tom. III. liv. ix. chap. 12. Henry IV. upon receiving the news of the reduction of Marſeilles, ſaid, "It is now that I am king." In the following campaign, the duke of Guiſe ſhewed a great deal of valour, in purſuing the Spaniards as far as Givry; and killed with his own hand, a trooper belonging to the enemy, who had given him defiance. Henry IV. embracing him, ſpoke theſe words, "Thoſe who read old examples "of virtue before them, muſt imitate "and repeat them, for ſuch as come after." P. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 110.

of

1594. or thoſe of his ſoldiers at Limoges, Saint-Germain, Ville-bois*, Chartres, Boulogne, Montauron, Antibes, and even at Villemur. I am ſorry that the ſubject I treat on neceſſarily engages me in a diſcuſſion which may leſſen the advantageous opinions that have been conceived of him; but, ſince this is a place where nothing ſhould be concealed or diſguiſed, what can, what ought to be thought of his conduct in Provence? Certainly, to aſcribe it all to a bigotry in his religion, is ſhewing the utmoſt favour to his reputation. His panegyriſts, who ſo loudly extol his moſt inconſiderable actions, ought to be a little more moderate when they reflect on his frequent revolts, and acts of diſobedience; or begin by eſtabliſhing it for a truth, that a ſubject may be irreproachable, yet fail in his duty to his king, and his country, introduce diſcord and confuſion to gratify his ambition, and give to violence the name of right. If any panegyrics are to be beſtowed here, doubtleſs it is the king who merits them, who, after all theſe offences, received Epernon with open arms, and never excluded him from favours; which in every reſpect, conſidering his behaviour, were indeed mere favours to him.

Nicolas de Harlay de Sancy.

After the death of d'O, there appeared among the candidates a man, who, it was immediately thought, would have the poſt of ſuperintendant; this was Nicolas de Sancy, who wanted neither capacity, nor experience, for that ſtation. Sancy might be very properly called a man of wit, uſing this term in the ſenſe that is generally given it, to denote vivacity, ſubtilty, and quickneſs of apprehenſion. But, as it is very ſeldom found, that an excellent judgment is joined to theſe qualities, Sancy ſpoiled them all by a degree of vanity, caprice, and impetuoſity, which ſometimes rendered him inſupportable. It is my opinion of theſe ſtrong and lively imaginations in general, that although they are commonly ſubject to two great faults, which are too much ſubtilty, and too little clearneſs in their ideas, and confuſion and unſteadineſs in their ſchemes, yet they ought not to be thought wholly incapable of buſineſs; becauſe it often happens, that they hit upon expedients which would have eſcaped more cautious and phlegmatic minds: but there is almoſt always occaſion to watch over them, and to correct their errors.

* See on each of theſe actions, l'Hiſt. de la vie du duc d'Epernon, printed at Paris, ann. 1655. Villebois is a town of Angoumois, which at this day is called la Valette. You may likewiſe conſult the ſame hiſtory, as to the reproaches which our Memoirs give this duke: but he cannot be juſtified in every particular; and even his own hiſtorian looks upon it as impoſſible. All that can be ſaid is, that M. de Sully took pleaſure to aggravate faults, which the laſt years of the duke d'Epernon's life have almoſt entirely effaced.

Sancy

SANCY had long, and usefully served Henry the third, and the reigning king, both in Germany and Switzerland. He had insinuated himself into Henry's favour by great complaisance, a subtle behaviour, a refined art in heightening his pleasure, and by becoming necessary in his affairs of gallantry. Hence it was that he lived with this prince upon terms of the greatest familiarity. That he might neglect nothing by which he thought he should make his court successfully, he inveighed, without ceasing, against the dissipation of the finances; and, as a flatterer generally goes beyond his mark, in railing at the superintendant he could not help decrying likewise the superintendancy, as an employment ruinous to the state: by which he gave good reason to call his wit in question. But he himself opposed his advancement to this post by an obstacle still greater: he not only neglected to please madam de Liancourt *, then mistress to the king, but also by an intemperance of tongue, to which such persons as he are very subject, he had offended this lady on a very delicate occasion. 1594.

I KNOW not whether the story I am going to relate had ever any foundation in truth. However this may be, thus the story ran in Paris: His majesty having sent Alibour, his first physician, to visit madam de Liancourt, who was indisposed (this was in the beginning of his addresses to that lady) at his return he told the king, that she was indeed a little disordered, but that he need not be uneasy, for the consequence would be very good. "But you will not bleed and purge her?" said the king to him. "I shall be very careful how I do that," replied the old man, with the same simplicity, "before she has gone half "her time." "How!" interrupted the king, astonished and disordered to the last degree: "what is it you say, friend? Surely you rave, and are "not in your right senses." Alibour supported his assertion with good proofs, which the king thought he should destroy, by telling him upon what terms he was with the lady. "I know not what you have done, "or what you have not done," replied the old physician with great composure, and for a complete proof referred him to four or five months from that time. The king quitted Alibour with great rage, and went immediately to reproach the sick fair one, who, no doubt, knew well enough how to new dress all the good man had ignorantly said; for it was not perceived that any misunderstanding happened be-

* This was the fair Gabrielle, who was wife to Nicolas d'Amerval, lord of Liancourt. She was forced by her father, to this marriage, which was ill suited to her liking: but Henry IV. knew very well how to hasten the consummation.

tween

1594. tween the king and his miſtreſs. It is certain, however, that the event was exactly conformable to Alibour's prediction: but it was thought that Henry, after a more ſtrict examination, was brought to believe that he had been miſtaken in his reckoning, ſince, inſtead of diſowning the child which madam de Liancourt lay in of at Couſy, during the ſiege of Laon, he acknowledged it openly, and had it baptized by the name of Cæſar.

Sancy gave free ſcope to his wit, in relating this ſtory; and did not forget the circumſtance of * La-Regnardiere, who, having one day, as he ſaid, taken the liberty to inform his majeſty of ſome things that did not pleaſe him, was ſoon after baniſhed the court, under pretence that he had quarrelled with the admiral †. Sancy found ſomething to ſay upon the death of the good man Alibour, and would have thought it more natural, if it had not happened before the accompliſhment of his prediction. If he commented thus upon the birth of the ſon, he did no leſs upon the whole conduct of the mother. Sancy proved, to his coſt, what the malice of a woman, eſpecially a king's miſtreſs, is capable of doing: Henry loved him, and wanted to raiſe him; and although he was inclined to ſuppreſs the poſt of ſuperintendant of the finances, yet he would have preſerved it, merely to have beſtowed it upon him; but madam de Liancourt knew how to prevent it.

Instead of a ſuperintendant of the finances, his majeſty compoſed a council conſiſting of eight perſons; theſe were, the chancellor de Chiverny, the duke de Retz, meſſieurs de Belliévre (who was ſucceeded by Matignon) de Schomberg, de Maiſſe, de Freſne (protected by madam de Liancourt) de la Grange-le-roi, and de Sancy, who thought himſelf very happy to be one of the members ‡ of this

* "La-Regnardiere was a kind of buf-
"foon, half ſoldier, half lawyer, and half
"gentleman, who ſaid whatever came
"uppermoſt." It is in this manner he is ſpoken of in the adventures of the baron de Fœneſte, liv. iv. ch. 7. where we find many more ſtories related of him.

† The Journal de l'Etoile, and the Confeſſion of Sancy, confirm all this pleaſantry, as alſo the ſuſpicion of its ending tragically for old M. Alibour, the king's firſt phyſician, who was poiſoned, they ſay, by order of the king's miſtreſs: but all this is alledged without any proof. You may alſo read, on this head, what Sauval has told on the faith of public report, and ſatyrical libels, touching the intrigues between the fair Gabrielle and the duke de Bellegarde.

‡ M. de Thou and Perefixe ſay, that M. de Sancy was for ſome time ſuperintendant before M. de Roſny: which ought not to be underſtood, in my opinion, but only of the authority which he aſſumed of himſelf among his fellow counſellors, as M. de Sully tells us afterwards. The body,

body. The king judged it neceſſary to give this council, for form's ſake only, and without any diſtinction, a titular head, which was the duke of Nevers. This form of government of the finances laſted ſome time, although with a few inconſiderable alterations, which I ſhall mention in their place: for the reader may expect in theſe Memoirs to ſee whatever relates to the finances treated with all that clearneſs and extent which a man, who has ſo long made them his ſtudy and employment, is capable of giving them. 1594.

The king was convinced, in the ſequel, that this new change in the council * was far from affording that remedy the diſeaſe required: ſmall as my experience was in theſe affairs, I eaſily comprehended it. It is not the government of one man only by which the finances are thrown into confuſion; ſince it is an inconteſtible truth, that, as they muſt paſs through ſome hands, the fewer that are employed, the leſs will be embezzled. The abuſe lies in the choice of this man, and in the nature of the finances: and therefore, to have this office diſcharged by many different perſons, is to perpetuate the evil. If, in the whole kingdom, it is difficult to find one ſingle man fit for ſuch an employment, how can it be expected that a great number will be met with? Nor is the miſtake leſs palpable in imagining that all theſe perſons bringing each of them one diſtinguiſhing good quality into their employments, the ſame effect will be produced as from a man who unites them all in himſelf; ſince that is to ſuppoſe, that this ſingle good quality cannot poſſibly be rendered uſeleſs by the oppoſition of ſeveral bad ones, either in himſelf or his aſſociates. In general, the predominant principle with which thoſe perſons who are inveſted with public employments enter upon the execution of them, is to raiſe and enrich themſelves and their relations. If this eager deſire of riches is not felt by them at firſt, it is inſpired, increaſed, and ſtimulated, by the great ſums of money that paſs through their hands: amidſt that dependence on, and mutual fear of, each other, every one repreſents to himſelf integrity as a quality not only uſeleſs, but hurtful to him, the honour of which is ſhared by his collegues, the inconvenience wholly his own. The king was far from being fortunate in his choice of the members of this body: ſeveral of thoſe who compoſed it, beſides being

writers of that time agree, that nothing of certainty can be ſaid as to the ſtate of the council of the finances, till the time in which M. de Roſny was at leaſt declared the chief. We run no riſque in believing all he ſays on the head of the finances.

* Perefixe talks of this new form of the council of the finances, a. M. de Roſny, ann. 1598, p. 224.

1594. of a malignant diſpoſition, were in a ſituation that expoſed them to corruption: they had debts to pay, and domeſtic wants to ſupply.

His majeſty deſtined me a place in it, and had, for a long time, in his converſations with me, expreſſed his deſire that I would make myſelf thoroughly acquainted with whatever regarded the finances: but I could not poſſibly ſubmit to the imperious behaviour of the duke of Nevers, who very unſeaſonably aſſumed great conſequence to himſelf from his quality of prince, in a place where it ſignified very little. One day, when his inſolence had exhauſted all my patience, I took the liberty to intreat he would remember, that the family of Bethune was in poſſeſſion of the earldom of Nevers before the family of Gonzague. A man ſwolen with the pride of anceſtry could not poſſibly receive a more ſevere mortification. He often repeated to thoſe who would hear him, that my whole family were huguenots; and, to anſwer my anecdote with another, ſaid, that he had ſeen my grandfather make a very mean figure at Nevers. I ſuffered him to have his revenge, which could extend no farther than keeping me out of a council where I had very little inclination to be with him: and this ſatisfaction he had. The king, who had many meaſures to keep, told me, in a very obliging manner, that he was under a neceſſity of deferring ſome time longer the proof he intended to give me of his friendſhip; and I waited for it without murmuring, ſatisfied with the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, with a ſalary of two thouſand livres a year, and a penſion of three thouſand ſix hundred more, which the king beſtowed upon me.

Persons of the leaſt diſcernment being convinced of the neceſſity there was to introduce a reformation into the finances, the new council were at firſt deſirous of this honour; and a ſcheme for that purpoſe was propoſed by thoſe amongſt them who moſt valued themſelves for their penetration and method. Theſe were Freſne and La-Grange-le-roi. But after they had produced a very large volume upon this affair, it happened with that, as with the moſt part of ſyſtems that have been or may be invented; nothing more eaſy in ſpeculation, in practice nothing more difficult: and the king, whom they had flattered with mighty hopes, found every thing in the ſame condition as before, at the end of the year which he had paſſed at Paris, expecting daily the effect of their promiſes.

He was retained there to more purpoſe by the treaty with Lorrain, which, entirely forſaking Spain, concluded a league offenſive and de-

fenſive with France. Sancy's ſervices were of great uſe in this treaty: and to him almoſt all the honour of it was due. The king was no longer at a loſs for employment, after the duke of Bouillon arrived at Paris: he came in perſon to preſs the execution of thoſe ſchemes he had entertained me with at Sedan, particularly a declaration of war againſt Spain, which he made the baſis of his advancement in the Low Countries. He uſed ſuch plauſible arguments for it, that, after the example of the courtiers *, he did not ſcruple to propoſe it in full council. He found there two different parties who did not approve of this war: thoſe in whom a rooted attachment to Spain and the league ſtill remained, and they were not few in number; and thoſe who thought a war, in the preſent weak and exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom, was very unſeaſonable. Theſe laſt had few partiſans, but ſtrong reaſons on their ſide, if any one would have liſtened to them. 1594.

I would not incur the reproach of ſilence upon this occaſion. I uſed every argument my reaſon could ſuggeſt, to diſſuade the king from this war: but this prince, whom a natural propenſity drew always a little to that ſide, thought he had now found the opportunity he ſought for, to revenge himſelf upon a neighbour who had made it his endeavour to maintain the flame which conſumed the heart of his kingdom. He was ſure of troops from Lorrain: England and Holland, by their ambaſſadors, gave hopes of a powerful diverſion: and, according to the duke of Bouillon, a ſingle word from him was ſufficient to make all Luxembourg ſurrender: Sancy made great promiſes in behalf of the Thirteen Cantons: all Franche-Compte lay open to their ravages. The king was determined by all theſe flattering appearances; and in January, the following year, war was declared in form againſt Spain.

* M. de Thou makes no doubt but the duke de Bouillon was the principal author of this war: and his hiſtorian entirely agrees, that in giving this counſel he far leſs conſulted the advantage of the ſtate, and the glory of the king, than his own perſonal intereſt, and that of the calviniſtical party, who neceſſarily wanted a war, in order to obtain the favourable terms which were granted them by the edict of Nantz. Notwithſtanding the reaſons for declaring war againſt Spain, of which a minute detail may be ſeen in MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi, vol. marked 8955, and in the king's declaration, that is not down in tom. VI. of the Memoires de la Ligue: all good writers and judicious perſons are unanimouſly of one voice, in favour of the duke de Sully's opinion as to the precipitation and imprudence with which Henry IV. conducted himſelf in this affair, the conſequences of which might have been a good deal more fatal than they were.

1594.

That kingdom ſeemed to give herſelf very little trouble about this proceeding; and anſwered only by ſhewing great contempt for Henry's council, and for Henry himſelf, to whom ſhe gave no other title than that of prince of Bearn. While ſhe made preparations to defend herſelf, her emiſſaries in France endeavoured to ſpare her the trouble, by an attempt ſo horrid, that it is ſcarce credible ſhe could have recourſe to it.

On the 26th of December, the king being then at Paris, in his apartments in the Louvre *, where he gave audience to meſſieurs de Ragny and de Montigny, who entered with a great number of other perſons: at the very moment when he ſtooped to embrace one of them, he received a wound in the face with a knife, which the murderer let fall as he was endeavouring to eſcape through the croud †. I was preſent, and approached in an agony of grief, ſeeing the king all covered with blood, and fearing, with reaſon, that the ſtroke was mortal. The king removed our apprehenſions by a compoſed and agreeable behaviour; and we perceived immediately that his lip only was wounded; the ſtroke having been aimed too high, the force of it was ſtopped by a tooth, which it broke.

Francis de la Magdelaine de Ragny. Francis de la Grange de Montigny.

* According to others, in the chamber of the marchioneſs de Monceaux, at the hotel de Schomberg, behind the Louvre: but, in fact, it was neither at the Louvre, nor at the hotel de Schomberg, that this affair happened. A regiſter belonging to the town-houſe at Paris, quoted by Piganiolle, tom. II. de la Deſcription de Paris, ſays, that the fair Gabrielle reſided, in 1595, at the hotel d'Eſtrées; and that it was at this place Henry IV. was wounded. This hotel was afterwards called l'hotel du Bouchage; and was purchaſed in 1616, by monſieur de Berulle, in order to lodge and accommodate the fathers of the oratory, who ſtill continue there.

† "Immediately the king, who found "himſelf wounded, looking round him, "and ſeeing Mathurine, his fool, ſaid, "*The deuce take the fool: ſhe has wounded* "*me.* But ſhe, denying it, ran directly "to ſhut the door, whereby ſhe was the "occaſion of preventing the aſſaſſin from "making his eſcape; who, upon being "ſeized, and afterwards ſearched, dropped "his knife, which was all over bloody." Thus l'Etoile ſpeaks of it. The MSS. de la Bibl. du Roy ſay quite otherwiſe in vol. 9033, namely, "that the king, finding "himſelf wounded, ſpoke thus to one of "thoſe two gentlemen, *Ah, couſin! you* "*have wounded me:* and that he there- "upon, throwing himſelf at his majeſty's "feet, replied, God forbid, ſire, that I "ſhould entertain even a thought of hurt- "ing or wounding your majeſty: I have "no weapon about me but the ſword by "my ſide." M. de Thou ſays, that the count of Soiſſons ſeizing the aſſaſſin, ſpoke aloud to him, that it was one of them two had given the blow; and that the poignard was perceived to lie at his feet glittering by the light of the candles. Lib. iii.

The

1594.

The parricide was diſcovered, without any difficulty, though he had mixed among the croud. He was a ſcholar, named John Chatel; and readily anſwered, when he was interrogated, that he came from the college of the jeſuits, accuſing thoſe fathers with being the authors of his crime *. The king, who heard him, ſaid, with a gaiety which on ſuch an occaſion few perſons could have been capable of, that he had heard from the mouths of many perſons, that the ſociety never loved him, and he was now convinced of it by his own. Chatel was

* When the matter relates to any perſonal reflections, or ſuch as are thrown upon a whole body of men, I think myſelf particularly obliged to call to mind the obſervation I made, in the preface of this work, that the Memoirs of M. de Sully are not only compoſed of authentic and original pieces, that ſhould make them be looked upon as deſerving all the credit that is commonly paid to great authors, and moreover as the real production of M. de Sully; ſuch as letters, particular memoirs, converſations, reflections, &c. but that likewiſe they are interwoven with recitals that may well be aſcribed ſolely to ſuch as have collected and compoſed thoſe pieces, upon the authority of which there is not ſo much ſtreſs to be laid. Now it is in theſe narrations that I find a great number of the facts and reflections againſt the jeſuits, which ought not to be admitted without authentic and ſolid proof. Thus we ſhall find ſomewhat mentioned, that is contrary to the tenor of our Memoirs with regard to the affair of Chatel, in thoſe that ſerve for the Univerſal Hiſtory of Europe, tom. I. p. 110, &c. And if more deference ought to be paid to the teſtimony of cotemporary writers, "Chatel," ſays l'Etoile, in his Journal ſur l'ann. 1595, "was interrogated this "28th, and, by his own anſwers, he "quite cleared the jeſuits of any imputa-"tion, and even father Gueret, his pre-"ceptor: he ſaid that he had undertaken "to ſtrike the blow of his own proper "motion," &c. In fact, when this parricide gave it, he had been ſeven months gone from the college, and had finiſhed his ſtudies. This authority of l'Etoile's, which is not ſuſpected, is corroborated by that of the royal MS. which I have juſt now quoted, as alſo by de Thou and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 183. by Cayet, liv. vi. p. 432. and the Memoirs of the league. According to all theſe writers, Chatel declared, it is true, that he had ſtudied with the jeſuits, and that by their doctrine it is lawful to kill kings; as it is taught in the writings of father Guignard, library-keeper of the college of Clermont, whom they went to ſeize directly: but at the ſame time he formally cleared both his profeſſor and all the jeſuits of having ever adviſed him to aſſaſſinate the king, and even of their having had, any more than his confeſſor, the leaſt knowledge of his deſign; though, according to l'Etoile, Lugoly, lieutenant of the Marſhalſea, had diguiſed himſelf like a confeſſor, on purpoſe to pump the ſecret from Chatel. For which reaſon M. de Sully and M. d'Aubigné are very much in the wrong, to give occaſion for concluding, by the manner in which both the one and the other expreſs themſelves, that the jeſuits puſhed on Chatel to this aſſaſſination. Father de Chalons expreſſes himſelf pretty ambiguouſly, when he ſays, in tom. III. of his Hiſtory of France, p. 245, that Chatel avowed, upon his interrogatories, "that "the principles and diſcourſes of the je-"ſuits had led him to this criminal ac-"tion." Yet, however, one perceives that the ſenſe of theſe words is very different from the preceding.

delivered

1594. delivered up to juſtice *; and the proſecutions againſt the jeſuits, which had been ſuſpended, were now reſumed more vigorous than before, and terminated by the baniſhment of the whole order † from the kingdom. Father John Guignard ‡ was hanged for his pernicious doctrines againſt the authority and life of kings: John Gueret ||, Peter Varade, Alexander Mayus, Francis Jacob, and John Le-Bel, other members of the ſociety, ſuſpected of being his accomplices, were obliged to make the *amende honorable*, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment.

* "After having been put to the ordinary and extraordinary trial upon the rack, which he endured without making any confeſſion, and having made the *amende honorable*, his hand was cut off, holding in it the murderous knife with which he intended to kill the king; then his fleſh was torn off with red-hot pincers, and he was drawn between four horſes in the Place de Greve; his body and members caſt into the fire, and burnt to aſhes, and the aſhes thrown into the air. The ſieur Chatel, the father of the parricide, was baniſhed France for nine years, and for ever from the precincts and juriſdiction of Paris, condemned to pay a fine of four thouſand crowns, his houſe razed, and inſtead thereof a pyramid erected, containing the whole ſtory of the fact." L'Etoile, ibid. It is thought that the little ſquare that lies before the Barnabites, is the ſpot on which Chatel's houſe ſtood.

† "The jeſuits, in obedience to the arret againſt them, departed Paris, conducted by a ſerjeant of the court: they were thirty-ſeven in number, part of whom were put into three carts, and the reſt travelled on foot; their procurator being mounted on a little nag," &c. L'Etoile, ibid.

‡ Father Guignard did not teach the pernicious doctrine of which they accuſed him, at the time of Chatel's affair. He might have propagated it during the fury of the league, as the Sorbonne themſelves had done, together with a great number of other prieſts and religious. If we judge by the pieces belonging to the proceſs of this father, we muſt agree, 1. That if he had written and ſpoke in favour of the league, this crime was forgiven him, ſeeing an amneſty had been granted to all thoſe concerned in it. 2. That he underwent the rigour of the law, for only preſerving ſome writings and books that favoured this party. Upon which father Daniel, in his Hiſtoire de France, in fol. tom. III. p. 1706, remarks, that if a proceſs had been entered againſt all who were in the like caſe, there muſt have been a neceſſity to condemn capitally the greateſt part of the prieſts and religious, who had the care of any cabinets of rarities and of libraries, where the like writings were kept, and where they are preſerved down to our time. "He ſaid "that he died innocent, exhorted the people to the fear of God, and obedience to "the king: he even prayed aloud for his "majeſty, and begged of the people not "lightly and precipitately to give credit "to the falſe reports which were induſtriouſly propagated concerning them; that "they were not aſſaſſins of kings; and that "the jeſuits had never procured or approved of the death of any king whatſoever," &c. Mem. de l'Etoile, ibid. He would not make the *amende honorable* to the king, alledging that he had not offended him. Cayet, ibid.

‖ Here the author is miſtaken. John Gueret was, by an expreſs arret, condemned to perpetual baniſhment; but there is no expreſs mention made of Peter Verade, Alexander Mayus, &c. who were comprized with all the reſt, and without being particularly named in the arret, which proſcribed in general the whole ſociety. It is a glaring calumny in Moriſot, to have advanced, chap. 33. that Francis Jacob, to

THIS

This attempt confirmed the king in his reſolution to purſue the war with Spain. He drew a favourable augury for his future ſucceſs from the advantage he gained in the firſt acts of hoſtility. As ſoon as the treaty between France and Lorrain was concluded, the latter immediately, and without ſolicitation, diſperſed the troops over Burgundy, under the conduct of Tremblecourt * and Saint George, and carried terror into every part of that province. On the other ſide, the garriſon of Soiſſons, a place abſolutely devoted to the league, commanded by Conan and Bellefond §, was almoſt wholly cut off by Mouſſy †, d'Edouville, de Bayes, and Gadancourt the lieutenant of my company. The duke of Montmorency ‡, to prove himſelf worthy of the dignity of conſtable, which he had lately been inveſted with, fell upon Dauphiny, the Lionnois, and Breſſe, with a body of four thouſand foot, and four hundred well diſciplined horſe; drove out from thoſe places the remainder of the troops belonging to the dukes of Savoy, and Nemours, took Vienne by compoſition from Dizimieux, who was governor of it for the duke of Nemours, and afterwards Montluel. Marechal Biron, after the expedition at Beaune, made himſelf maſter of Nuys, Autun, and Dijon ‖. The duke of Bouillon, as ſoon as war was proclaimed, entered Luxembourg, where, with the aſſiſtance of count Philip of Naſſau, he defeated eight or ten parties of horſe, under the command of Mansfield. 1594.

whom they had told that Henry IV. was juſt aſſaſſinated by Chatel, boaſted that he would have diſpatched this prince, if he had not been prevented by Chatel. I know of no hiſtorian that has ſaid any ſuch thing.

It is another calumny of an equally black nature, to have endeavoured to make the jeſuits paſs for the authors of a piece entitled, *Apologie de Jean Chatel:* a trifling performance, and at the ſame time, deteſtable on account of the abuſe therein made of divine and human laws, and even of the holy ſcriptures. They at that time cleared their innocence in this reſpect; and according to the ſame hiſtorian, F. Matthieu, they were ſtill more juſtified by the avowal of the true author of this piece, namely, John Boucher, the ſame prieſt whoſe name all true hiſtories have rendered ſo odious. With this piece, which never ought to have ſeen the light, an account of Chatel's proceſs has juſt been publiſhed, extracted not only from a MS. in the king's library, of which we have ſpoke, but from acts of parliament.

* — D'Auſſonville, ſieur de St. George, and Lewis de Beauvau, ſieur de Tremblecourt, both gentlemen of Lorrain.

§ Bernardine Gigault de Bellefonde.

† On the 15th of February, in the plains de Villers Coterets in Valois. The baron de Conan is called Conas or Conac, in M. de Thou: and inſtead of Bayes, you muſt read it Beyne.

‡ Henry the ſecond ſon of the conſtable Anne de Montmorency, who was made conſtable in the year 1593.

‖ See all theſe different expeditions into Burgundy, in de Thou and d'Aubigné, ann. 1595.

Henry

1594. Henry did not doubt but that, by uniting all theſe ſeparate bodies into one army, he ſhould make whatever province he conducted it into tremble. It is certain that if he did this, he could not make a ſtand every where as before; but the expectations his majeſty formed from his firſt project, made him reſolve to prefer it. Having the choice of entering Picardy, Champaigne, or Burgundy, he determined upon the laſt, where meſſieurs de Montmorency, Biron, and Sancy, gave him hopes of great ſucceſs. Their ſecret motives for calling him thither were theſe.

The conſtable Montmorency had been alarmed by the great preparations he ſaw made by Spain in Lombardy, where the conſtable of Caſtile had orders to quit the Milaneſe, however neceſſary his preſence might be in that country, to enter France, and make ſome bold attempt there, after he ſhould be joined by the count de Fuentes, general of the Spaniſh troops in the Netherlands. Montmorency therefore apprehended that all theſe troops would fall upon him. Marechal Biron, who was in the ſame quarters, where, after ſeizing the city of Dijon, he had attacked the caſtle of it, and that of Talan, both of great ſtrength, was afraid, likewiſe, that he ſhould be obliged to raiſe the ſiege if he was not aſſiſted.

As to Sancy, his views were to advance his own reputation by the conqueſt of Franche-Comté, to which he was inceſſantly endeavouring to perſuade the king. Convinced by his own experience of madam de Liancourt's power, he ſought to make her approve this project: but the terms he was upon with this lady not permitting him to propoſe it to her himſelf, he concealed his own intereſt in the affair, and made uſe of the interpoſition of others. He cauſed it to be hinted to the chancellor de Chiverny, and, by his means, to a lady who could not fail of making her court by it to madam de Liancourt, that the king might eaſily provide a noble inheritance for her ſon Cæſar, by driving out the Spaniards from Franche-Comté, and giving him the poſſeſſion of it under the ſovereignty of the Thirteen Cantons, who would be induced by their own intereſt to favour the attempt. Madam de Liancourt, I am perſuaded, could not flatter herſelf with the hope of gaining the king's conſent to ſo ridiculous a ſcheme; and durſt not even communicate it to him, though this prince's paſſion * for her was ſo

* "He went through Paris, having this "lady by his ſide; he took her with him "to hunt, and careſſed her before all the "world." Journ. de l'Etoile, ibid. And we may judge of the attachment of Henry IV. to this lady, from the letters he writ to her: which ſee in the collection newly printed.

great,

great, that he ſuffered no one to be ignorant of it: but there needed no more to make him reſolve upon a journey to Burgundy, than this lady's joining herſelf to thoſe who adviſed him to it. Such is a court, and thus are kings impoſed upon: from whence they may learn, that, whatever ideas they may have conceived of the wiſdom and abilities of their miniſters, to judge truly of every tranſaction it is the ſureſt way to ſtudy carefully the ſecret inclinations, intereſt, and diſpoſitions of thoſe who are neareſt to their perſons. 1595.

To remedy, in ſome meaſure, the inconveniencies which might ariſe from leaving the frontiers of Picardy expoſed to the inroads of the Spaniſh troops that were in Flanders, the king, who was not, like others, impoſed upon by the great promiſes that England and Holland made him, left meſſieurs de Nevers, de Bouillon, de Villars, and de Saint Paul *, upon this frontier, with each a detachment under their command; enjoining them to aſſiſt each other upon occaſion, and above all recommending a good intelligence amongſt themſelves. In caſe of a reunion, the duke of Nevers was appointed to command in chief. He provided with the ſame wiſdom and foreſight for the affairs at home, by eſtabliſhing a council, which, beſides the finances, was to take cognizance of all the treaties that were made with the provinces, cities, and governors; of all affairs relating to war; and of the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the kingdom.

As ſoon as his majeſty had publicly explained himſelf with regard to the forming this council, the count of Soiſſons wiſhed to be made preſident of it; and began to inſinuate ſomething to that purpoſe in the king's preſence. That I might remove his reſentment againſt me for traverſing his marriage, I ſolicited this title for him, which was more honourable than effective, and in all appearance would be of ſhort duration: but the king, whoſe averſion for the count increaſed every day, had already fixed upon the prince of Conti, and at dinner declared his purpoſe before the whole court. Then turning to the count of Soiſſons, he told him, that, knowing his diſpoſition to be turned wholly towards war, he would keep him about his perſon this campaign; and ordered him to get his company of gendarmes in readineſs to attend him. The prince of Conti anſwered only with a profound bow, becauſe he expreſſed himſelf with difficulty; and the count of Soiſſons did the ſame, becauſe anger hindered him from ſpeaking: all his majeſty ſaid

* Francis d'Orleans, count de St. Paul, governor of Provence.

1595. to him being accompanied with praiſes of his valour, and an air of diſtinction which forced him to appear ſatisfied.

The members of the new council were almoſt all the ſame that had compoſed the former; to which were added three intendants, Heudicourt, Marcel, and Guibert: the number was afterwards augmented to eight, by joining to thoſe three Incarville, Des-Barreaux, Atichy, Santeny, and Vienne, and a ſecretary named Meillant. Although the duke of Nevers was not now in the council, the king found no leſs difficulty in procuring me a place in this than in the former. He was afraid to propoſe it at firſt, on account of the catholics, who could not ſuffer a proteſtant in power: but he broke through this obſtacle three days afterwards; and the reaſon he gave for it to the other counſellors was, that the confidence which the prince of Conti had in me, rendered my aſſociation neceſſary even to themſelves.

The road his majeſty was to take being through Moret, I attended him ſo far, not ſo much to receive him there, ſince madam de Roſny could have done that without me, as to have an opportunity of conferring privately with this prince, and to receive his laſt inſtructions concerning affairs that might in his abſence be brought before the council, the members whereof did not long continue in a ſtate of friendſhip. My collegues, perceiving by the private diſpatches I received from the king, that I was in poſſeſſion of his confidence, entered, through jealouſy, into a combination againſt me, looking upon me as one who would carry away all the honour of every meritorious act that was performed by the council. They ſought to diſguſt me, or to force me to ſilence, by joining in a conſtant oppoſition to all I ſaid; but finding that notwithſtanding this behaviour I ſtill perſiſted to take my own meaſures, they had recourſe to another ſtratagem, and in our aſſemblies every affair was diſcuſſed but what related to the finances, which was referred to private meetings, either at the chancellor's or at Sancy's; and there all was regulated without my participation. I did not diſſemble my thoughts of this colluſion, but declared to them, that I had no deſire to mix in their debates; and, inſtead of ſigning their decrees, proteſted againſt them, and retired to Moret. The members of the council, who could not even invent any pretence for the diſguſt they gave me, being afraid of his majeſty's reproaches, prevailed upon the prince of Conti himſelf to intreat me to return. Being always naturally incapable of flattery, or of diſguiſing my ſentiments, I replied, that ſince they did not rectify the abuſes which had been introduced into the

the finances, although they were ſufficiently acquainted with them, I would at leaſt avoid the reproach of following their conduct, and would ſtay at Moret, rather than be a witneſs of faults which I ſaw committed with impunity. 1595.

THE king, whom I informed of what had happened to me, found ſo much conformity between his ſituation and mine, that he thought he could not conſole me more effectually, than by complaining to me in his turn. He had indeed moſt ungovernable ſpirits to deal with. The count of Soiſſons, who had followed him with reluctance, revenged himſelf by repeated inſtances of his caprice and ill humour. But not all his endeavours could induce the king, however greatly he was offended, to order him to retire; which was the point he wiſhed to bring him to: and he was at laſt obliged to go of his own accord, upon a pretence ſo very trifling, that it had ſcarcely the appearance of one. A report being ſpread that the conſtable of Caſtille was approaching, the king ordered the conſtable de Montmorency, and marechal Biron, to bring up the two bodies of troops which they commanded: the count of Soiſſons alledged that, by his poſt of high ſteward of the king's houſhold, he had a right to the chief command of theſe troops in his majeſty's abſence, and aſſerted his claim to it in his preſence. The king did not think proper even to requeſt a favour of this nature from the conſtable, and the marechal; and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to baniſh ſo ridiculous a notion from the count's mind. He ſolicited, he intreated him, as he would have done his ſon or brother (theſe were his majeſty's own words) but in vain: the count, who did not err through ignorance, quitted him with a diſſembled diſcontent, and prevailed upon part of the ſoldiers under his command to do the like. The king immediately diſpatched letters to his council, to take proper meaſures upon the count's flight: the ſame meſſenger left one for me as he paſſed by Moret. Henry did not yet know that I had retired thither; but we had agreed upon this expedient, to conceal from my enemies the correſpondence I had with his majeſty.

THREE or four days after the receipt of this letter, my ſervants informed me that ſome ſoldiers were juſt arrived, who inſiſted upon quartering at Saint-Mamert, a village upon the confluence of the Seine and the Loin, dependent upon Moret, and diſtant from it about a quarter of a league. I ſent Camord to bring me intelligence who they were, and what was their deſign. They not only neglected to ſend me, by this gentleman, the uſual compliments upon theſe occaſions, but

1595. likewiſe anſwered him inſolently, that they had a right to quarter in any place where their horſes began to be fatigued, and all that could be required of them was to do no miſchief. They refuſed to name their captains, and only ſaid that they belonged to the count of Soiſſons. That I might leave theſe officers no excuſe for their rudeneſs, I wrote to them a ſecond time, telling them that, ſince they belonged to the count of Soiſſons, who honoured me with his friendſhip, they were welcome to quarter at Moret; that I would provide them lodgings in the inns and houſes of the town's people, where they would have greater conveniency; and juſt hinted to them that I was ſenſible of the manner in which they had received my deputy. Camord, whom I would have ſent with this ſecond meſſage, told me, that it would have no other effect than to increaſe the inſolence of theſe officers, who came with a premeditated deſign to affront me, which he confirmed by ſeveral other circumſtances of his reception, that he had concealed from me before, to avoid a greater misfortune. Madam de Roſny, who was preſent at this relation, began to give way to female fears; and accuſing Camord with imprudence, ſaid ſhe had rather that the whole village of Saint-Mamert was laid in ruins, than ſee me, for ſo ſlight an occaſion, at variance with the count, and expoſed to a conteſt with his officers.

I OBLIGED my wife to be ſilent; and after arreſting five or ſix of the troopers, who came to get their equipages mended at Moret, and to purchaſe proviſions, I again ſent Camord to thoſe inſolent officers. They received him ſtill worſe than before, and hardly forbore laying hands on him; mingling great threatning with their complaints for the detention of their ſoldiers. It was no longer poſſible to diſſemble: and all that now remained to be done, was to aſſert my authority, yet with all imaginable moderation. I ordered twelve other troopers, who had juſt entered Moret, to be arreſted; and in two hours time aſſembled an hundred and fifty arquebuſiers, thirty horſe, and thirty foot ſoldiers; with whom I marched to Saint-Mamert, by the road that leads to it by land, and which has a thick ſhade of trees on each ſide; while the reſt of my troop purſued the ſame rout upon the river, in a flat boat covered with planks, and arrived at the ſame time with me under the houſes of the village ſituated near the river. The count of Soiſſons' party, ſeeing this double eſcort, detached ſome of their men to aſk me what I meant by it? "Nothing, replied I calmly, but that this village belonging to "me, I come to quarter my ſoldiers here." The officers by theſe words underſtood that I was not diſpoſed to yield to them; and ſent again

again to make excuſes for what had happened, telling me that they had no deſign to quarter in any place that belonged to me, without my permiſſion; which the count of Soiſſons would never pardon them for. In effect, they paid for what proviſions they had bought, and remounted their horſes, without even demanding the priſoners, whom I ſent after them as ſoon as they had reached Dormeilles. They thanked me, and offered me their ſervice, which entirely removed my anger. I ſent the officers a dozen bottles of wine and two pies; after which I mounted my horſe, to go, in obedience to his majeſty's order, to conſult with the prince of Conti upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken with regard to the count of Soiſſons' deſertion. 1595.

This misfortune was very inconſiderable, compared to that which happened in Picardy. The jealouſy of command created a miſunderſtanding between the duke of Nevers and the duke of Bouillon. The counts of Fuentes and Roſne, who commanded the Spaniſh troops, and were doubtleſs informed of it, took advantage of their diviſion, and laid ſiege to Catelet and Capelle. The firſt of theſe two places wanted proviſions and ammunition; and the ſecond had a diſhonourable governor: but the loſs of them was chiefly occaſioned by the two French generals*, who, through hatred of each other, neglected to give them any aſſiſtance.

Things were in this ſtate, when the governor of Ham, a place belonging to the Spaniards, being diſcontented with his garriſon, reſolved to deliver up the caſtle of Ham to the king, which would neceſſarily include the ſurrender of the city. He addreſſed himſelf to the duke of Longueville, and intreated him to ſend him a powerful aſſiſtance, having a very numerous garriſon to oppoſe. The duke of Longueville acquainted his general officers, and the duke of Bouillon in particular, with the affair, who promiſed him a ſpeedy ſupply. Upon this aſſurance, the duke of Longueville, that he might not by delay loſe ſo favourable an opportunity, haſtened immediately to Ham with d'Humieres, followed by ſome Picardine troops, and threw part of them into the caſtle, and part in the adjacent places, endeavouring to reduce the city by ſcaling and petarding. The enemy's garriſon defended themſelves like lions, and repulſed them ſeveral times; and probably a fiercer action of this kind never happened. At length, the French, Charles lord of Humieres.

* Brantome juſtifies the duke de Nevers concerning the defeat the French met with at Dourlens; and obſerves that he advanced by long marches, and that he ordered them to wait for him; but the other commanders did not think proper to do ſo. Tom. III. p. 268.

animated

1595. animated by the bravery of their leaders, who found that it was in vain to expect any assistance from the duke of Bouillon, attacked the trench next the castle, carried it, and entered the city. The Spanish garrison received them there with great intrepidity: being forced to give ground, they rallied again several times, and many little battles were fought in the squares, cross-ways, and even in the houses; till they were all, to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred men, cut in pieces. But the French bought this advantage very dear; they lost thirty of their best officers, among whom were du Cluseau and la Croix, and d'Humieres * himself, the best and bravest officer in all Picardy.

N. Blanchard du Cluseau.

Messieurs de Saint-Paul, de Bouillon, and Villars, thought they could not better employ their troops, during this interval, than by raising the siege of Dourlens, which had been attacked by Fuentes and Rosne, after the taking of Catelet and Capelle. The duke of Bouillon brought four hundred horse, Villars as many, and Saint-Paul five hundred; and their infantry consisted in all, of two thousand men, which they determined to throw into the city, if they failed of driving the besiegers from before it.

About half a league from Dourlens, Bouillon having sent fifty of his troop five hundred paces before him, to gain the summit of a mountain, from whence they might have a full view of the city and the camp of the besiegers, four of their horses, who preceded the others, perceived a body of the enemy coming directly towards them, between the camp and the hill. This was, in effect, their whole army, in order of battle, which had got intelligence of our design. But these four troopers being hindered by their fear from making a perfect discovery, made a false report to the duke of Bouillon, who, supposing it to be only a detachment, hastened his march with his squadron. Arriving at the top of the hill, he plainly saw his mistake. One party of one hundred horse, preceded two squadrons of six hundred each, which followed at the distance of about a thousand paces, and were supported by three other squadrons, consisting of an equal number, and a body of seven or eight thousand foot. The hundred horse, perceiving Bouillon, galloped towards him, followed at a great pace by the two first squadrons, all armed cap-a-pie, and lances by their sides; which

* Nothing can be added to the eulogium which M. de Thou gives this gentleman; he says, book cxii. that the king and the whole kingdom lamented him: his life and illustrious actions fill the 8930th vol. of MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi.

left

left him no room to doubt but that the French were diſcovered, and that they would be obliged to engage, notwithſtanding the inequality of their numbers, the Spaniards being ſtronger by two thirds than they, unleſs he could conceal from them his little party. 1595.

BOUILLON, ſending a gentleman to the admiral, to deſire he would come immediately to his aſſiſtance; Villars, who was bravery itſelf, without anſwering a ſingle word, armed himſelf in the midſt of his troopers, and making them put their helmets on, exhorted them no otherwiſe than by bidding them follow him; and Bouillon ſaw him in an inſtant at his ſide. Finding him in ſuch a good diſpoſition, he told him, that to prevent the enemy from diſcovering their rear, it was neceſſary to charge them with as much fury as poſſible. The admiral ſtaid not to be deſired a ſecond time; but, ſuppoſing that he ſhould be vigorouſly aſſiſted by Bouillon, advanced through emulation, before his troop, and galloping intrepidly towards the enemy, ſuddenly attacked the left wing, threw himſelf, with his piſtol in his hand, amidſt that foreſt of lances, and carrying terror and diſmay through the firſt ſix hundred horſe, would have cut them in pieces, and perhaps have gained ſtill greater advantages, if he had been ſeconded with equal bravery: but Bouillon, on his ſide, made only a falſe attack; after which he wheeled about and retreated, and has ſince conſtantly maintained, that it was this only which had been agreed upon between the * admiral and him, although all thoſe who accompanied the latter have unanimouſly aſſerted, that he meant a true attack.

THIS miſtake, if it was one, had a conſequence as fatal as might have been expected: the enemy's ſquadron which Bouillon had attacked and afterwards ſhunned, was the firſt to fall upon Villars, who was then conqueror of his own; and being that inſtant joined by freſh troops, which came pouring on him in great numbers, his ſquadron, being quite overwhelmed, could find their ſafety only in flight.

* If we will not give credit to his biographer, let us believe M. de Thou, who entirely clears the duke de Bouillon: he, moreover, ſays, that the admiral de Villars was acquainted by the count de Saint-Paul to retire; but that he did not take this notice for any other than a kind of order of the duke de Bouillon, to which he refuſed to pay any regard, through a piece of vanity and bravery which cannot be excuſed from the imputation of temerity, liv. cxii. D'Aubigné ſpeaks in the ſame manner as de Thou, tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 9. Les Mem. de la Ligue, tom. vi. and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. The opinion of Cayet is, that the admiral de Villars would willingly have taken advantage of the advice which the duke of Bouillon cauſed to be given him to retire, but that he was then too far engaged. Chron. Novenn. liv. vii. p. 504.

Villars,

1595. Villars, incapable of fear, and disdaining to turn his back upon the enemy, performed wonders with a few brave men who would not abandon him; but at last, being attacked on all sides, and surrounded by the enemy, they were all thrown to the ground and expired, pierced with a thousand wounds, or massacred in cold blood *.

Bouillon gained nothing by this sacrifice of his collegue: the victorious enemy attacked his squadron, the other, commanded by Saint-Paul, and the whole body of foot. Their leader had not inspired them, by his example, with a resolution to defend themselves. Bouillon and Saint-Paul fled with their cavalry, leaving the foot without any means of safety; in effect, they were all cut off. After this, the besieged city in vain demanded to capitulate. The enemy, intoxicated with their good fortune, would listen to no propositions, but stormed the place while they were parlying, and inhumanly butchered all they found in it. I had this whole relation from La-Font, who, after the loss of his master, returned to my service; and the reader may be assured that it is absolutely true, since this man deserves all the faith that is due to a man of honour, and an eye-witness of what he relates. He told me, that more than three thousand French were lost upon this occasion; and, what is truly deplorable, more valiant men perished, than in those three great battles the king fought at Coutras, Arques, and Ivry: France, in Villars alone, sustained an irreparable loss; to the general grief of the kingdom, I joined mine in particular, for the loss of a true and incomparable friend.

Another letter, equally worthy of credit, from the sieur Baltazar, whom I had charged expressly not to omit the smallest circumstance relating to the actions of the king's army, puts it in my power to inform the reader of all that passed. In this recital he will, with great pleasure, behold a king whom the sweets of royalty had not power to alter; his successes were such, in all their circumstances, as could be attributed to nothing but his own valour and good conduct, and the glory of them was heightened by the opposition of those misfortunes which happened in all places where he was not in person.

* The admiral de Villars was among these last: after having been made prisoner by some Neapolitans, a Spanish captain, named Contrera, entered on purpose into a dispute with them about having him, and he made a handle of their refusal, to kill him. L'Etoile says, that the hatred which the Spaniards bore him, from the time that he quitted the party of the league for that of the king, was the true cause of his death. He gives him the same encomiums as M. de Rosny. Journ. de P. de l'Etoile, ann. 1595.

This

This campaign of Henry's in Franche-Compté, in the opinion of the best judges, exceeded all he had hitherto performed. 1595.

I HAVE before observed, that marechal Biron was employed in assisting the citizens of Dijon, who held the enemy's garrison besieged in their castle. He arrived there very fortunately: the viscount of Tavannes * having brought a considerable reinforcement to this garrison, the besieged became besiegers in their turn. The citizens, pressed on all sides, and reduced to the last extremity, could only defend themselves at the end of a street to which they had retired, and had but one of the city-gates in their possession, when Biron came to their assistance, and reanimated their courage; they once more drove out the viscount Tavannes, and surrounded the castles of Dijon and Talan †. In the midst of these transactions Biron was informed that the duke of Maïenne, full of grief for the success of the king's arms in Burgundy, had so earnestly solicited the constable of Castille for assistance, that the latter was upon the point of passing the Alps, with his army, to enter Burgundy. Biron, concealing this intelligence from the king, contented himself with only sending to intreat he would come as soon as possible to help him to reduce the castle of Dijon. The king was come to Troyes when he received the marechal's dispatches; and barely guessing at a circumstance which the marechal had an absolute certainty of, namely, that the constable of Castille, who, he supposed, would soon pass into Flanders, would take Dijon in his way, to settle there the affairs of the league with the duke of Maïenne, he marched thither hastily, and put every thing in motion, that they might find nothing more to do at their arrival.

IT is not to be doubted but that these two generals might have still been able to have prevented the king, and preserved the castles of Dijon, had they not stopped unseasonably in their way to take Vesoul, and some other little places in Franche-Compté, which had been seized by the troops of Lorrain. To this voluntary delay necessity afterwards added another at Gray, by the overflowing of the river Saone, which made it impossible for them to pass it. To remove this obstacle, the constable of Castille caused a bridge to be built over the river: but by his carrying on this work so slowly, it seemed as if he was afraid of engaging himself in the heart of France, with so many rivers behind

* John de Saulx, made a marechal of France by the league, and lieutenant of Burgundy for the duke of Maïenne.

† About half a league from Dijon; where an Italian, named Francisque, commanded.

1595. him. The truth was, this general already knew that he had the king before him.

When the king left Troyes he ſent the count of Torigny * with eight or nine hundred horſe before him; with which marechal Biron was extremely pleaſed. Four days after, Henry himſelf arrived at Dijon, and, without diſmounting, went immediately to reconnoitre the outworks, and all the neighbouring places; eſpecially on that ſide where the enemy might be expected. He cauſed deep trenches to be made, and by that means cut off all communication between the two caſtles. This done, the king perceiving that notwithſtanding all the efforts he could make, the caſtles might ſtill hold out a long time, he went, according to his uſual cuſtom, with a ſmall detachment to meet the enemy, that he might retard their march, and give time to the reſt of the troops to finiſh their enterpriſe. Having ſo inconſiderable a number with him, he thought if he could find his enemies employed in their paſſage over the Saone, it would afford him a favourable opportunity: he therefore appointed Lux and † Fontaine-Françoiſe for a rendezvous for the reſt of his troops, and marched before with only three hundred horſe, half of whom were arquebuſiers; and with this little eſcort advanced to the Vigenne, near Saint-Seine: from thence he detached the marquis of Mirebeau ‡, with fifty or ſixty horſe, to get intelligence; and in the mean time he paſſed the river of Vigenne with a hundred, or a hundred and twenty horſe; deſigning only to reconnoitre the ground, and the form of a country, where he might poſſibly be obliged to come to an action.

He had not marched more than a league, when he ſaw Mirebeau return in great diſorder; who told him, that he had been charged by three or four hundred horſe; which had prevented him from getting a full view of the enemy; but added, that he believed thoſe four hundred horſe had been ſent to ſeize the poſt of Saint-Seine, and that they were followed cloſe by the whole army. Biron, who arrived that inſtant, offered to go and make a clearer diſcovery. At the diſtance of a thouſand paces, he found, upon a little hill, an advanced guard, conſiſting of ſixty horſe, which he attacked; and taking their place, ſaw

* Odet de Matignon, count de Torigny, eldeſt ſon to the marechal.

† Upon the frontiers of Burgundy and Franche-Compté: this expedition happened in the beginning of June.

‡ James Cabot, marquis of Mirebeau, and count de Charni, counſellor of ſtate, and lieutenant in Burgundy for the king, died in 1670.

plainly

plainly the whole Spaniſh army marching in order of battle; and in particular, a body of four hundred horſe, which, advancing before the reſt of the army, purſued a party of one hundred and fifty French. This was the party commanded by d'Auſſonville *, whom his majeſty had ſent to make diſcoveries on the other ſide. D'Auſſonville, by flying, turned the arms of the purſuers on Biron. The enemy's detachment dividing into two bands, attacked him on the right and left, doubtleſs with the ſame intention as Biron, to diſcover what forces were in the rear. The difference between them was, that the enemies, being ſupported by near ſix hundred horſe, were two thirds ſuperior in number to the two ſquadrons commanded by Biron and Mirebeau, which made up only three hundred. 1595.

NOTWITHSTANDING this inequality, Biron continued to make a ſtand: he ſeparated his three hundred horſe into three equal platoons, placing Mirebeau, with the firſt, on the right; the baron of Lux †, with the ſecond, on the left; and poſted himſelf, with the third, in the middle. The enemy attacked each ſide at once, with a hundred and fifty men: Lux ſuffered greatly, and was even thrown to the ground, with many others: Biron, having the advantage in his place, flew to his aſſiſtance, and reanimated his troops; but was himſelf charged with ſuch impetuoſity by all the enemy's ſquadrons united together, towards whom he ſaw others from the main body of the army ſtill advancing, that he was obliged to retreat. This retreat, as ſoon as the enemy's horſe drew nearer, was changed into a real flight; in which condition he came within view of the king, who immediately ſent a hundred horſe to ſupport him. Nothing is more difficult than to ſtop the flight of a ſquadron when the enemy is at their heels; the laſt hundred men catched the contagion of fear, and returned flying with thoſe they went to aſſiſt.

THE king now finding that all depended upon himſelf, advanced towards the fugitives, without taking time to put on his helmet, expoſed himſelf to the fury of the victorious ſquadrons, which conſiſted of more than eight hundred men, called his principal officers by their names, and throwing himſelf every where, without any regard to his

* . . . . baron d'Auſſonville de Saint George, a gentleman of Lorrain.

† Edme de Malain, baron de Lux or de Luz: he was a counſellor of ſtate, captain of fifty gens d'armes, and the king's lieutenant in Burgundy. We ſhall ſpeak of him when we come to mention marechal Biron's conſpiracy, in which he was an accomplice.

1595.

Claude de la Trémouille, duke of Thouars.

own perſon, obliged ſome of the fugitives at laſt to ſtop. He compoſed two bodies of the whole, and putting himſelf at the head of a hundred and fifty horſe, returned to the charge on one ſide, while la Trémouille, with a like number, did the ſame, by his order, on the other: had it not been for ſuch an exertion of courage, it is probable, that not one of thoſe three hundred men, engaged thus on the farther ſide of a river, with a victorious body of cavalry in front, would have eſcaped. The king *, giving his ſoldiers an example, threw himſelf, bare-headed, amidſt ſix of the enemy's ſquadrons, broke thro' them, and forced them to give ground. Biron, taking advantage of this opportunity, rallied about a hundred and twenty horſe, and returned to ſupport the king, and all together drove the enemy's horſe back to the main body of the duke of Maïenne's army.

Henry would not have ſuffered his ardour to have tranſported him ſo far, but that he did not immediately perceive, that a wood on each ſide of him was crouded with fuſileers, to whoſe diſcharge he had like to have been expoſed, and would have been ſurrounded by them, if, in the heat of the fight, he had attacked the Spaniſh army: he therefore ſtopped his career, and kept himſelf upon his guard. At

* The king ſaid, that upon other occaſions and emergencies into which he had happened to fall, he fought for victory, but here he contended for his life. Perefixe, Matthieu, Cayet, le Grain, and d'Aubigné, relate the actions of this day in the ſame manner; but M. de Thou, and vol. 8929 of the royal MSS. with ſome little difference. D'Aubigné ſays, that the king did not ſhew himſelf entirely ſatisfied, that only the dukes de la Trémouille and d'Elbeuf joined together with a good grace, "to bruſh off," ſays he, "the dew before "his majeſty." Tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 8. But according to de Thou, he commended much before the parliament, Mirebeau, la Curée, and many others.

"I have no need of counſel but of aſ-"ſiſtance," replied Hen. IV. to thoſe who adviſed him to make his eſcape on a good Turkiſh horſe that was got ready for him; "there is more hazard in the flight than "the chace." Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 187. "Mainville," adds this hiſtorian, "who ſtood near him, and had his "piſtol ready charged for the firſt of the "enemy that came near him, let fire at "one ſo *a propos*, that he ſhot him quite "through the head; and the ball came "whiſtling ſo about the king's ears, that "he never ſpoke of a piſtol but he re-"membered this report, ſaying, That it "was the loudeſt he had ever heard, hav-"ing been charged with two ſteel balls." According to the account of the ſame hiſtorian, the duke de Maïenne demanded only four hundred horſe of the Spaniſh general to attack the king's troops; which the Spaniard refuſed him, being perſuaded that Henry only wanted to draw him into an ambuſcade. This diſtruſt of the enemy was the occaſion of his eſcape at Fontaine-Françoiſe, as it had been before at Aumale. And what is more ſurprizing is, that this prince only loſt ſix men in ſo hot an action; while on the enemy's ſide were killed one hundred and twenty, beſides two hundred wounded, and ſixty taken priſoners. Chron. Novenn. liv. vii. p. 497.

that moment he perceived two other bodies of horſe, who came out of one of thoſe woods to ſtrengthen the advanced guard, which he had vanquiſhed. This was one of thoſe critical moments, when the leaſt want of precaution brings on inevitable ruin. The king, who with one glance perceived the deſign of theſe troops, ordered his to halt and thicken their ranks, that they might be in a condition to receive them; for in the heat of his victory he overturned all that oppoſed him, and found himſelf at large before all thoſe battalions, who were aſtoniſhed at the miracles they ſaw him perform. Henry knew this ſurprize would not laſt long, and that he would have the fury of a whole army to ſuſtain, animated by the ſight of a handful of foes, to repair the ſhame of ſuch an aſtoniſhing defeat; he therefore took advantage of the enemy's inaction, to regain at leaſt his firſt poſt, without being purſued; and diſengaged himſelf from the midſt of the enemy's army with ſo much order and ſuperiority, that they could make themſelves no amends for their loſs. And this prince, in one day, and almoſt in one moment, acquired the honour of the moſt glorious victory, and fineſt retreat, that ever any hiſtory afforded an example of. 1595.

On his arrival, he found the count of Chiverny *, the chevalier d'Oiſe, meſſieurs de Vitry, de Clermont, de Riſſe, d'Arambure, de la Curée, d'Heures, de Saint-Geran, and de la Boulaye, with each his company, which being joined to thoſe troops the king had before, compoſed a body of eight hundred horſe. After this reinforcement, the enemy durſt not attack them, being perſuaded that his whole army was not far off; and not yet recovered from their conſternation at the defeat of their men by a platoon ſcarce the ſixth part of their number, they turned back, placing their infantry in the rear to cover their cavalry. The king followed them cloſe, and harraſſed them continually, till they had repaſſed the Saone upon the bridge they had built below Gray. Not daring to attempt the paſſage again, Burgundy, by this exploit, remained wholly at the king's diſcretion: he reduced it all in a few days,

* Henry Huralt, count de Cheverny, George de Brancas-Villars, Louis de l'Hôpital-Vitry, George de Clermont d'Amboiſe, ... de Crequy de Riſſey, Jean d'Arambure, and Gilbert Filhet de la Curée, who alſo was in the engagement, where he fought without armour, and badly mounted. A voice, which he thought to be the king's, called to him, "Take "care, Curée;" when, lo, he found it was one of the enemy, who was juſt ready to run him through with his lance; but he killed him. Vol. 8929. MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi.

except

1595. except the Seure *, and ſeized ſeveral little towns in Franche-Compté, which he releaſed at the intreaty of the Swiſs. Theſe advantages were all owing to the battle of Fontaine-Françoiſe.

Henry, when he learnt the defeat of his forces in Picardy, confeſſed, that thoſe advantages, great as they were, did not equal that loſs. He quitted Burgundy and the Lyonnois immediately, and marched haſtily towards Paris. Paſſing by Moret, I acquainted him with my motives for leaving the council: he approved of them, and was of opinion, that the confidence which the other members of it perceived he repoſed in me, and the deſire I had to make myſelf ſtill more worthy that diſtinction, had drawn their enmity upon me. He had the goodneſs to conſole me for it, by aſſuring me that my ſufferings upon this occaſion would only increaſe his friendſhip for me. I agreed with his majeſty, that at a time when the check his forces received at Dourlens might occaſion a revolution, there was a neceſſity to diſſemble his diſguſt, and to avoid accuſing any one. It was to me only that the king complained of the authors of that fatal accident, and deplored the dangerous effects of enmity between leaders, which is almoſt the ſole cauſe of the greateſt diſaſters in war. He appeared ſenſibly affected with the loſs of admiral Villars, and never mentioned him but with the higheſt praiſes: nor could he be deceived by any thing which the intereſted parties advanced, to place all that had happened to the account of the deceaſed.

It was then that this prince was convinced, and acknowledged to me, that he had yielded unreaſonably to propoſals for a war, the ſucceſs of which he had been perſuaded was infallible: he was even candid enough to treat it as an error which might plunge France once more into greater miſeries than thoſe ſhe had juſt been delivered from. By ſpeaking thus, the king only reflected on the greatneſs of a loſs ſuch as Catelet, Capelle, Ardres †, Dourlens, Cambray, from which Balagny had been juſt driven; and Calais eſpecially, which though not yet taken was looked upon as already loſt. As for me, I thought the kingdom was then in moſt danger, when the king, by an aſtoniſhing inſtance of

* Seure, a town upon the river Saone: it has changed its name, and now is called Bellegarde.

† Ardres was ſurrendered to the enemy by the count de Belin, almoſt without making any defence; for which he was diſgraced, turned out of his places, and ſent home to his eſtate, &c. Bongars Epiſt. 75 ad Camer. Moriſot, ch. 33.

valour

valour and good fortune, preſerved Burgundy and his own life. From that time Henry uſed to ſay, that a declaration of war was one of thoſe affairs that required the greateſt deliberation, and could never be ſufficiently enough attended to. From this example princes may ſtill draw another leſſon no leſs uſeful, which is, that they ought never to entertain a perſonal hatred for their neighbours, and that prudence, on certain occaſions, requires them to ſeem diſpoſed for a reconciliation, notwithſtanding the moſt violent, and even the moſt juſt reſentment. 1595.

The king was careful to avoid diſcovering his thoughts in public; on the contrary, he endeavoured to revive the courage of thoſe who ſeemed moſt depreſt. To the Pariſians, who made him compliments of condolance upon his loſs, he replied that it might be eaſily repaired, provided they would join actions to words. They made him great offers; but his majeſty, who had had frequent proofs of the little dependence he could have on them, took his own meaſures, and without waiting for the accompliſhment of their promiſes, left Paris the next day, with the ſatisfaction of hearing before he went, by a courier from Rome, that the pope had been at laſt prevailed upon to grant him the abſolution * he had ſo long ſolicited. In the preſent conjuncture, this news was of the utmoſt importance.

To this abſolution the holy father annexed the following conditions †: That the king ſhould exclude the proteſtants from all employments

* "What made the pope," ſays M. de Perefixe, "delay giving abſolution ſo long "was, ſaid he, becauſe that he alone had "the power of reſtoring penitents: and "he was very much diſpleaſed that the pre-"lates of France had taken upon them to "abſolve him, though they had only done "it provifionally, *ad cautelam*."

† Beſides theſe conditions, the original of which may be ſeen in vol. 8778 of the MSS. de la Biblioth. du Roi, where the act of abſolution of Henry IV. is ſet down at length, in Italian, the holy father impoſes therein for penance upon this prince, to hear on every Sunday and feſtival, a conventual maſs in the chapel royal, and private maſs every week day, to ſay the roſary every Sunday, the chapelet every Saturday, and the litanies every Wedneſday, to faſt every Friday, to confeſs and communicate publicly at leaſt four times a year. I obſerve, in this act, that the pope, after having given this prince abſolution, then entitles him only the king of France and Navarre. At each verſe of the *Miſerere*, the holy father gave a light touch of the penitentiary rod on the ſhoulders of M. Du Perron, and M. d'Oſſat, who are therein called *Procuratori di Navarra*: this is but an ordinary formality in this ſort of ceremony; upon which the proteſtant writers have not failed to comment with great indecency, by ſaying that Henry IV. had ſubmitted to receive laſhes of the whip from the procurator, and other ſuch like calumnies: but theſe malicious pleaſantries have not been able to

and

1595. and dignities, and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs them entirely: That he ſhould reſtore the celebration of maſs in Bearn, and oblige the huguenots to make reſtitution to the catholics of all the effects which had been taken from the eccleſiaſtics: That he ſhould prevail upon the prince of Condé to embrace the roman catholic religion: That he ſhould publiſh and cauſe the council of Trent to be received: and laſtly, That the jeſuits ſhould be again eſtabliſhed in France. Theſe conditions which regarded the proteſtants and the council of Trent were not complied with, the reſt were.

Those perſons who thought the king received laws from the pope upon this occaſion, ought to lay the blame upon Du-Perron, and ſtill more upon Arnaud d'Oſſat, then agent for this affair at Rome. Theſe

impoſe upon any, ſince M. de Thou and all the ſenſible writers have ſhewn, that they were altogether unjuſt and without foundation. M. de Sully, as far as appears, had got over this popular error; but I know not if he obſerves the ſame equity with regard to M. d'Oſſat.

What he ſays here, and in many other places of theſe Memoirs, excited in me a curioſity to read carefully the collection of this cardinal's letters, who is reputed amongſt us to have been as good a Frenchman as an able ſtateſman. I will ſpeak freely my mind as to each grievance which furniſhes the duke de Sully with occaſion of attacking him, according as they fall in my way. And to begin with that of Henry IVth's abſolution, it appears to me, after examining all he ſays on this head, page 45, 48, 105, 107, 115, 129, 208, &c. of the old edition in folio, that we cannot but acknowledge on one hand, that he met with great ſcruples in the pope's breaſt, and real difficulties on the part of the ſacred college; that he applied himſelf with great aſſiduity and with equal ſucceſs to ſurmount them; and that any but he would have had much to do to have conquered them; as is evident from what happened to the duke de Nevers, the cardinal de Retz, the marquis de Piſany, and others: that for his own part he is very far from approving the many ſubterfuges to which the court of Rome had often recourſe in their formalities; and even that all this chicane made him often uneaſy, as alſo the unfair dealing which, he complains, they uſed in the bull of abſolution. However, in oppoſition to all this, a man may perceive on the other hand in theſe very places, and ſtill more in all thoſe paſſages that in any meaſure relate to the proteſtants, the jeſuits, or the council of Trent, &c. that his eminence was not at all diſturbed, that the affair of the king's abſolution had paſſed under the reſtrictions of which M. de Sully complains ſo bitterly: whether it was that M. d'Oſſat did not perceive therein the pretended leſion of the honour of the crown, and the prejudice done to the liberties of the Gallican church, which I leave to the learned to determine; or whether he believed that all theſe precautions became neceſſary for the intereſt of religion; or laſtly, whether he were not biaſſed in favour of the maxims of the league: and yet all this does not hinder me from ſubſcribing to the encomiums which our beſt hiſtorians have given this cardinal; and in the laſt place Amelot de la Houſſaye, in the life he gives us of him that is prefixed to the edition of his letters, to which I refer the reader. The abbé Du-Perron and M. de Villeroi, had likewiſe done conſiderable ſervice to Henry IV. in the affair of his abſolution. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 210, & ſeq.

two

two eccleſiaſtics were ſo far from rejecting theſe conditions, that they would have been grieved, if they had not been inſiſted upon; if any credit may be given to a memorial which was many years afterwards ſent me from Rome, and which I ſhall ſpeak of fully in its place: it affords a complete proof of what I have juſt advanced, at leaſt with regard to d'Oſſat. 1595.

This memorial advances two things relating to the king's abſolution, which proves one of the principal articles: that the pope and the whole ſacred college were ſo ardently deſirous of the king's applying to Rome for this ceremony, that they could not conceal their fears, when they were ſometimes informed that Henry would be brought to deſpiſe it, or look upon it as uſeleſs; and this the author proves from their own letters: ſecondly, that d'Oſſat, inſtead of informing the king of this diſpoſition in the court of Rome, which he would have done had his honour and dignity been of the ſmalleſt conſequence to him, on the contrary gave this prince to underſtand, that he could not obtain a reconciliation with his holineſs, but by offering an incroachment upon the liberties of the Gallican church, and purchaſing it by thoſe conditions already mentioned. Henry, however, rewarded his two agents with the higheſt dignity in the prelacy.

In three days his majeſty arrived at Péronne, where he was immediately ſaluted by Balagny. This man, who by an exceſs of ridiculous vanity *, had juſt loſt his government, his fortune, his wife, and his honour, inſtead of bluſhing for his folly, and concealing himſelf from reproach, affected to ſhew himſelf, talked big; and in this ſtate, which

* M. de Perefixe ſays, that Cambrai was taken by famine: others, as Matthieu, blame the miſunderſtanding that ſubſiſted between the dukes de Nevers and de Bouillon for it; and others again the negligence of Balagny. The Memoirs of the league, tom. VI. remark, that three companies of Swiſs, not having had their pay given them, compelled him to deliver up the place. All the hiſtorians have cried up the courage of Renée de Clermont, the wife of Balagny, and ſiſter to the brave Baſſy d'Amboiſe, who, after having, to no purpoſe, done all ſhe could to inſpire reſolution into the governor and her huſband, did not chuſe to ſurvive the loſs of her principality, and died either of famine or grief. "And here in one article, is an abſtract "of the greateſt diſgrace that France has "ſuffered from foreigners in the memory "of man." So ſpeaks d'Aubigne, in concluding the 9th chapter, liv. iv. tom. III. of his hiſtory, in which he has collected the taking of Catelet, la Capelle, Ardres, Cambrai, Calais, and the defeat at Dourlens. Balagny tells a Spaniſh officer, who ſeemed ſurprized at ſeeing him take his miſtreſs along with him, and in the ſame boat, that love ſoftened all the croſs accidents of fortune: "Right," replied the Spaniard, "and eſpecially at preſent, as "you will have leſs to do than you have "had before." P. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 219.

1595. was indeed the fitteſt for him, expected all that regard which is generally paid to unfortunate ſovereigns. The king reſolved to attempt all things to aſſiſt Calais: finding that his troops were not ſufficient to ſtorm the camp of the beſiegers, he took the only courſe that now remained, which was to throw himſelf into the place, at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement. Twice he embarked with this deſign, but a contrary wind forced him back again to land. While he deſpaired of accompliſhing his enterprize, Matelet, governor of Foix, came to him, and offered to attempt a third time to enter Calais, promiſing him that, if he would give him four or five hundred gentlemen, he would ſo manage, either by ſea or land, that he would open himſelf a paſſage. The king praiſing his reſolution, gave him the eſcort he demanded; with which Matelet ſucceeded in his deſign, and entered Calais, after having ſurmounted a thouſand obſtacles *. But the glory of this brave action was ſoon obliterated, when it appeared that he had only joined the garriſon to be infected with their fears, and to conſent to a capitulation: and the king had the mortification to march to Calais, only to ſee it ſurrendered before his face.

If it be demanded where during this time were all thoſe French noblemen and officers who were ſo forward in adviſing the war; and why they ſuffered the king to bear the whole burthen of it, and ſuffer repeated loſſes? It muſt be owned, to the diſhonour of the French name, that they expected to draw advantages to themſelves by the misfortunes their imprudence occaſioned, and their negligence augmented; and formed, in the mean time, projects more fatal to the king's authority than the bloodieſt foreign war. Theſe projects I ſhall mention immediately.

Cities and forts in Picardy.

The king, equally ſuperior to good and bad fortune, comforted thoſe that were driven out of Calais, provided for the ſecurity of Boulogne,

* Hiſtorians do not agree as to this action. Some, as de Thou and d'Aubigné, by ſaying nothing at all of it, ſeem to call it in queſtion; others aſcribe it to the ſieur de Campagnole the younger; Davila and our Memoirs to Matelet, governor of Foix. Queen Elizabeth offered to defend Calais againſt the Spaniards, upon condition that the place were put into the hands of the Engliſh. Sancy, who was then ambaſſador at London, made anſwer to the queen, that the king his maſter would rather have it in the hands of the Spaniards than in thoſe of the Engliſh: and Henry IV. ſaid himſelf, "If he were to be bit, "he had rather it was by a lion than a lio-"neſs;" and this was the reaſon that queen Elizabeth afterwards refuſed to beſiege that town, while Henry IV. lay before that of Amiens, though they offered then to put it into her hands by way of ſecurity. Matthieu, ibid. p. 223.

Abbeville,

Abbeville, Montreuil, Monthulin, and other towns and caſtles, and marched towards St. Quintin, fearing leſt the enemies, who were not far from thoſe quarters, ſhould ſurprize ſome of the nobles, and general officers who came thither ſeparately. They choſe this opportunity for the execution of a deſign which they had formed, before they left Paris. The duke of Montpenſier was the perſon whom they charged with this commiſſion, not becauſe he was more diſaffected than the reſt, but becauſe his temper was moſt eaſy, and his underſtanding the weakeſt. He accoſted the king at Saint-Quintin; and, in the name of the principal French nobility, propoſed to him, as the only means of ſubduing his enemies, to reſign to the governors of provinces the property of their governments, with an hereditary right to them, requiring nothing of them but their allegiance. 1596.

It is not eaſy to comprehend how a propoſal which had ſo manifeſt a tendency to throw France into a ſtate of anarchy, that in former ages had filled it with blood and horror, could proceed from the mouth of a Frenchman, a prince, and what is more, a prince of the royal blood. Henry, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the prodigious inſolence of this affront offered to the royal dignity, for ſome moments could not utter a word, while the duke of Montpenſier continuing a ſpeech which had been ſtudied long before, endeavoured to prove to his majeſty, that while thoſe governors, or rather thoſe little princes, obliged themſelves to maintain troops always ready for his ſervice, he would be never again reduced to ſuch a ſituation as he was in at preſent, to appear before his enemies without ſoldiers to oppoſe them. The king, though agitated with various paſſions, diſcovered none to the duke, but pity towards him for the unworthy part he played. He ſtopped him from proceeding farther, by telling him, without the leaſt reſentment, that he had already heard too much; and that he was convinced thoſe French nobles had taken advantage of the eaſineſs of his temper, to make him the bearer of a propoſal, the whole meanneſs of which he was not ſenſible of, he who was a prince of the blood, and nearer the crown than himſelf had formerly been. The king added much more to the ſame purpoſe, with equal calmneſs, and was ſo far from being apprehenſive that he ſhould be reduced to yield to ſuch a propoſition, and ſo determined to ſuffer a thouſand deaths, if poſſible, rather than bring ſuch a load of infamy upon the royal dignity, that he had not even the thought of entering into any diſcuſſion of this project, or of uttering a ſingle word in anſwer to it *.

* "We are all gentlemen, ſaid Henry IV. ſometimes," before the princes of the blood.

1596. The duke of Montpenſier became ſenſible of his fault, by the air and tone with which his majeſty ſpoke to him; he bluſhed and aſked pardon for it, and intreated the king never to remember that he had been capable of thus degrading himſelf from his rank. The king, after having ſhewn the duke the whole extent of his fault, directed him how, in ſome meaſure, to repair it, with thoſe who had prevailed upon him to commit it; and aſſured him, that he for his own part would forget it entirely, and ſtill regard him as his kinſman. The duke of Montpenſier agreed to take the firſt opportunity that offered, when the authors of that inſolent propoſal brought it again on the carpet, to declare that he had reflected well upon the commiſſion they had given him; that they might ſend their propoſal by any other perſon, ſince he abſolutely diſapproved of it; and if ever he was to mention it to his majeſty, it ſhould be with a deſign to diſſuade him from it; and that they might depend upon his uſing his utmoſt endeavours to hinder its taking effect. He performed this talk ſo exactly, and with an air ſo natural, that he wholly diſconcerted all thoſe noblemen, and left them no inclination to make any attempts on his fidelity for the future.

It was therefore to reduce the king to the neceſſity of making them his equals, that the princes and governors of provinces in France ſo ill performed their promiſe of aſſiſting him with troops. The duke of Bouillon was one of thoſe who ſold his ſervices the deareſt. His majeſty, not doubting but he had a part in the plot, was willing to have a proof of it from the duke's perplexity, without letting him know that he was informed of it by other means. Bouillon did not want art and eloquence enough to conceal whatever he deſigned ſhould not be known; but, beſides that Henry poſſeſſed in no leſs degree the art of penetrating into the thoughts of thoſe with whom he converſed, the preſence of a ſovereign is alone capable of abaſhing a man conſcious of any ſecret guilt towards him. The king began by convincing himſelf that the duke of Montpenſier had not betrayed their late diſcourſe to the duke of Bouillon. After which he introduced the defeat of Dourlens, by aſking him plainly, and with a kind of confidence, how it happened that he had been diſappointed in thoſe certain correſpondencies which as he ſaid he carried on in Liege, Namur, and many other places in Luxembourgh, and Hainault, upon which he was ſenſible the war had been undertaken?

Bouillon, embarraſed by the queſtion, and that air of ſimplicity with which it was propoſed, inſtead of giving a direct anſwer concern-

ing

ing his pretended correſpondencies, fell into long ſpeeches, without meaning or end, which betrayed him more effectually, than the moſt ſincere confeſſion could have done. He accuſed all the world; the duke of Nevers, who he ſaid had corrupted his officers and obſtructed his levies; the Engliſh for not making the promiſed diverſion; the Dutch for taking advantage of this conjuncture to increaſe the power on their ſide of Over-Iſſel and Frieſland. Upon which the duke of Bouillon, who ſought only to turn the converſation ſtill more from the firſt ſubject, told the king, that the true cauſe of the misfortune which had lately happened, was, that his majeſty had no perſon of conſequence, and on whom he could have an abſolute dependence, at the court of London, to haſten the ſupplies that had been promiſed there; and at the ſame time offered himſelf for this embaſſy, and even ſolicited it earneſtly. The king being of opinion that it would anſwer no purpoſe to preſs the duke any farther upon this fault, ceaſed to mention it; and reflecting that he ſhould not loſe much by his abſence, conſented at laſt to the embaſſy to England. Accordingly his commiſſion was made out, and the duke of Bouillon, a few days after, ſet out for that kingdom. 1596.

It was from his majeſty himſelf that I had an account of this converſation with the duke of Bouillon, as likewiſe that with the duke of Montpenſier before mentioned.

The king had no ſooner quitted Bouillon, than reflecting that the duke, inſtead of having any deſign to ſerve him uſefully at the court of London, had poſſibly only ſolicited that employment to give bad impreſſions there of his conduct, or at leaſt to labour only for his own intereſt, he ſent Jaquinot for me early in the morning, to communicate this fear to me. I kneeled on a cuſhion at his bedſide, and his majeſty aſked me immediately what was ſaid, and what I, in particular, thought of the long converſation he had juſt held with the duke of Bouillon. I replied, that every one gueſſed his own way; and that probably the affair of Ham, and Dourlens, and the propoſal made by the duke of Montpenſier, made up the greateſt part of it. The king told me that I was miſtaken; that he was too well acquainted with the duke of Bouillon's diſpoſition, to doubt that any reproaches upon theſe occaſions, inſtead of correcting, would only ſerve to throw him in an open revolt. His majeſty afterwards, repeating exactly all that has been related concerning the embaſſy to England, propoſed to me to accompany the duke of Bouillon thither, that I might carefully obſerve his conduct.

In

1596. In courts every thing is brought about by artifice. The king, after his converſation with the duke of Bouillon, telling his council for the finances, that he had ſent the duke to England, theſe gentlemen, after conferring together, found nothing ſo fit to ſatisfy their hatred of me, as to perſuade the king to join me with the duke of Bouillon. My abilities for negotiations were praiſed, an honour which they were reſolved to deprive me of, when they had once ſucceeded in removing me from the king, who not penetrating into their views, approved of the propoſal. But I did not ſo eaſily fall into the ſnare: I ſhewed his majeſty the true motive of theſe gentlemen's feigned generoſity with regard to me. From the moment that the duke of Bouillon diſcovered that I watched his conduct, and diſconcerted his projects, he would not fail to break with me; and ſuch a genius as he poſſeſſed, when animated with malice, would ſuggeſt to him the means of throwing upon me the blame of all the faults he committed, and all the good he neglected to do. My enemies knew this as well as I; his majeſty was convinced by my reaſons, and preſſed me no farther.

The gentlemen of the council did not ſtop here: when they came again to the king, they were the firſt to confeſs that it was with reluctance they joined me to the duke of Bouillon; but ſince that duke was to ſtay but a ſhort time at London, they had pitched upon me to take his place with the ſame title and equal honours. All was alike to them, provided they could get rid of me. The king was again influenced by their opinions, and ſome days after, declared his intention to me; ordering me to make preparations immediately for this voyage; to provide myſelf with money, and to diſpoſe my wife to follow me, if I choſe to have her with me; which, however, he did not think neceſſary, ſince I ſhould not, he ſaid, be abſent above ſeven or eight months at moſt. The king perceiving my reluctance, accompanied this order with the moſt kind and obliging expreſſions his imagination could ſuggeſt; he told me that the preſent perplexed ſituation of his affairs hindering him from giving me the ſole direction of the finances, he ſhould reproach himſelf for expoſing to the dangers of a long and furious ſiege the only man in his kingdom whom he thought worthy to fill that important poſt. His majeſty had juſt then declared himſelf publicly concerning the ſiege of La-Fere.

While the king was ſpeaking, I was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the obſtinate perſecution of my enemies, and the depth of their malice. Under

Under the appearance of a title of honour vain in itſelf, and fatal in its conſequences, they took away, and perhaps for ever, all opportunities of advancing me: For who in my abſence would be ſolicitous for my intereſt? Who would hinder them from prolonging my ſtay out of the kingdom, till, affairs having taken a fixed and durable ſtate in France, there would be nothing left for a man who, by ſo long an abſence, would be regarded as a ſtranger. Theſe reflections kept me firm in my reſolution not to go. I intreated the king not to force me to a journey for which I felt an invincible repugnance; and I had the good fortune to find that Henry was of himſelf diſpoſed to believe that I ſhould be of more uſe to him at Paris than London, during the ſiege he was going to undertake: he therefore ſent me thither to facilitate his ſupplies of money, to furniſh him with whatever was neceſſary towards carrying on the ſiege, to receive his orders there, make one in his council, and direct its reſolutions. Had the choice of my revenge been in my own power, I could not have fixed upon any more effectual. 1596.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK VIII.

1596. THE motive which had determined the king to undertake ſo difficult a ſiege as that of La-Fere, was, that, his enemies having after their ſucceſs ſeparated their troops, he would not ſuffer his own, who had at laſt aſſembled, to remain idle, there being a neceſſity to ſecure Picardy, already ſhaken by ſo many repeated loſſes. Had I had the liberty of diſpoſing of myſelf as I pleaſed, I ſhould have choſen to have continued with the king during this ſiege, whoſe too great ſolicitude for my ſafety I could by no means approve: but I did not dare to refuſe the commiſſion which would detain me in Paris; and his majeſty, to render this order leſs diſpleaſing, aſſured me, that he would not for a long time attempt any thing conſiderable againſt La-Fere; and that ſome time or other he would permit me to make a journey thither. In reality I did ſo ſeveral times, but I had no ſooner arrived, than the neceſſity of providing for the ſubſiſtence of his troops obliged me to return again immediately. I comforted myſelf, however, with the thought, that through my diligence the army being ſupplied with every thing it had occaſion for, I might flatter myſelf with having, in ſome meaſure, contributed to the ſucceſs of this ſiege, which laſted ſix months, and was the longeſt that Henry was ever engaged in. This place,

place, beſides its advantageous fortifications, had a very numerous garriſon, compoſed of choſen ſoldiers, and commanded by two excellent officers, the one a Frenchman *, high ſteward of Montelimart; and the other a Spaniard, named Oſorio. 1596.

Beringhen †, at the perſuaſions of an engineer who was his friend and kinſman, and had come expreſſly for that purpoſe from Flanders, where he lived, took it into his head that it was poſſible to lay all La-Fere under water; and, upon the aſſurances of his friend, was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that the king, though contrary to his own judgment, ſuffered him to make the attempt: it would indeed have ſhortened the ſiege; but it is to be obſerved, that almoſt all projects of this kind are liable to fail: the ſlighteſt miſtake is ſufficient to ruin them, and it ſeldom happens but ſome miſtake is made. The project of turning the courſe of the Teſin formerly coſt Francis I. the loſs of a battle, together with his liberty. In one of theſe journies I made to the camp, I found this propoſal upon the carpet. I looked upon the execution of it to be impoſſible, and I combated it with all my force: but the engineer wanted not plauſible reaſons to oppoſe to ours. According to him, it was an attempt that would coſt but little time and trouble; all they had to do was to raiſe a cauſey: this they performed; and the water deſtroying their work two or three times, they renewed it as often; at laſt it became proof againſt the water, but the river did not riſe to the height they expected: it is true, indeed, that it wanted only ſix feet, but that was ſufficient to force them to abandon the work ‡, after having conſumed in it a great deal of time and money.

The king falling ſick at Traverſy, where his head quarters were, the ſiege of La-Fere ſuffered a ſtill longer delay. As ſoon as the news was brought me I flew to him, and never left him till his health was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. His ſickneſs was conſiderable enough to make me apprehend for France the greateſt loſs it could poſſibly ſuſ-

* His name was Colas; the Spaniards had promiſed to make him count de La-Fere.

† Peter de Beringhen was himſelf a Flemiſh, and born at Bruſſels.

‡ D'Aubigne does not ſpeak of it ſo contemptibly, ch. 12. ibid. "The cauſey, ſays he, "having made the river Oiſe "flow back within La-Fere, it ſpoiled all "the magazines they had in the lower "parts and cellars of the town. It was "a large machine, above a quarter of a "league in length. Such an undertaking "ſhews, that neither the king nor the "kingdom was diſputed under tacit preſ-"ſures and diſadvantages."

1596. tain. The governor of La-Fere, finding himſelf in want of every thing that could enable him to hold out a longer time, ſurrendered the place to the king, who cauſed it to be repaired; and at the intreaty of madam de Liancourt, he appointed her ſon Cæſar to be governor of it, Manicamp, a kinſman * of this lady, performing all the functions of that office, in quality of his lieutenant.

His majeſty marching afterwards to the frontiers of Artois, took the caſtle of Imbercourt by aſſault; and thought to have done the ſame, by petard, with the city of Arras. Marechal Biron † was the cauſe of the ill ſucceſs of this laſt enterprize, by not providing himſelf with a ſufficient quantity of petards: the three firſt they applied played tolerably well, but the fourth being thrown, without effect, into the ditch, with the perſon that directed it, ſeveral of our men were killed and wounded by it. It was, indeed, a mortifying thought that a conqueſt of ſuch importance, which would have ſecured Amiens from the misfortune which ſoon after happened to it, ſhould be loſt for want of a petard or two more. Biron, to avoid the reproaches he had reaſon to expect, got out of the way, and went to diſcharge his rage upon the county about Bapaume, where he made a horrible devaſtation.

The ill ſucceſs of the attempt upon Arras was ſufficiently compenſated by many favourable events that happened at the end of the preceding year and the beginning of this, which I ſhall paſs over ſlightly as uſual; theſe were the reduction of Toulouſe ‡, the proſperity of the king's arms in Provence, and the reunion of the chiefs of the league in the king's party. Joyeuſe ‖, who had quitted the habit of a monk, to reſume that of a ſoldier, and paid himſelf with uſury for the mortifications of a cloiſter, made a treaty with the king about that time. The duke of Nemours followed his example; but juſt as it was upon the point of being concluded, he died + with vexation, as ſome believe, for the bad ſucceſs of ſo many great projects. Saint-Sorlin, his brother, continued the treaty for himſelf. The death of

Henry de Savoie Nemours.

* Philip de Longueval, ſieur de Manicamp.

† Biron, in his turn, loudly exclaimed againſt the king's avarice.

‡ As to theſe facts, conſult the hiſtories before mentioned for the years 1595 and 1596.

‖ Henry de Joyeuſe. He again entered himſelf among the capuchins, and died there, under the name of father Ange.

+ "He voided, by his mouth and pores, "every drop of blood in his body." Perefixe, ibid. Cayet gives a very moving deſcription of it, ibid. p. 519.

the

the duke of Nevers * delivered the king likewiſe from a troubleſome uſeleſs ſervant. Laſtly, the duke of Maienne, now abſolutely diſguſted with the treachery of the Spaniards, began to think ſeriouſly upon means to reſtore himſelf to the favour of the king. 1596.

The king thought it of ſuch importance to make himſelf maſter of Arras, that he reſolved to beſiege it in form. I was the only perſon to whom he communicated this deſign; ſecrecy was of ſuch conſequence on this great occaſion, that he durſt not truſt any one with the care of making obſervations upon the place, and therefore undertook that taſk himſelf. I had continued the whole winter at Paris, employed in his majeſty's ſervice, and ſometimes made little excurſions to Moret, in which I took great delight. One day, when I was buſy in overſeeing my workmen, who were levelling the high grounds about two thouſand paces from my houſe, to bring thither two rivulets which form thoſe two ſheets of water which are at preſent near the great alley, a courier from madam de Liancourt arrived, who brought me a letter from this lady, and another from his majeſty, in which he informed me of his deſigns upon Arras, and the methods by which he hoped to ſucceed. I had never ſeen this prince in ſo great a rage as by this letter he appeared to be in, againſt the "impoſitions and rogueries (theſe were his words) of eight gluttons;"

* Louis de Gonzague died of a dyſentry at Neſſe in 1595, aged fifty-ſix: of chagrin, ſays others, becauſe that when he talked with Henry IV. adviſing him with regard to Calais, this prince made anſwer, "How can you adviſe me on this head? "you who have never been nigher that "town than ſeven leagues." Though M. de Thou, liv. cxiii. and Brantome, tom. III. p. 259. very much extol him, the charge which the duke de Sully brings againſt him, of having been always a very expenſive ſervant to his maſter, may be eaſily made out, even from this general's own letters to Henry IV. of which we have a collection in de Nevers's Memoirs, tom. II. p. 237, 376. "If your majeſty," ſays he to him in one of his letters, "cannot or will not come this length, I ſhall "remove ſo far, that there will be no "grounds to expect any ſuccours from me. "In truth, ſire, you do not make me returns ſuitable to the manner in which I "ſerve you; and it appears to all the world "that you do not value me much.--I never "was treated in the manner you treat me "by the kings your predeceſſors; from "them I received many favours, whereby "I was obliged to ſerve them implicitly; "and I am yet to receive the firſt favour "from your majeſty. If fatal and ruinous "commiſſions be not the favours I receive from you, I will be ſo free as to "tell you, that I have received no other "ſince you were pleaſed to order me into "theſe parts," &c. p. 348. And there are a great many more letters in the ſame ſtrain. It is from theſe the duke of Sully, to whom Henry IV. communicated all his cabinet ſecrets, formed a judgment as to the diſpoſitions of the duke de Nevers, and not from thoſe he writ to ſeveral other perſons, which ſhew great attachment and zeal for the king's perſon.

1596. who were given him, he ſaid, inſtead of one that he had before: "thoſe raſcals," added he, "with that prodigious number of intendants who have brought in all their male and female goſſips, feaſt together, and have conſumed above a hundred thouſand crowns, a ſum large enough to drive all the Spaniards out of France." This was, indeed, exactly true, which I ſhall make ſufficiently clear when I enter into an account of the finances; at preſent I ſhall only relate two or three circumſtances.

The council of the finances ſuppoſed, that in order to furniſh the ſupplies for the ſiege of La-Fere, they ſhould be called upon to clear their accounts: in this, however, they were miſtaken, the king having put the ſuperintendency of the ſiege wholly into my hands. Theſe ſupplies Deſcures, la Corbiniere, and ſome other contractors, with whom the financers lived in ſuch intelligence, that they made uſe occaſionally of their names, without admitting them to more than very ſmall ſhares, were engaged to procure. They then treated, under theſe borrowed names, with tradeſmen and purveyors, who commonly ſerved them at the loweſt prices, and contrived to charge to the king thrice the real expence.

The following fact I had from the king himſelf. Very conſiderable arrears were due from the royal treaſury to the Swiſs ſoldiers, German horſe, and other foreigners in the French pay. The council ſuborned a man, named Otoplote, who gave the receivers deputed by theſe foreigners to underſtand, that they muſt never expect to be paid, unleſs they conſented to reduce their demands to ſuch a moderate ſum as could be given them, without draining the exchequer. The reduction was agreed to; but the gentlemen of the council charged the whole ſum to the king's account, and by this means robbed his majeſty, or rather the lawful creditors, of the overplus.

To this many other frauds of the ſame kind may be added. Theſe gentlemen revelled in luxury, while the king and his houſhold wanted neceſſaries. A few days after that on which his majeſty wrote to me, he ſent to inform them that he had occaſion for eight hundred thouſand crowns, for an enterprize of great importance (the ſiege of Arras;) he intreated, he conjured them to let him have this ſum, but in vain; all the anſwer he could get was, that ſo far from being able to furniſh him with what he demanded, they knew not how to ſupply the expences of his houſhold. It is, indeed, curious to ſee how this houſe-

hold

hold was supported. "I am," says this amiable and worthy prince, 1596.
in a letter to me, "very near my enemies, and hardly a horse to carry "me into the battle, nor a complete suit of armour to put on; my "shirts are all ragged, my doublets * out at elbow, my kettle is "seldom on the fire, and these two last days I have been obliged to "dine where I could, for my purveyors have informed me, that "they have not wherewithal to furnish my table." Those belonging to the gentlemen of the council were better provided. Henry, in his letter, deplored these monstrous abuses, less on his own account than on his people's, whom he said he looked upon as his children, since heaven had given him no others, and proposed to me the design of assembling the states of the kingdom, to consider of a remedy for all these misdemeanors.

I OBEYED the order the king gave me to burn his letter, but not till I had taken a copy of it; and the reasons for keeping it secret no longer subsisting, I think it my duty to publish the contents, as a proof of the wisdom and goodness of this prince: his majesty concluded his letter with ordering me to come to him in Picardy, and to conduct his mistress thither. We were the only persons to whom he could disclose his thoughts with freedom. The letter from madam de Liancourt was very short; in it she informed me, that she would set out the Tuesday following, in order to reach Maubuisson on Wednesday, where she had a sister, who was abbess, and that she would wait for me there. Angelica d'Estrees.

I ARRIVED at Corbeil on Saturday evening, intending to pass part of Sunday and all Monday at Paris, having some purchases to make for the palace. Just as I entered the street de la Coutellerie, I met a messenger from madam de Liancourt, who acquainted me, that that lady having received fresh letters from the king, and also an account that her sister, the abbess of Maubuisson, was ill, she had determined to set out before the day appointed, and that I might join her at Pontoise. I suspected this lady had an intention to make her court to the king at the expence of my dilatoriness; I therefore altered my resolution, and told my people, that I would go that same night to Maubuisson, without stopping at Paris but only while I refreshed myself and baited my horses, which I did at the first inn I came to, whose design

* "I have seen upon him," says le Grain, liv. viii. "a coat of plain white "cloth, that was very much soiled by his "breast-plate, and torn in the sleeves; as "also stockings that were much worn and "holed through on the sword side."

1596. was the three pigeons. The mention of this inn recalls to my remembrance a comical adventure which happened to me there.

Entering, without any attendants, into a very large chamber, I found a man walking about it very faſt, and ſo abſorbed in thought, that he neither ſaluted me, nor, as I imagine, perceived my enterance. Looking at him with more attention, every thing in his perſon, his manner, his countenance, and dreſs, appeared to me very uncommon, his body was long and ſlender, his face thin and withered, his beard white and forked; he had a large hat on his head that covered his face, a cloak buttoned cloſe at the collar, boots of an enormous ſize, a ſword that trailed on the ground, and in his hand a large double bag, like thoſe that are tied to ſaddle-bows. I aſked him, in a raiſed tone of voice, if he lodged in that chamber, and why he ſeemed in ſuch profound contemplation? My man, affronted at the queſtion, without ſaluting, or even deigning to look at me, anſwered me rudely, that he was in his own chamber, and that he was thinking of his affairs, as I might do of mine. Although I was a little ſurprized at his impertinence, I nevertheleſs deſired him very civilly to permit me to dine in that chamber; a propoſal which he received grumbling, and was followed by a refuſal ſtill leſs polite. That moment three of my gentlemen, my pages, and ſome footmen, entering the room, my brutal companion thought fit to ſoften his looks and words, pulled off his hat, and offered me every thing in his power: then ſuddenly, eying me with a fixed regard, aſked me, with a wild air, where I was going? I told him to meet the king: "What, ſir," he replied, "has the king ſent for you? Pray tell me on what day and "hour you received his letters, and alſo at what hour you ſet out?"

It was not difficult to diſcover an aſtrologer by theſe queſtions, which he aſked me with an invincible gravity. I was farther obliged to tell him my age, and to allow him to look into my hands. After all theſe ceremonies were over, "Sir," ſaid he, with an air of ſurprize and reſpect, "I will reſign my chamber to you very willingly, and before "it be long, many more perſons will quit their places to you with "more regret than I do mine." The more I pretended to be aſtoniſhed at his great abilities, the more he endeavoured to give me proofs of them; he promiſed me riches, honours, and power (aſtrologers are ſeldom niggards) and added, that if I would inform him of the hour of my birth, he would tell me all that had or ever would happen to me; but without deſiring to know my name, or telling me his, he thought

thought proper, after theſe words, to leave me precipitately, excuſing himſelf for not ſtaying longer with me, upon the neceſſity he was under to carry ſome papers immediately to his advocate and procurator. I made no efforts to detain him; but it was not the ſame with my people, whom I perceived to be ſeized with fear and reſpect at every word this madman uttered. I diverted my wife with an account of this little adventure in the firſt letter I wrote to her. 1596.

In the evening I arrived at Maubuiſſon, which ſerves for a ſuburb to Pontoiſe: there I met madam de Liancourt, with whom I took the road next day to Clermont. I rode about ſeven or eight hundred paces before the litter in which this lady was, and which was followed at ſome diſtance by a great unwieldy coach that carried her women; before and behind this coach marched ſeveral mules loaded with baggage. About a league from Clermont, where the road was very narrow, a ſteep hill on one ſide, and a hanging valley on the other, leaving only room enough for two carriages to go a-breaſt; the coachman alighting upon ſome occaſion or other, one of the mules paſſing near the ſide of the coach, after it ſtopped, by its neighing, and the ſound of its bells, ſo terrified the horſes, which unfortunately happened to be young and ſkittiſh, that, taking the bit between their teeth, they drew the coach along with ſuch rapidity, that meeting with two other mules, they overturned them in their courſe. The women within, ſeeing a thouſand abyſſes opened under their feet, apprehended their danger, and ſet forth moſt lamentable cries. The coachman and muleteers endeavoured in vain to ſtop the horſes: they were already within fifty paces of the litter, when madam Liancourt, alarmed by the noiſe, looked out, and ſcreamed aloud; I alſo turned back, and trembling at the danger in which I ſaw this lady and her attendants, without being able to aſſiſt them on account of the diſtance I was at, "Ah! friend," ſaid I to La-Font, "the women will be dathed in "pieces, what will become of us? and what will the king ſay?" While I was thus ſpeaking, I puſhed my horſe forwards with all my ſtrength; but this was uſeleſs, and I ſhould have arrived too late.

By one of theſe lucky chances, and which almoſt amount to a miracle, when the danger was greateſt, the axle-tree of the litter wheels coming out of the nave by a violent ſhock which broke the pegs, the two wheels fell on each ſide, and the coach to the ground, and there ſtopped; one of the hindmoſt horſes was thrown down by the ſhock, and kept in the other; the fore horſes broke their traces, and paſſed

ſo

1596. ſo cloſe to the litter, which was already at the extremity of the precipice, that it is plain if they had drawn the coach along with it, it would have been thrown over it. I ſtopped them and gave them to my domeſtics to hold, after which I flew to relieve madam de Liancourt, who was half dead with fear. I went next to the coach, and aſſiſted the women to get out of it: they were for having the coachman hanged, and I was complaiſant enough to give him two or three ſtrokes with my cane. At length their terrors being entirely diſſipated, and the carriage refitted, we reſumed our journey; and till we arrived at Clermont I continued to ride cloſe to madam de Liancourt's litter.

The king had ſet out for this place to meet his miſtreſs, and arrived there a quarter of an hour after us. I did not fail to inform him immediately of what had happened; and while I was relating this adventure, I obſerved him attentively, and ſaw him turn pale and tremble. By theſe emotions, which I never perceived in him in the greateſt dangers, it was eaſy to gueſs the violence of his paſſion for this lady.

The firſt moments were given to tenderneſs; after which the king conſulted with me concerning the ſtate of his affairs. That which was of moſt conſequence at preſent, was the advice he had juſt received, by a letter from Rouen, that the duke of Montpenſier, engaged more ſtrictly than ever with the factious courtiers, had formed a very dangerous deſign againſt his royal perſon (this deſign was not explained); and that he was endeavouring by all ſorts of methods, to gain himſelf dependents. The king was ſo much the more afflicted at this news, as he really loved the duke of Montpenſier; and ſince policy hindered him from marrying his ſiſter to the count of Soiſſons, or any of the princes of Lorrain, he was accuſtomed to look upon this prince as his future brother-in-law. He inſiſted that all other buſineſs being poſtponed for this, I ſhould go immediately to Rouen, and there either prevail upon the duke of Montpenſier to return to his duty, or diſconcert all his projects.

I staid ſix days at Rouen, and during that time I had ſufficient reaſon to be convinced that the imputations againſt this prince were abſolutely falſe, and an artifice of thoſe who ſought to throw the government into confuſion. The duke of Montpenſier, whoſe ſentiments were very different from thoſe they accuſed him of, ſuffered nothing to appear either in his actions or diſcourſe, but what proved his ſtrict attachment to the king. Thoſe perſons with whom he had had the cloſeſt connexions,

connexions, durſt not in his preſence avow any principle contrary to his, and had no hope of ever gaining him. One day when he did me the honour to invite me to dine with him, he talked to me of his reſolution to continue inviolable in his duty to the king, with a candour and freedom which thoſe who knew him are ſenſible he would not have been capable of had he been conſcious of any ſecret guilt; and although he did not ſeek to juſtify himſelf, yet innocence carries along with it certain ſilent proofs, which cannot be reſiſted. He embraced me ſeveral times as a man who was dear to him by being faithfully devoted to the king; and on that account promiſed me his friendſhip, of which I have ſince had many inſtances. I mentioned to him his marriage with the princeſs Catherine, as an affair in which the king was as ſolicitous for his ſucceſs as he himſelf could be. He confeſſed to me that he had never deſired any thing with ſo much ardour as the poſſeſſion of this princeſs, but that he durſt not flatter himſelf with a hope of obtaining her, ſince he had not qualities, he ſaid, capable of gaining her heart, or of ſubduing the aſcendant the count of Soiſſons had over him. I remained entirely ſatisfied with the duke of Montpenſier's ſentiments, and reſolved to give a good account of them to the king. The remainder of the time I ſtaid at Rouen I employed in renewing my former friendſhips with ſeveral perſons, among whom were the firſt preſident de Boquemare, meſſieurs de Lanquetot, de Gremonville, de Bourgtheroulde, de Berniere, all members of the parliament; the abbots de Tiron, and Martinbault; the ſieurs de Motteville, des Hameaux, de Meſnil, captain of the Old Palace; de la Haulle, de Menencourt, du Meſnil-baſil, and others, by whom I was treated, and whom I treated in my turn. I lodged with la Pile, one of my particular friends. 1596.

I found the king ſtill at Amiens *, where a few days after arrived deputies from the principal cities of Provence, and Languedoc, whoſe compliments and harangues his majeſty received with his accuſtomed goodneſs. The deputy from Marſeilles was heard with moſt pleaſure, as he ſpoke for a city ſo ancient, and at all times ſo faithful to its ſovereigns.

The king being not only undeceived by my report of the duke of Montpenſier, but alſo more than ever convinced of his affection, reſolved

* The deputies of the town of Amiens ſpeaking to him, in their addreſs, of Henry IIId's goodneſs. "Yes," ſays he to them, "he was a good prince, but he "was afraid of you; and for my part I "neither fear nor love you." Le Grain, Decade d'Henry le Grand, liv. x.

1596. to make one effort more in his favour; and unfortunately I was the perſon whom he fixed upon to diſcharge this new commiſſion. Having ſent for me one night to his bedſide, he told me, that under a pretence of viſiting the princeſs Catherine, I muſt go and endeavour to prevail upon her to give the duke of Montpenſier that place in her heart which the count of Soiſſons *, notwithſtanding the ſacrifice of the marriage contract, ſtill poſſeſſed. After what had happened to me at Chartres upon this occaſion, I thought it raſhneſs to embark in an affair in which it was impoſſible to ſucceed. I conjured the king not to expoſe me, by this new attempt, to the eternal hatred of this princeſs, and the count. My intreaties, preſſing as they were, had no effect: he anſwered me only with the proverb, *a good maſter, a bold ſervant*; and I had nothing for it but obedience.

My laſt reſource was to demand my commiſſion in writing, that it might ſecure me againſt the fate of many courtiers, who have been diſgraced for acting with blind obedience to their maſter, againſt perſons of that rank; and beſides a letter of compliment to the princeſs, I required a ſecond, in which he ſhould deduce the motives of my journey, the nature of his orders, and the manner, and arguments by which he deſired I ſhould enforce them. When I made this propoſal, the king, always tenacious of what concerned his honour, replied that his greateſt enemies never demanded more ſecurity than his word. I anſwered by aſſuring him that I would never make uſe of it but at the laſt extremity; and that if the princeſs ſhould appear diſpoſed to comply with his deſires, provided I could convince her that I acted ſolely by his authority, this writing would then be neceſſary. The king yielded to this laſt argument; and being furniſhed with this authentic piece, I took the road to Fontainebleau, where the princeſs then was, extremely perplexed with the part I had undertaken.

I staid only a day at Paris, from whence I went to the princeſs, who expected me with impatience, the king having informed her ſome days before by Loménie of my intended journey, without explaining the occaſion of it. She had flattered herſelf (for love, if it fears all, hopes all likewiſe) that I might poſſibly be come to make the count of Soiſſons happy; and this thought made me happy alſo, as long as it laſted, which was the two firſt days; for thoſe I thought neceſſary to give to civility and compliments. She altered her behaviour on the third, when ſhe

* She uſed to ſay to ſuch as ſpoke to her on the king's part: "Above all things, "I will have my count," Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 628.

found

found that I only introduced the ſubject of her love to declare to her that the count of Soiſſons had, by his imprudent conduct, incenſed the king to ſuch a degree, that ſhe ought no longer to think of making him her huſband: for I judged it proper to begin by removing one, before I endeavoured to introduce the other. 1594.

ALTHOUGH, in ſpeaking of the count of Soiſſons, I made uſe of the gentleſt terms my imagination could furniſh me with, he had in the princeſs ſo ardent a defender, that in her anſwer ſhe intermingled the harſheſt epithets, and menaces of depriving me of the king's favour. Aſtoniſhed at a rage ſo ſudden and violent, I thought of nothing but appeaſing her, otherwiſe my commiſſion would have that moment been at an end. I therefore intreated her to hear me, and began a tedious ſpeech, of which I knew not myſelf the end: and firſt I introduced a long and eloquent proteſtation of my reſpect, attachment, and earneſt deſire to ſerve her; during which I racked my imagination in vain, to furniſh me with the means of calming her mind, ſince what it was moſt neceſſary ſhe ſhould hear, namely the count of Soiſſons' inſolent behaviour to the king, was preciſely that which would enrage her the moſt. I ventured however to break through this difficulty, and conjured her to reflect ſeriouſly whether this prince had, by his whole conduct, deſerved that the king ſhould be ſolicitous to raiſe his fortune. It was the hope only that a diſcourſe, whoſe beginning was ſo diſagreeable, would end in a manner favourable to her paſſion, that obliged the princeſs to give any attention to me; which I judged by thoſe emotions of anger and diſdain which overſpread her face alternately with bluſhes and paleneſs.

I CONTINUED to lay before her, with all the moderation imaginable, the many cauſes of ill-will which the count had given the king, particularly his behaviour in Burgundy, certainly inexcuſable even in the eyes of a miſtreſs. I uſed however the precaution to repeat frequently that for my own part, I believed the count to be very diſtant from thoſe ſentiments which his conduct gave room to attribute to him: I dwelt upon the conſequences it muſt unavoidably have, at a time when a proceſs was actually commenced againſt the princeſs of Condé, by which the prince her ſon, ſtill a huguenot, lived uncertain of his ſtate, in a kind of baniſhment at Rochelle. This affair being of the number of thoſe in which juſtice alone was not ſufficient, the friends of the young prince would have found it difficult to have ſcattered thoſe accuſations againſt the mother, and ſecured to the ſon his rank of firſt prince of the blood and preſump-

1596. tive heir to the crown, if the king, by ſuppreſſing the inſtruments of the proceſs, as he did at laſt, had not intereſted himſelf in the juſtification of the one, and the defence of the other. I made the princeſs ſenſible that the count was maſter of his own fate, but that he made ſo bad an uſe of the king's favourable diſpoſitions towards him, that he would infallibly oblige him to engage in the intereſts of his rival. In ſhort, I ſaid enough to have made any other think he was greatly to be blamed.

The princeſs, who during this diſcourſe, had fallen into a reverie, occaſioned more by vexation than prudent reflections, interrupted me here, to haſten to that concluſion which I had given her a favourable hint of, and which ſeemed farther off in proportion as I lengthened my ſpeech. But having once begun, ſhe was not ſufficiently miſtreſs of herſelf to ſtop where ſhe intended; and giving way to the rage that filled her heart, ſhe fell upon me a ſecond time, who, ſhe ſaid, only ſought to deceive her, and upon the king her brother, "who loves me "ſo much," ſaid ſhe ironically, "that he cannot reſolve to get rid of "me;" and as a proof entered into a long enumeration of her lovers; amongſt whom it would have been eaſy to prove that ſhe had miſſed of an eſtabliſhment through her own fault, as when ſhe refuſed the king of Scotland. In the courſe of her complaints ſhe neither ſpared the queen her mother, nor king Henry the third, who, ſhe ſaid, had all conſpired to keep her ſingle. Her ſtock of rancour being almoſt exhauſted by ſo many invectives, the ſofter paſſion took its place, and naturally turned her thoughts on the count of Soiſſons; a ſubject which ſhe treated not leſs amply, but in a manner very different from the former.

At length, recollecting that her deſign by interrupting me was to hear that advice by which, I told her, all paſt errors might be repaired, ſhe aſked me poſitively what that advice was, but with the ſame tone of malignant raillery; by which I was ſtill better convinced that her mind was irritated beyond the power of human eloquence to cure: but preſſed by the queſtion I replied, "By the count of Soiſſons' doing the very "contrary of what he has hitherto done." The obſervations I made while I pronounced theſe few words, were ſufficient to perſuade me, that it would be to no purpoſe to propoſe the duke of Montpenſier to her; I therefore looked upon my commiſſion to be at an end, or rather abſolutely uſeleſs, and all I aimed at now was to draw myſelf out of this embarraſſment by expreſſions ſo vague and general, that the princeſs might not take any advantage of me, nor afterwards maintain that I had failed in my promiſe to her. Nothing is more eaſy than this

kind of diſcourſe. I entered at firſt upon the neceſſary duties of crowned heads, and expatiated long upon the ſubject; from whence, however, I drew no other inference, but that the king could not be reproached with any failure of his. This introduced another ſet diſcourſe, divided into ſeveral parts, wherein Henry's gentleneſs of diſpoſition was not ſlightly diſcuſſed; and to conclude by ſomething ſtill clearer, ſince the princeſs, contrary to my expectations, had patience enough to liſten to ſo tedious an harangue, I aſſured her, in few words, that Henry's temper was ſuch, that I was confident he would be eaſily prevailed upon to conſent to every thing that was reaſonable. 1596.

The princeſs, ſurprized at ſo precipitate a concluſion, aſked me, indeed with ſome appearance of reaſon, if I had nothing more to ſay to her; for it is certain, that I had gone a great way about to little purpoſe: I replied, that I had ſtill a great many things to add. This long converſation having laſted till night, I depended upon having wearied the princeſs ſo much, that ſhe would take an abſolute leave of me: but I was miſtaken; ſhe gave me only till the next day to ſatisfy her demands, and left me with a ſullen and malignant air, accompanied with a glance, and ſome interjections which I heard as I went out, upon the part I had played at Chartres; from whence I drew a very unfavourable preſage.

I should have been the moſt preſumptuous of all men, if, after this, I could have flattered myſelf with being able to bring her to the point we deſired. Indeed I was ſo far from entertaining ſuch a thought, that I ſhould have been rejoiced, if the princeſs, in quitting me, had commanded me never to appear before her again. I went however to wait upon her at the appointed hour, which was after ſhe had dined. She had repaired to her cabinet earlier than uſual, and continued there ſhut up conferring with the ladies de Rohan, de la Guiche, de la Barre, and de Neufvy, from none of whom I had the leaſt reaſon to expect any good offices. I waited in her chamber, talking to the ladies de Gratains, and Pangeac, and two other young ladies, who were as much inclined to favour me as the others to do the contrary. I told them, that I ſhould not have been ſorry, if they had been in the princeſs's cabinet inſtead of thoſe ladies that were then with her, who, I was perſuaded, were that very moment giving her very bad advice. They told me I ought not to imagine ſo, but in a tone that confirmed me in my opinion.

1596. It was an hour at leaſt, before the princeſs came out; ſhe had been all this time preparing herſelf, and, perceiving me, told me that ſhe was going to give me her anſwer; the purport of which it was not difficult to gueſs, by the cold yet contemptuous air with which ſhe pronounced thoſe words. I followed her, in great uneaſineſs; but ſhe ſpared me the pain of ſpeaking firſt, by telling me that ſhe acquitted me of all I had promiſed to inform her of, and that now I had nothing to do but to hear her in my turn: then aſſuming an air ſtill more haughty and contemptuous, ſhe treated me in the preſence of all thoſe witneſſes (I am obliged to confeſs it) like the baſeſt of men, who, ſhe ſaid, took upon myſelf the character of a perſon of importance, and an able politician, while, in reality, I was a vile and infamous paraſite, who had endeavoured to extort from her own mouth a confeſſion of faults, which neither ſhe nor the count had ever been guilty of, to make my court to the king, who was himſelf aſhamed of the part I had acted. The princeſs could not here avoid falling into the female fault of betraying, by an exuberance of words, the reſerve ſhe had reſolved to maintain. Something which I had ſaid the evening before, relating to her conduct and that of the count of Soiſſons in Bearn, occurring to her memory, ſhe entered into an unſeaſonable juſtification of it. Pangeac was called a great loggerhead, who had not yet received his deſerts; my comment upon the duties of kings was found highly unbecoming: then recalling herſelf from this rambling ſtrain, ſhe told me, that to cloſe all with a few words, and to hinder me from boaſting of my commiſſion, ſhe gave me to underſtand, that I was raſh and imprudent to the laſt degree, to concern myſelf with the affairs of a perſon ſo far above me; I, that was only a private gentleman, whoſe higheſt honour it had been to be brought up in her family, and who, as well as all my relations, had ſubſiſted only upon the bounty of the princes of Navarre; that the fate of all thoſe who, like me, ungrateful for paſt benefits, durſt preſume to interfere betwixt perſons ſo nearly united, was to be ſacrificed ſooner or later, without the honour of having my interpoſition known to be the cauſe. From a woman theſe expreſſions might be endured, but, as the princeſs was well aſſured that no man whatever, not even the count of Soiſſons, although a prince of the blood, durſt treat me in the ſame manner, ſhe added, as the higheſt affront ſhe could think of, that all ſhe had ſaid was in the count's name as well as her own. The concluſion of this ſpeech was of a piece with all the reſt: ſhe threatened, with an exceſs of rage, to ruin me for ever with the king, by

by a ſingle word, and forbad me, for the future, to appear in any place where ſhe was. 1596.

I DO not believe any diſtinction of rank or ſex can authorize the uſe of terms ſo outrageous: certainly it cannot be vanity in me to repeat them; but, as the princeſs added endeavours to words, and obliged me to take meaſures for my own defence, in which, for the firſt time, I waved that ſubmiſſion which I owed to a princeſs, the ſiſter of my king. I cannot better prove the neceſſity I was under to take thoſe ſteps, than by faithfully relating thoſe converſations, and even the very words that were made uſe of. Although my pride ſuffered greatly by this ſhameful treatment, I had diſcretion and even policy enough, not to ſuffer it to appear; I ſay policy, for had my countenance expreſſed the leaſt emotion, or my reply the leaſt bitterneſs, the princeſs, without hearing me, would have left me in a triumph that it was neceſſary I ſhould leſſen before thoſe perſons who either took part in or were witneſſes of it.

I BEGAN therefore with the falſe timidity of a man who is ſolicitous to diſculpate himſelf; and that I might engage the princeſs to hear all I had to ſay, I told her that I was very much grieved, to find that the prejudices ſhe had conceived made her diſcover a meaning in my words that I had no intention to give them, and had drawn upon me a treatment I could not poſſibly deſerve; that it was eaſy for me to convince her how little I merited thoſe reproaches ſhe had caſt upon me; and to begin with the count of Soiſſons, ſhe knew that in all I had ſaid relating to him, I had added that, for my own part, I was abſolutely convinced of the rectitude of his intentions. By this introduction, I ſtopped the princeſs, who ſuppoſed ſhe ſhould ſoon have the pleaſure to ſee me imploring pardon at her feet.

I WENT on with the ſame compoſure to tell her, that to remove the diſpleaſure ſhe ſeemed to entertain, that a private gentleman and one unworthy to approach her, ſhould be ſent to treat with her, I begged leave to remind her, that although, by the prodigality of my anceſtors, I was neither poſſeſſed of the eſtate nor dignities to which I had a claim, yet, however, more than a hundred thouſand crowns had been carried by the daughters of my family, into the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria *; and that, far from being a charge to the king ſince I had been

* I refer the reader to the explanation I have given in the beginning of theſe Memoirs, about the alliances of the houſe of Bethune.

in

1596. in his ſervice, his majeſty had ſometimes given me the pleaſure to ſee him have recourſe to me in his neceſſities. I acknowledged, however, that nothing could juſtify my having exceeded his orders, if I had really been capable of doing ſo. That moment, taking another paper out of the king's out of my pocket, addreſſed to the princeſs, in form of a letter, I took the advantage of the aſtoniſhment into which I had caſt her, to tell her, that to finiſh my meſſage before I quitted her for ever, I declared to her, as her ſervant, that his majeſty holding the place of her father, and being likewiſe her maſter and her king, ſhe had no other part to take than ſubmiſſion to his will; that without liſtening to any thing the count of Soiſſons could ſuggeſt, ſhe muſt reſolve either to accept of a huſband from the king her brother, or incur the loſs of his favour; that in this laſt caſe, it would be a very ſenſible mortification to her, after having held the rank of a queen, to ſee herſelf reduced to a very inconſiderable fortune, ſince ſhe was not ignorant, that beſides the preſents the king had beſtowed, in the reſignation he had made her of thoſe eſtates ſhe at preſent enjoyed, he had conſulted rather the dictates of his own heart than the laws and cuſtoms of Navarre, which would have appointed a very ſmall proviſion for her.

These laſt words drew the princeſs, in ſpite of herſelf, out of that ſcornful inſenſibility ſhe had affected to ſhew, to enter into the greateſt tranſport of rage that any woman could be capable of. After giving vent to all that anger could inſpire, ſhe went furiouſly into her cabinet; and I withdrew, with great compoſure, towards the ſtaircaſe, whither madam de Neufvy came running after me, to tell me, that the princeſs had ſent her to demand the letter I had ſhewn her. This was a new ſtratagem of thoſe four ladies, who had perſuaded the princeſs, that ſhe would ruin me more effectually with the king, if ſhe could make it appear that I had ſacrificed his majeſty's letter. I perceived the ſnare that was laid for me, and I replied to madam de Neufvy, that I was ſurprized the princeſs, after having refuſed to hear the contents of the letter, ſhould ſend immediately to demand it. I added, that I would communicate it only to the princeſs, and read it to her, having occaſion for it myſelf. This was not what the meſſenger wanted, and ſhe returned without making me any anſwer.

I went that evening to Moret, where my wife then was, and ſtaying with her only one day, ſet out the next for Paris, to meet my courier, whom I had ſent from Fontainebleau with diſpatches to the king.

king. But I was greatly ſurprized when, inſtead of him, I ſaw young Boëſſe, the princeſs's ſteward of the houſhold, arrive with a letter, at which I was ſtill more ſurprized, when I ſaw it was from the king. I knew that Boëſſe was the perſon whom ſhe ſent with her diſpatches to his majeſty. I found that this letter had been ſent open to the princeſs, and had not been tranſmitted to me till it had paſſed through her hands, and that ſhe had ſealed it with her own ſeal: all theſe circumſtances left me no room to doubt of my misfortune, which by a ſad foreboding in my mind was ſtill more confirmed, and I opened the letter trembling. My fears were but too juſt; inſtead of praiſes, and thoſe expreſſions of eſteem and confidence with which the king's letters to me were generally filled, my eyes were ſtruck with a ſevere command to make the princeſs ſatisfaction. His majeſty "could not ſuffer (theſe were his words) "that one of his ſubjects ſhould affront a princeſs, and his "ſiſter, without puniſhing him immediately for his fault, if he did "not repair it by ſubmiſſion." 1606.

I was overwhelmed, I confeſs, with this unexpected blow, and ſo much the more, as, having no reaſon to imagine that the king had not received my letter, I ſaw that it was after he had read it that I was thus treated. What reflections did I not then make upon the misfortune of being employed in ſettling the differences of perſons of ſuch rank, and the danger of ſerving kings. I had nothing to reproach myſelf with, in regard to Henry; I had ſerved him four and twenty years with an unwearied aſſiduity, and a zeal that nothing could allay: it was with reluctance that I accepted this laſt diſagreeable commiſſion: the writing which I had obtained of the king contained many things much more ſevere than any I had ſaid to the princeſs; and I had ſuppreſſed them at a time when it would, perhaps, have been excuſable to have aggravated them. My guilt was, at moſt, a too faithful obedience; yet his majeſty ſacrificed me cruelly, without any regard to my reaſons, or his own expreſs commands. I was ſenſibly affected with this injuſtice, and all my thoughts ran upon forming ſtrong reſolutions to quit the court for ever.

But ſcarce had I taken theſe reſolutions when a thouſand motives concurred to make me change them. Henry, as I had already often proved, had acquired ſuch an empire over my will, that after repeated oaths on my ſide to quit him, a ſingle word from him has drawn me to him as it were by enchantment. To this was added the conſideration of my own intereſt: by liſtening to my reſentment I was expoſing myſelf to loſe the rewards of my long ſervices, when I was juſt upon

1596. he point of obtaining them, and at a time when, being disinherited by the viscount de Gand, I lost an estate of fifty thousand livres a year; exhausted by a long and painful service, having a house to establish, and menaced with a numerous family by the fertility of my wife, these expected rewards were all my resource, and the only foundation I had to build upon. But, on the other side, how could I endure to suffer, like a criminal, the haughty and contemptuous behaviour of a princess, with whom I had just before maintained a character so different, and who would make this cup as bitter for me as she was able? The agitation and grief of my mind may be easily imagined.

I at length took the most prudent part I could, but it was far from suspending the uneasiness that preyed upon my spirits; I feigned sickness, and the deep melancholy with which I was seized, was in reality capable of communicating to my body part of the disorder of my mind. I discovered to no person whatever the cause of my grief, but sent for a physician, who making me tremble for the consequences of a disease entirely of my own framing, promised, however, to restore me to health by the force of bleeding and purges.

At four o'clock in the afternoon another physician arrived, for whom the cure of my distemper was reserved; this was Picaut, my courier, whom I had waited for impatiently, to take, upon the accounts he should bring me, my last resolutions. After informing me that he had had the misfortune to strain his ankle, which was the cause that the princess's courier came to the king before him, he presented me with a letter, in this prince's own hand-writing, which removed all my complaints: Henry told me in it, that I had reason to be offended with the contents of his former letter, which he had written in one of those sudden transports that I knew were natural to him, and upon exaggerated complaints, joined to the instances and importunities of his sister; but that to calm my uneasiness, he assured me he would disavow nothing I had said, in which if he failed, he would permit me to make use of his own letter against him: he concluded with these words, "Come to me, that you may inform me more particularly of all that has passed, and depend upon being as well received by me as you have ever been, let who will be angry at it. "Adieu, my friend."

In this kind familiarity I knew again my old master. This letter was dated the 17th of May, and the first the 15th, and both from

Amiens, for which place I ſet out very early in the morning, and arrived there the next day. I neither ſuppreſſed nor palliated any part of what had been ſaid or done at Fontainebleau between the princeſs and me; and his majeſty, by repeated expreſſions of friendſhip and eſteem for me, ſhewed that he approved of my whole conduct. 1596.

That I may not too often interrupt the courſe of my hiſtory by a recital which is equally proper every where, I ſhall finiſh in a few words, all that concerns this affair. La Varenne, who was employed by the princeſs to take care of her intereſts at the court, did not fail to inform her of the good reception the king gave me, and the report that was every where ſpread, that the finances would be wholly confided to my care. The princeſs comprehended, by this news, that it was now neceſſary not only to renounce her vengeance, but alſo to be upon good terms, for the future, with a man from whoſe hands henceforwards all the appointments for the ſupport of her houſhold would proceed. Whether ſhe was convinced that ſhe herſelf was wrong, or ſtill imputed the blame to me, ſhe had the generoſity to pardon me: and I muſt confeſs, to the honour of this princeſs, that in this ſhe ſhewed a greatneſs of ſoul of which few perſons could have been capable. If in thoſe qualities which marked the character of this princeſs, we except an exceſs of vivacity which it was not in her power to reſtrain, and to which, in the affair above mentioned, was added the force of the moſt impetuous of all paſſions, her diſpoſition will be found naturally good and eaſy, capable even of the refinements of friendſhip, and the warmth of gratitude.

She communicated this alteration of her ſentiments with regard to me to madam de Pangeac, one of my friends; and even made the firſt advances to madam de Roſny. I had left her in childbed at Moret. When her health was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed, ſhe went one day to church at Fontainebleau, and returned without waiting upon the princeſs, under pretence of a ſlight indiſpoſition which confined her to her bed. Madam de Pangeac making her ſome reproaches, as if from herſelf, but in reality by the princeſs's orders, my wife found herſelf obliged to tell her, that the terms I was upon with the princeſs made it impoſſible for her to do herſelf that honour. At a ſecond journey which madam de Roſny made to Fontainebleau, the princeſs cauſed her to be told, that the reaſons ſhe had given madam de Pangeac ought not to prevent her coming to ſee her. Accordingly, my wife waited upon her, and had a moſt gracious reception. She

1596. confeſſed to her ſincerely, that ſhe was not yet entirely ſatisfied with my conduct, as ſhe thought ſhe had reaſon to expect a very different one, conſidering thoſe inſtances of friendſhip which I had received from her in my youth: ſhe mentioned ſeveral parties of pleaſure at Pau, or at M. de Mioſſens' *, where ſhe had done me the honour to take me with her, particularly that when running at the ring I gained the prize, which was a jewel of ſmall value, and was going to receive it from her hand, ſhe changed the jewel, and gave me one in its ſtead worth two thouſand crowns. She did not forget to mention, that my father had often carried the queen, her mother, in his arms. After all this, the princeſs very obligingly told my wife, that her reſentment againſt me had never extended to her, whoſe diſpoſition ſhe loved. She ſaid a thouſand obliging things of M. de Saint-Martin, my wife's uncle, who had been firſt gentleman of the bedchamber to the king; and of madam de Saint-Martin, the ſiſter of M. de Mioſſens, and conſequently a near relation of her own.

Madam de Roſny left her extremely well ſatisfied, and fully determined to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to reſtore me to her favour. She made no attempts this firſt viſit, but afterwards, obſerving to the princeſs the attention I ſhewed in ſettling the aſſignments for the payment of the offices of her houſhold; and repreſenting to her, that it was by repeated orders from his majeſty that I had ſubdued the reluctance I had to accept of that commiſſion which had offended her, madam de la Force, who was then at the princeſs's toilet, joined my wife; and what ſurprized me greatly, being ſupported by the ladies de Rohan and de la Barre, they prevailed upon her to ſend for me that moment. From the time that the princeſs was convinced of my innocence, ſhe had ſo great a degree of friendſhip for me as to confide all her ſecrets to me alone: ſhe propoſed and promoted with all her intereſt the marriage of my eldeſt daughter with the duke of Rohan, her neareſt relation † on the ſide of the deceaſed queen her mother, and the heir of her eſtate in Navarre. The king did not then approve of this match, though he did afterwards. And laſtly, when this princeſs ſet out for Lorrain, ſufficiently diſcontented, as it is well known,

* Henry d' Albret, baron de Mioſſens.

† Henry II. of that name, duke de Rohan, &c. who married Margaret de Bethune, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, was grandſon to René I. of that name, viſcount de Rohan, and Iſabella D'Albret, daughter to John king of Navarre. See in all the genealogiſts the other alliances of this illuſtrious houſe with that of France.

with

with the court of France, ſhe declared publicly, that there were only three perſons in it whom ſhe eſteemed, and that I was one of them. 1596.

Hostilities between the king's party and that of the league continued, during the years 1595 and 1596, in the ſame parts of the kingdom as in the preceding years: in Britanny, between meſſieurs d'Aumont and de Saint-Luc, and the duke of Mercœur; and in the provinces in the ſouth of France, where ſeveral little ſkirmiſhes happened between meſſieurs de Ventadour, de la Rochefoucaut, de Châteauneuf, de Saint-Angel, de Loſtange, de Chambaret, and other officers on the king's ſide *; and meſſieurs de Pompadour, de Raſtignac, de Saint-Chamant, de Montpeſat, de la Chapelle Biron, and other leaguers. The defeat of the Crocans, the ſiege of Blaye, the ſacking of Agen, and the death of the duke of Rochefoucaut, are the moſt remarkable events † that happened in the Limoſin and the adjacent places. Leſdiguieres continued the war with equal ſucceſs in Dauphiné, Provence, and Piedmont; ſometimes againſt the duke of Savoy, and ſometimes againſt the duke of Epernon. The concluſion of all theſe expeditions was the entire defeat of the duke of Savoy, who,

* Anne de Levis, duke de Ventadour, governor of Limoſin, and lieutenant-general for the king in Languedoc: he died in 1622. Francis de la Rochefoucaut, prince of Marſillac. René de Saint-Marthe, ſieur de Châteauneuf. Charles de Rochefort de Saint-Angel. Lewis Francis de Loſtange, or Louſtange. N. de Chambaret, otherwiſe called Chambert, governor of Limoſin. Lewis viſcount Pompadour. N. de Raſtignac. John de Saint-Chamant, or Antony his brother. They afterwards were all of the king's party. Henry Des-Pres de Montpeſat. N. de Charbonniere, ſieur de la Chapelle Biron.

† Moſt of the events which the author mentions here, happened before the year 1595. The count de Rochefoucaut had been dead ſince the year 1591, having been killed, as we ſaid before, at the battle of Saint-Yrier-la-perche. The viſcount de Pompadour was likewiſe dead in 1591. The taking of Agen by the count de la Roche, ſon to marechal de Matignon, was likewiſe in the ſame year 1591. Blaye was beſieged in the year 1593, by the ſame marechal, who, notwithſtanding the defeat of a Spaniſh ſquadron, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The Crocans, ſo called from Croc, a village in the Limoſin, where they began to aſſemble themſelves, were alſo defeated about the ſame time by Chambert, or Chambaret, the governor of that province: and afterwards, the marechal de Matignon completed their final diſperſion and overthrow in Languedoc, more by ſtratagem than by open force. Conſult, as to all theſe events, the hiſtorians above quoted; as alſo ſee, in the particular hiſtory of the conſtable de Leſdiguieres, the expeditions of this hero, famous for the victories at Epernon, Pontcharra, Vinon, &c. and for the taking of the fort d'Exiles, of Cahors, and of a great number of other places; whereby he became maſter of all Savoy, and a part of Piedmont.

Beſides a war, France was ſore afflicted this year 1596, with a plague and famine, which were occaſioned by the utter inverſion of the ſeaſons; for l'Etoile ſays, that there was a ſummer in April, an autumn in May, and a winter in June.

thinking

1596. thinking to derive some advantage from the disunion of the dukes of Guise and Epernon, had marched as far as Provence, from whence he was shamefully driven back; and likewise that of the duke of Epernon, who yielding to his rival the duke of Guise, assisted by the same Lesdiguieres, d'Ornano, and the countess of Sault's party, was left without any resource, and reduced to the necessity of imploring the king's clemency, by letters conceived in terms of the utmost submission, which his majesty received at Gaillon. His letters were very soon after followed by himself; he came and threw himself at the king's feet, which was a kind of triumph for Henry, this duke's humiliation, with that of Bouillon, and de la Tremouille, being amongst the number of those things he most earnestly desired,

During his stay at Amiens, the king took several new measures to facilitate my being joined in the council of finances. This prince, who by an effect of the native rectitude of his own mind, could not believe it possible for men to be as corrupt as they really were; and by the sweetness of his disposition incapable of proceeding to extremities till he had tried all other methods, had for a long time imagined, that he should at length bring this body to manage the revenue of the state with wisdom and œconomy; and this important reformation was not so difficult, but that it might be produced by the advice of one man of industry and integrity, whom he would associate with those that composed it. With this view he spoke both in public and private to messieurs of the council to receive me amongst them: however great their reluctance was, they durst not openly reject a proposition, which being made in this manner, resembled rather an intreaty than a command.

I confess sincerely, that I was not so easily brought to yield to this medium. His majesty, in a private conversation, told me it was his desire I should endeavour to gain the good-will of messieurs of the council, and by some instances of complaisance, remove the suspicions they had entertained, that if I joined their society it would be only to do them bad offices; so that I might engage them by my behaviour to make it their own request that I should be associated amongst them. I did not hesitate a moment in replying, that this appeared to me to be the worst way imaginable of being introduced into the council of the finances, to owe it as an obligation to those who governed them; and knowing so well as I did the dispositions of this society, I could not serve them and the state at the same time. The king,

king, who did not like to be contradicted, and who likewiſe remembered my diſputes with the duke of Nevers, ſuppoſed I had ſtill ſome remains of reſentment againſt thoſe gentlemen, and thought he perceived a kind of haughtineſs in my anſwer, and a tenaciouſneſs of my own opinion, told me, with ſome quickneſs, that he had no deſire to irritate every one upon my account; therefore without making any more attempts to bring me into the finances, he would ſeek for ſome other employment for me, ſince he knew I could not continue in a ſtate of inactivity. 1596.

He had ſtill ſome remains of diſpleaſure in his countenance when he quitted me to viſit madam de Liancourt, who enquiring the cauſe, repreſented to him, that he would never be ſerved with fidelity till he found a man who, from a regard only to the public good, would not fear to draw upon himſelf the hatred of the finaciers. As for me, I looked upon my engaging in the finances as farther off than ever; and reflecting that my employment would henceforwards be reduced to treaties and negotiations, an office which ſeldom fails to bring certain ruin upon any man who would maintain his rank in it with dignity, and his reputation with honour. I reſolved to explain myſelf to his majeſty, and prevail upon him to approve of a ſcheme that would at leaſt ſecure to me the reimburſement of all my expences. But Henry did not give me time to make this propoſal to him: when I approached he told me, that upon the repreſentation madam de Liancourt had made him, he was now brought over to my opinion, and that without any longer delay, he was going to declare his intentions publicly, after having, for form's ſake, imparted them firſt to the conſtable and Villeroi, to whom it belonged to diſpatch my patents. Theſe two gentlemen came very ſeaſonably into the king's apartment, and received this order; the conſtable by a bow, and Villeroi by ſaying, he would give me the patents as ſoon as he could meet with a precedent of the proper form.

In the afternoon, when the king was gone to hunt, I went to make my acknowledgments to the marchioneſs de Monceaux (for this was the title that madam de Liancourt had lately taken); after which I thought I was obliged, in civility, to viſit monſieur de Villeroi, of whom, inſtead of the patents, I aſked for a warrant, which would have anſwered the ſame purpoſe. Villeroi made an evaſive reply, and during three or four days that I preſſed him, always deferred the affair on various pretences till the next day. At laſt, the king left Amiens, to go to Monceaux,

1596. Monceaux, and paſſed by Liancourt, where Liancourt, his firſt equerry received and treated him very ſplendidly. It was in this place that they determined to uſe their utmoſt efforts againſt me.

Liancourt, at Villeroi's ſolicitation, invited the chancellor, who was his intimate friend, and the other members of the council, who came to that place by the king's order, to ſtay at his houſe during the king's reſidence there. They took advantage of this opportunity, of being always near the king, to labour effectually for my excluſion from the council. The method they made uſe of was not to attack me directly, but to inſinuate to the king, that I was not fit for this employment, in which, they ſaid, for want of that experience which only a long habitude can give, it would not be poſſible to avoid committing a thouſand faults, the leaſt of which was able to ruin, without reſource, the credit, and conſequently bring on the deſtruction, of the ſtate. Theſe diſcourſes were ſo often repeated, in the king's preſence (for they deſignedly turned the converſation upon that ſubject) and with ſo great an appearance of ſincerity, that the king was at laſt ſhaken by them, and when at the ſame time he found theſe gentlemen could with ſuch facility form the greateſt projects, diſcourſe with ſuch clearneſs upon the ſtrength and intereſts of the ſtate, calculate the revenues of it with the utmoſt exactneſs, in a word, were poſſeſſed in appearance of the whole ſcience of commerce in its full extent, and of every other method by which a ſtate is rendered flouriſhing; and eſpecially that they converſed with each other in a language hardly intelligible to any but themſelves; and influenced ſtill more by the long preparation which they repreſented as abſolutely neceſſary before any one could be received into the council, he thought that the preſent bad ſtate of the finances was not the greateſt misfortune with which they were threatened. His majeſty likewiſe, looking upon all this as a proof of their repentance, and from the apprehenſions he had juſt given them expecting to ſee a very great alteration in their conduct, no longer entertained a deſign of aſſociating me amongſt them.

Villeroi, who during this time continued at Amiens, yet was not the leſs informed of all the meaſures taken by a body whom he directed as he pleaſed, ſeized this opportunity to ſend my patents to the king, which he could not diſpenſe with himſelf from diſpatching, after the expreſs orders he had received from his majeſty. When they were tranſmitted to the king, he had left Liancourt, having ſtaid there only one day, and was then at Monceaux, where, ſtill under the influence of

of theſe ſuggeſtions, he gave them to Beringhen, telling him to keep them without ſaying any thing to me, till he had orders to the contrary. Beringhen, who was one of my friends, diſcovered the ſecret to me, which I kept faithfully. Fifteen days paſſed in this manner. The king did not ſpeak to Beringhen about my patents, and meſſieurs of the council, blinded by their ſucceſs, inſtead of that ſincere repentance which his majeſty expected from them, gave him new proofs of their artifice and inſincerity, and ſuch groſs ones, that they forced him to cruſh them with the blow which they might, without much difficulty, have avoided. 1596.

The king diſcovered that the council had juſt farmed out the ſubſidies of Normandy for thirty thouſand crowns, and to defraud the treaſury of this ſum, ſo much leſs than the true value of the revenues, they had applied it all to the old demands upon it. With a little attention, he convinced himſelf of other faults in their conduct; that the five large farms did not produce the fourth part of their value, becauſe Zamet, Gondy, and other farmers of the king's revenues, who were employed in them, being connived at by the gentlemen of the council, divided with them the immenſe profits that accrued from thoſe farms. The avarice of theſe people was not yet ſated, and, under pretence of the loſſes at Calais, Cambray, Ardres, &c. they allowed ſuch drawbacks upon all the other parts of the king's revenues, that, inſtead of increaſing, they grew perceptibly leſs. The king, amidſt that juſt indignation which this knowledge inſpired, ſent for me, and commanded me to go to Paris, to enquire from whence ſo great a diſſipation of the money proceeded, which could only take its riſe from the council. I replied, that his majeſty having, without doubt, revoked the order he had given to Villeroi to diſpatch my patents, ſince I had not received them, I had no right to mix with the council, or to meddle with the affairs tranſacted by it. "How!" ſaid Henry, concealing his conſciouſneſs of this reproach, "then Beringhen has not given you your patents, "and a letter from Villeroi, which he has had theſe fifteen days: you "ſee this heavy German would have forgot them." While, by the king's orders, I went to make preparations for my journey, that I might reach Claye that evening, his majeſty ſpoke to Beringhen, who conſented to take all the blame upon himſelf. During this interval, a thought came into my head, which I communicated to the king when I returned to receive his laſt orders. I told him, that I thought it would be neceſſary for me to go, before the day appointed for the opening of the ſtates, to ſome of the principal diſtricts of the kingdom, to procure there a

1596. more certain account of the preſent ſtate of his majeſty's revenues, the diminution they had ſuffered, and the augmentations they would admit of, to the end that his majeſty might regulate his demands upon the ſtates according to this ſcheme, which, however imperfect, might ſtill, in proportion, throw ſome light upon the ſtrength of the more diſtant diſtricts, and conſequently upon the whole kingdom: that, beſides this advantage, I did not deſpair of procuring for him, in thoſe diſtricts only which I ſhould viſit, the three or four hundred thouſand crowns which he had demanded in vain of the council. I thought it would be uſeleſs, and even imprudent, to take upon myſelf to make this examination, without ſuch an inſtrument as appeared to me to be the moſt effectual means to prevent my being deceived, which was a a full power from the king to ſuſpend the contumacious receivers and overſeers from the exerciſe of their office, or even to diſcard them entirely, and to reward the integrity of thoſe who had been zealous for his majeſty's ſervice.

Henry approved of the eſſential part of this ſcheme, but altered ſomething of the manner in which it was to be propoſed to the council. He was of opinion that I ſhould take ſuch meaſures in offering this advice to them, that thoſe who moſt valued themſelves upon the ſtrength of their genius, ſuch as Sancy, Schomberg, Freſne, and la Grange-leroi, might ſeize the hint firſt themſelves, and ſo paſs, at leaſt in part, for the authors of it; and likewiſe, that each one in the company might flatter himſelf that this commiſſion would be given to him, or through his means, to the intendants and maſters of requeſts who were wholly at his devotion. Nothing could be more prudent than this medium, which gratified alike the vanity of ſome, and the avarice of all. Accordingly I took my place in the council, where, by a miracle, to be found only in courts, my collegues, who inwardly pined with vexation, ſuffered nothing but joy to appear in their countenances, words, and behaviour. I was almoſt deceived myſelf by that profuſion of praiſes with which the chancellor loaded me, and the manner in which he told me I had been expected by them with the utmoſt impatience: ſuch is the art of courtiers; they ſettle it amongſt themſelves, that however groſsly they play the counterfeit, they ſhall not laugh at each other.

The treaty with the duke of Maïenne, which had been agreed upon ſome time before, was concluded during the king's ſtay at Monceaux. When the king was at Amiens, the duke had ſent a man to him, named d'Eſtienne, to know what place would be agreeable to his majeſty, for him

him to come and pay him his reſpects, and the king appointed Monceaux, in conſideration of the duke's indiſpoſition, which would not permit him to make longer journies than from Amiens to Soiſſons, where he reſided *. The king was walking in his park, attended only by me, and holding my hand, when the duke of Maïenne arrived, who put one knee to the ground, with the loweſt ſubmiſſions, and added to a promiſe of inviolable fidelity his acknowledgments to his majeſty for having forced him, he ſaid, from the arrogance of the Spaniards, and the ſubtilty of the Italians. Henry, who as ſoon as he ſaw him approach, had advanced to meet him, embraced him thrice, and, forcing him to riſe, embraced him again with that goodneſs which he never withheld from a ſubject that returned to his duty; then taking his hand, he made him walk with him in his park, converſing with him familiarly upon the embelliſhments he deſigned to make in it. The king walked ſo faſt, that the duke of Maïenne, equally fatigued by his ſciatica, his fat, and the heat of the weather, ſuffered great torments without daring to complain. The king perceiving it, by the duke's being red and in ſweat, whiſpered me, "If I walk longer, ſaid he, with "this corpulent body, I ſhall revenge myſelf upon him, without any "great difficulty, for all the miſchiefs he has done us." Then turning to the duke of Maïenne, "Tell me truly, couſin," purſued he, "do I not walk a little too faſt for you?" The duke replied, that he was almoſt ſtifled; and that, if his majeſty walked but a very little while longer, he would kill him without deſigning it. "Hold there, "couſin," replied the king with a ſmile, embracing him again, and lightly tapping his ſhoulder, "for this is all the vengeance you will ever re-"ceive from me?" The duke of Maïenne, ſenſibly affected with this frank behaviour, attempted to kneel and kiſs the hand his majeſty gave him; and proteſted that he would henceforwards ſerve him even againſt his own children. "I believe it," ſaid Henry; "and that you may love "and ſerve me a long time, go to the caſtle and reſt and refreſh your-"ſelf, for you have much need of it. I will give you a couple of bot-"tles of Arbois wine, for I know you do not hate it: here is Roſny, "whom I reſign to accompany you; he ſhall do the honours of my "houſe, and attend you to your chamber; he is one of my oldeſt "ſervants, and one of thoſe who is moſt rejoiced at your reſolving to "ſerve, and love me affectionately." The king continuing his walk, left me with the duke of Maïenne, whom I conducted to a ſummer-

1596.

* L'Etoile tells the ſtory otherwiſe: but in this the duke de Sully is more to be depended upon. Perefixe has likewiſe been miſtaken in placing this interview in 1595. See the Chronol. Novenn. liv. viii. p. 599.

1596. houſe to repoſe himſelf, and afterwards attended him to his horſe, as much ſatisfied with the king and I as we were both with him.

The king thought Monceaux ſo agreeable a place, that he ſtaid there longer than he had at firſt intended: he ſent for the conſtable and Villeroi from Amiens, and ordered the council of the finances to reſide at Meaux, for the conveniency of receiving his commands. I had not yet propoſed in it my ſcheme of viſiting the diſtricts. His majeſty, being convinced that it muſt have good conſequences, took upon himſelf the care of propoſing it. At the firſt hint he gave of it, the counſellors, who thought none but themſelves could be deſigned for this employment, and each of whom was attentive to his own particular intereſt, without prejudicing that of the ſociety in general, approved of the deſign; but were greatly ſurprized, when they found that, amongſt them all, the king only named la Grange-le-roi for this purpoſe, and appointed him two diſtricts: his majeſty filled up the other commiſſions with the names of meſſieurs de Caumartin * and Bizouze, for two diſtricts each; and with thoſe of the other two maſters of requeſts, for one diſtrict each: four of the chief and moſt extenſive ones were aſſigned to me. The gentlemen of the council began now to repent that they had not hindered the execution of a plan, which would produce a full proof of their injuſtice: they united their utmoſt endeavours to render it uſeleſs, or at leaſt to traverſe it as much as poſſible. Their malice was all directed againſt me; for by the confidence the king placed in me, and the part I had acted in this affair, they gueſſed the truth. I was accuſed of ignorance, raſhneſs, and obſtinacy, and other faults ſtill more glaring; and had no ſooner begun to exerciſe the duties of my employment, than I perceived that, by an effect of their foreſight, they had taken all the neceſſary meaſures with the treaſurers of France, the receivers general and particular, comptrollers, clerks, and the loweſt officers in the revenue. Theſe people, almoſt all of whom had either ſold, or blindly devoted themſelves to their wills, were ready to do whatever was required of them; ſome abſented themſelves, and left their offices ſhut up; others preſented me with a ſtate of their accounts, drawn up with all that art which may be expected from men who make a ſcience of roguery: others contented themſelves with ſhewing me the orders of meſſieurs de Freſne, d'Incarville, and des Barreaux, by which they

* Louis le Fevre, ſeigneur de Caumartin, was ſent into the Lionnois, Berry, and Auvergne: we ſhall ſpeak of him hereafter. He was keeper of the ſeals in 1622, after the death of M. de Vic, and died the following year, in the ſeventy ſecond year of his age. He had the ſame elogiums given him by hiſtorians as M. Sully beſtows on him in the ſequel.

were

were forbid to communicate their regiſters and accounts to any perſon whatver. 1596.

To this exceſs of malice I at firſt oppoſed only patience and gentleneſs. I exhorted, I endeavoured to perſuade, upon the principles of honour and juſtice, perſons who were ſtrangers to both: afterwards, I cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the deſign of aſſembling the ſtates of the kingdom was to ſuppreſs that great number of offices and clerkſhips, eſpecially the treaſury, the leaſt uſeful of all the ſocieties, yet the moſt difficult to manage; and that none were to be continued in their places but thoſe who made themſelves worthy of that diſtinction, by a ſincerity which, on this occaſion, would prove their regard to the public good. This threat producing no effect upon perſons who were ſecretly ſupported by the council itſelf, I was obliged to make uſe of the power I had received, and interdicted moſt of theſe dangerous officers, cauſing the duties of their employment to be exerciſed by two out of each body, whom I choſe amongſt all thoſe that appeared to have the beſt principles. By theſe means I made myſelf maſter of all the regiſters and accounts, which ſerved me for a clue to enter that labyrinth of impoſitions and robberies.

What a ſcene had I there before me! It would be vain to attempt an account of the tricks and ſubtilties of this miſchievous trade, or an enumeration of concealments, forgeries, miſrepreſentations, and productions of the ſame evidences, to ſerve different purpoſes; not to mention the contrivance of an artificial confuſion, thro' which thoſe wretches ſee with great clearneſs, though, to every other eye, all is darkneſs and inextricable perplexity. I content myſelf with remarking that, by clearing only two old accounts, and bringing together the receipts and letters of exchange of the year current, and the year preceding, I eaſily collected more than five hundred thouſand crowns, which was loſt to the king. It may be judged what a ſum would have been raiſed, if, from all thoſe who were thus employed, a rigorous reſtitution had been demanded of all that they fraudulently gained in ſo long a courſe of diſhoneſty, out of the different ſums that had paſſed their fingers, ſince only from aſſignments for old debts, arrears of long ſtanding, and orders payable to the bearer, ſo much money was recovered. My partners were not as fortunate or as exact as myſelf; all, except Caumartin, who brought the king two hundred thouſand livres, paid his majeſty only in long memorials of improvements to be made in the farming his revenues; yet the

1596. the king had chosen these persons with the greatest care. But it is not surprizing that they should act in this manner, for to dare the hatred of a society so powerful as that of the financiers in France, to be proof against the presents and allurements, against the turns and artifices of all their dependents, the greatest part of whom do not want understanding, and make use of it only to dazzle, corrupt, and deceive, requires a degree of courage and fortitude of which few persons are capable.

Mean time the gentlemen of the council, who had intelligence of all my proceedings in the provinces, were in a situation that may be easily imagined: unless they found means to render all my endeavours useless, or to ruin me before my return, their reputation and interest would be entirely lost. My absence afforded them all the conveniency they could wish for to prosecute this design; every thing that malice could suggest was said and done, by them and their emissaries, to prejudice the king against me: they never mentioned me but as a tyrant, who drained the people of all their substience, by the most cruel extortions, without procuring any advantage to the king; since the sums with which I took such pains to fill his treasury, being designed for the payment of pensions to the princes of the blood, and salaries of the great officers of the crown, they would be only placed in his coffers, to be taken out again immediately. Notwithstanding the invectives and impostures of this dreadful cabal, none of whose practices against me I was unacquainted with, I continued to perform my duty; and they had no other effect than to increase my diligence in the execution of my plan, and my precaution in taking such measures as would effectually put a stop to their accusations.

Henry, who had at first given no credit to their reports, beginning afterwards to apprehend some bad consequences from my inexperience in those affairs, desired me, in his letters, to return as soon as possible: but, at length, when my enemies had made their party so strong, that there was a general outcry against me at court, the king was prevailed upon to believe that I should use the power I was possessed of with a severity that would make even him odious to the people; and then, instead of an invitation, I received an absolute order to return to Paris. I obeyed without murmuring, tho' greatly concerned to be thus stopped in the midst of my endeavours for his service. I caused the accounts of my four districts to be immediately drawn up, and signed by eight receivers-general; and not having time to convert

the fifteen hundred thouſand crowns I had raiſed in a leſs bulky coin, 1596.
I loaded ſeventy carts with them, making the eight receivers-general accompany them, under the guard of a provoſt and thirty of the marſhalſeamen, who conducted them to Rouen, where the king then was, on account of the opening of the ſtates.

Of all the ſlanders which had been invented by the gentlemen of the council, to procure my diſgrace, none ſeemed to them ſo ſpecious as to make the king believe, that I had filled the priſons with the officers and clerks of his finances; to which they thought fit to add that, thro' an inſolent vanity, I brought along fifty of the principal ones bound in my train. The king, who ſuſpected no falſhood in ſo poſitive a charge, received me, when on my arrival at Rouen I went to pay him my reſpects, with an air that convinced me my enemies had been very active in their endeavours to hurt me. He did me the honour indeed to embrace me, but with a coldneſs and reſerve which were not uſual with him. He aſked me why I had given myſelf the uſeleſs trouble of bringing money along with me, which I knew belonged to perſons whom he had no inclination to diſoblige; and was greatly ſurprized to hear that not one denier of it was due to the princes of the blood, nor to any of the penſionaries of the ſtate, who were all paid the April quarter, and would be likewiſe as exactly thoſe of July and October, ſince I had not taken up any of the payments beforehand. The king, after obliging me to repeat theſe words ſeveral times, and even to ſwear to the truth of them, broke into an exclamation againſt thoſe wicked detractors, and impudent impoſtors, as he called them; "but," added he, "what do you intend to do with the receivers and officers, whom "you keep priſoners in your train?" The aſtoniſhment into which this queſtion threw me, was alone ſufficient to convince the king of the falſhood of this accuſation; nor was it difficult for me to perceive that moment, that the malice of meſſieurs of the council would recoil on themſelves; and that it would diſcloſe more effectually the ſecret motives of their conduct than any thing I could ſay to him. His majeſty required no other explanation from me; on the contrary, he loaded me with praiſes, and gave me a thouſand proofs of his friendſhip and eſteem.

Having been told that the ſum I had raiſed muſt be very conſiderable, upon his aſking me what it was, I replied, that being unwilling to keep any part of it in my hands, either for my charges, expences, or penſion, that the receivers-general might find the full ſum

1596. ſum ſpecified in the accounts, and learn from thence never to keep back any part of his revenues, his majeſty might himſelf deduct my expences from the fifteen hundred thouſand crowns which I had brought him. A ſum ſo conſiderable gave great pleaſure to the king, who was in extreme neceſſity for money: he told me, that he would take care my expences ſhould be all paid; and that beſides my penſion of ten thouſand livres a month, which he raiſed to eighteen, he would preſent me with the ſum of ſix thouſand crowns, as a reward for the ſervice I had juſt done him. He commanded me to ſay nothing of what had paſſed between him and me, and ſent me to lay apart from the money I had brought him what was neceſſary for the payment of the ſix companies of Swiſs, at the rate of eighteen hundred crowns a company, and to give it them the next day.

I returned to my carriages, which ſtood in two courts belonging to the ſieur de Martinbault, under the ſame guard that had conducted them to Rouen. I ordered them to be unloaded, and the barrels that contained the money to be placed in apartments, the locks of which were changed, and ſecured by large padlocks, with three keys to each; the two receivers had one a-piece and myſelf the third. The next morning I ſent the Swiſs officers the ten thouſand crowns that were due to them by three clerks, eſcorted by ten of the guard.

A short time after I had ſent away this eſcort, Sancy, to whom the king had ſaid, that he muſt pay the Swiſs, and who was generally charged with this employment, ſent me a billet, in which he deſired me to deliver to the ſieur le Charron, the bearer, ninety thouſand crowns for the payment of the Swiſs. Theſe were the terms in which the billet was conceived; for this counſellor would have thought it a degradation of his high rank to have condeſcended to any politeneſs or explanation with his collegues. I was equally offended at the ſtiff air of this letter, and the impudent demand of a ſum that I knew to be three times more than was due; therefore anſwered the bearer haughtily, that I neither knew Sancy, his writing, nor his orders. "How! do you "not know Sancy?" ſaid Charron, ſurprized, no doubt, at my preſumption, for at this name the whole council trembled, the rank Sancy held in it approaching very near to that of ſuperintendant. Perceiving that I had no intention to ſend any other anſwer, he went back to report it with all the timidity of a ſervant who is apprehenſive of awakening the bad humours of his maſter. Unfortunately for Sancy, he repeated my meſſage before ſeveral perſons who were witneſſes likewiſe of his tranſports.

transports. "We shall soon see," said he, swearing, "whether he knows 1596.
"me or not." Then, after loading me with what invectives he thought fit, he went directly to Saint-Ouen to the king. "Well, Sancy," said his majesty to him, "have you been to pay our Swiss?" "No, sire," replied Sancy, with a sullen air, "I cannot go, for it does not please "your monsieur de Rosny that I should, who plays the emperor in "his apartment, sits upon his barrels of money like an ape upon a "block, and says he knows no one; and I am not sure whether you "will have more credit with him than any one else." "How is this!" replied the king, "I see you will never be weary of doing this man bad "offices, because I confide in him and he serves me diligently." His majesty added, that my refusal was so much the less probable, as I had, by his order, agreed to give this money to the Swiss. Sancy supported his assertion by the testimony of le Charron, whom he had brought along with him. The king, suspecting some new instance of malignity, ordered Biart, one of the grooms of the bedchamber, to go and fetch me.

As soon as he saw me, he asked me what had happened between Sancy and me. "I am going to tell you, sire," replied I boldly: and accordingly, without fearing the least resentment of the terrible Sancy, I related all that had passed, in terms that sufficiently mortified his vanity. Sancy, who was not of a temper to yield, became more insolent than before, and assuming an imperious tone, an altercation so spirited ensued between us, although in the king's presence, that his majesty was obliged to command us to be silent. That instant, ceasing to speak to my adversary, I turned towards the king, and intreated him to give me no superior in affairs wherein I acted solely by his order. The gallery at Saint-Ouen, where this scene passed, was crouded with a great number of persons, who, being weary of Sancy's insolence, rejoiced to see him suffer this little disgrace. "It would have been very "difficult," said some, as I was afterwards informed, "for two such "genuisses to have exercised the same employments, without one of "them being supplanted by the other; but in the humour the king "is in at present, the best œconomist will be his choice.' Others beheld my increase of favour with envy; and others, who probably had very little regard for either of us, laughed at the novelty of the fight, and cried, "There is one hot-headed man, who has met with "another that will stick by him."

1596.

The report of thoſe great ſums with which I had filled the king's coffers was no ſooner ſpread, than I was overwhelmed with the demands of an infinite number of his creditors, moſt of whom were ſent by meſſieurs of the council; who through impatience to ſee it diſſipated ſoon, agreed with the creditors to have the uſual drawbacks upon their debts. My principal view in raiſing this money being to make a fund for thoſe military expeditions which the king was ſhortly to begin, without his being obliged to load the people with new impoſts, I was reſolved not to ſuffer it to be ſquandered away; and therefore reſiſted all their importunities, and continued unmoved by their inſolence and threats. But reflecting afterwards, that there was an abſolute neceſſity for ſending home the eight receivers-general, who alone were acquainted with the uſes to which I put this money, I was afraid of giving too much occaſion for ſlander, by keeping ſo large a ſum in my poſſeſſion after their departure; and I reſolved to ſend it to the royal treaſury. The king, who thought his money was no where ſecure but in my hands, endeavoured ſeveral times to vanquiſh my ſcruples; but in vain: I was determined to prevent the leaſt ſuſpicion upon this occaſion, and therefore confided it to the care of the two treaſurers, Morfontaine and Gobelin. I removed his majeſty's fears by promiſing him that I would obſerve ſo carefully how this money was laid out, that he ſhould not ſuffer the leaſt loſs. I ſeparated, in the preſence of the receivers, thoſe ſums that were neceſſary for the payment of the army, the expence of an artillery of twenty pieces of cannon, with double equipages, a ſufficient quantity of powder, beſides a convoy of other implements neceſſary for a ſiege, ſuch as pick-axes, &c. which I cauſed to be carried to Amiens. I likewiſe laid aſide fifty thouſand crowns more for the king's privy purſe, out of which he generally beſtowed preſents, unknown to the catholics, on many old officers and proteſtant ſoldiers that had ſerved him faithfully in his wars. The remainder, which I calculated with the greateſt exactneſs, amounted ſtill to four hundred and fifty thouſand crowns, and I carefully preſerved both my former accounts, and thoſe relating to the ſums that were taken from the total. But being deſirous of having a ſecond proof of what the gentlemen of the council and their receivers-general were capable of, I affected great negligence concerning the diſpoſal of the money; and when the receivers came to me, before they ſet out for their offices, to demand a copy of my accounts, I replied, that having

no

no longer any concern about a ſum that was now under the care of other perſons, and they having been witneſſes themſelves of the uſes to which the money had been applied, I had deſtroyed thoſe papers, as having now no further occaſion for them. This the receivers did not fail to inform their maſters of. 1596.

A month was paſſed ſince the money was carried to the treaſury, during which they made ſome payments out of it that I likewiſe pretended to keep no account of it: but here it was not poſſible to commit a miſtake; for no ſums being paid without a warrant from the council, all that was neceſſary was, to keep an exact memorandum of it, which I did. Theſe warrants in a ſhort time amounted to fifty thouſand crowns, and conſequently there was ſtill four hundred thouſand in the treaſury. The king, however, ſome days after, demanding two hundred thouſand crowns to be ſent to Amiens, where the deſigned preparations were already made, particularly for the taking of Hedin, Sancy and the reſt replied, that they believed this ſum was ſtill in the treaſury, and that was all; and ſending for d'Incarville, who was likely to know beſt, having the care of the regiſters, he aſſured the king that there was hardly two hundred thouſand crowns in his coffers. His majeſty, to whom I had ſaid three days before that there was ſtill four hundred thouſand crowns remaining, was extremely ſurprized; but their aſſertions were ſo poſitive that they forced his belief; and he told me that I muſt certainly be miſtaken. I was ſo ſure of the contrary, that I mentioned before d'Incarville himſelf, and all my colleagues, whom his majeſty had ſent for, that there was a miſtake of one half of the money. D'Incarville replied, that his regiſters were more certain than my memory; and offered to bring, the next day, an extract of all the ſums that had been paid out of the treaſury. I perceived from whence ſo great a ſecurity proceeded, and I was reſolved to ſuffer them, till the laſt moment, to flatter themſelves that they were going to gain a complete victory over me. I had courage enough to conceal, even from the king, the ſtratagem I had made uſe of, and to endure, without reply, the reproaches he made me, for letting this ſum go out of my hands, contrary to his deſire.

The accounts were brought the next day, well atteſted, and no miſtake was found in the ſums that had been laid out; that would have been too palpable: the whole miſtake lay in the receipt, which was founded upon their full perſuaſion that I had really deſtroyed the

1596. papers, which proved the quantity and quality of the coin carried at different times to the royal treasury. I secretly reflected with astonishment on the subtilty with which they had acted with regard to this receipt, so as to spread over it an obscurity impenetrable to any one who was not possessed of a full proof of its falsehood, and with what art they had given to this obscurity an air of truth, and even of conviction. I asked to see the receipts, with a feigned ill-humour, which seemed to these gentlemen a confession of my defeat. The council offered to make the receivers-general depose upon oath the numbers and contents of those carriages which had been sent to the royal treasury. I replied, that the discussion would be too tedious. D'Incarville, who took great advantages of my dissembled perplexity, told me, that I might go and examine the register of the finances upon the spot, since they could not be moved out of the offices. Although I easily comprehended that these registers, public and authorized as they were, might still be counterfeited like the rest, yet I could not imagine the manner in which it was done, the receipt for each of the carriages being signed by d'Arnaud and de l' Hôte, whose hand-writing I knew: I had therefore a curiosity to see these registers: all appeared very exact, and in the usual forms. Messieurs of the council began then to insult over me, and used their supposed advantages very ill.

I now thought it time to silence them, and to cover them in their turn with a real confusion. Accordingly, I produced the accounts, signed by the eight receivers-general; and likewise an exact memorandum of all the warrants. That instant all their arrogance vanished, and they would have been reduced to the necessity of confessing their roguery, had they not bethought themselves of a contrivance to avoid it; but so poor a one, as still left them all the disgrace. A clerk, instructed by d'Incarville, came to the king, and told him, that l' Hôte, who kept the key of the hall where the registers lay, being absent one day when one of the most considerable of the carriages was brought to the treasury, and the receivers who conducted it being in haste to return, he thought it would be sufficient to mark the sum contained in the carriage upon a loose sheet of paper, intending to make it be afterwards revised, and signed by d'Incarville, and inserted in the registers; but that he himself afterwards going to Heudicourt, it had slipt out of his memory; for which he intreated his majesty's pardon. The king contented himself with slightly reprimanding him for his neglect, ordering more care to be taken of the registers for the future.

Then

Then going towards the conſtable (who was at the end of the gallery where all this had paſſed, and who in the whole affair had appeared more favourable to the gentlemen of the council than me) he cried out to him at a diſtance, in the preſence of ſeveral perſons, that his money was found, and that he knew in good time thoſe in whom he ought to confide. 1596.

Amidst theſe contentions came the day appointed for the meeting of the ſtates of the kingdom, or rather of the aſſembly of notables; that is, of perſons of conſideration; for ſo it is that they were called. The reaſon of adopting this name *, inſtead of that of the ſtates of the kingdom, which ſhould naturally have been uſed, aroſe wholly from the lawyers and financiers, who perceiving that at this time they had riches and influence to give them ſuch a ſuperiority to the other claſſes, as they were unwilling any but the clergy ſhould ſhare with them, diſdained to ſee themſelves levelled with the people by one common denomination; which yet muſt have been the caſe, if the forms uſed in theſe aſſemblies, and particularly the diſtinction of the three orders, had been preſerved. They, indeed, made their appearance with magnificence and ſplendor, which ſunk the nobility, the ſoldiers, and other members of the ſtate, below conſideration, ſince they were not able to dazle the eyes with ſplendid equipages, the glitter of gold, nor a long train of attendants; things which will always draw the envy, the reverence, and the worſhip, of the people; or, more, truly, will always ſhew our depravity and folly.

* Pereſixe ſays, that it is becauſe the king had not time to aſſemble the ſtates together: "The kings (ſays d'Aubigne, with his uſual malevolence) "have recourſe to ſuch ſorts of aſſemblies, when "thoſe of the ſtates-general are tedious, "difficult, or ſuſpected by them. The deſign of aſſembling theſe little ſtates being to find money to carry on the war "againſt Spain, there were ſeveral ſchemes "projected and agreed to; the pancarte, "or old tax, was the chief, which was "but very ill received in many places of "the kingdom, &c." Tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 14. De Thou ſays very little of it, Davila no more. All that is ſaid in their Memoirs about this aſſembly is found, ſo far as I know, no where elſe: and in order to render it the more intelligible, I have taken the liberty which I have deſired in the preface to this work, and that was, to compare with each other all the thoughts that the compilers of M. de Sully's manuſcripts have made uſe of in their Memoirs, without any order or connexion. As we may well ſuppoſe that they were all mutually connected, and had each their proper object in the mind of this great ſtateſman, it entirely coincides with his views, to apply them to the ſubject to which they naturally belong. And all that can be deſired is, I think, never to alter the ſubſtance of the thoughts in my original; to which I have principally applied myſelf.

Such,

1596.

Such, in general, is the notion that ought to be formed of these great, these august assemblies; those men of whom one imagines, that they must come thither with minds full of wisdom and public spirit, warm with all the zeal that animated the ancient legislators, commonly think on no other business than how to make a ridiculous display of their pomp, and shew their effeminacy, to most advantage; and whose appearance would sink them into infamy, if they were beheld without prejudice. To complete the notion, we must take in the discord of the several bodies which compose these assemblies, their contrarieties of interest, their opposition of opinion, the desire of each to over-reach another, their intrigues, and their confusion; all which, together with that meanness discovered in the prostitution of eloquence, have their original from the same hateful cause: for by some fatality it comes to pass, that those improvements which an age makes in knowledge above preceding times, are not applied to the advancement of virtue, nor serve any other purpose than to refine wickedness. It is true, that in these assemblies there may be found a small number of men of great abilities and great virtues, men whose qualities no-body disputes; but, instead of being forced into public notice, they are treated with an affectation of negligence and contempt, which sink them into silence, and with them suppress the voice of the public good. Thus long experience has shewn, than an assembly of these states rarely produces the good expected from it: for that such might be its effect, the members ought to be equally instructed in true and honest policy; at least, ignorance and knavery should sit dumb in the presence of men of knowledge and integrity: but such is always the character of multitudes, that for one wise man, there are many fools, and presumption is the constant attendant of folly; and it is here more than in any place, that great virtues, instead of exciting respect and emulation, provoke hatred and envy.

Besides, if the prince that holds these assemblies is powerful and fond of power, he will easily defeat their schemes, or crush them into silence; but, if he is weak, and unacquainted with his own rights, an unbounded licentiousness of debate will soon sink the kingdom into all the miseries that naturally follow the depression of the royal authority. Necessity therefore requires, that there should be, both in the sovereign and the subject, a complete knowledge of their several rights, and mutual obligations. The first law of a sovereign is, that he should keep the law,

law, for he has himſelf two ſovereigns, God and the law: juſtice ought to preſide on his throne, and gentleneſs to ſupport it. God is the true owner of kingdoms, and monarchs are but the miniſters, who ought to exhibit to the people a true copy of the perfections of him in whoſe place they ſtand; and remember, that they do not govern like him but when they govern as fathers. In hereditary monarchies, there is an hereditary miſtake: the ſovereign is maſter of the life and property of his ſubjects, and by means of theſe few words, *Such is our pleaſure*, is diſpenſed from giving the reaſons of his conduct, and from having any reaſons to give. Suppoſing this were really the right of a king, is it not the utmoſt degree of imprudence, to incur voluntarily the hatred of thoſe who muſt every moment have his life in their hands? And hated he muſt certainly be, who forces a conceſſion of power, which he declares beforehand his intention to abuſe. 1596.

With regard to ſubjects, the firſt law which religion, reaſon, and nature preſcribe them, is to obey; their duty is to reverence, honour, and fear their princes, as repreſentatives of the ſupreme governor, who may be ſaid to appear viſibly on earth by theſe his miniſters, as he appears in heaven by the orbs of light. Theſe duties they are to pay from a principle of gratitude, for the ſecurity and advantages they enjoy under the ſhelter of the royal authority: for the calamity of having an unjuſt, ambitious, and arbitrary king, they have no other remedy but that of ſoftening him by ſubmiſſion, and propitiating God by prayer. All grounds of reſiſtance, however ſolid they may be thought, will appear, upon a careful examination, to be nothing more, than artful and ſubtle pleas for diſloyalty; nor has it been found that, by this practice, princes have been reformed, or taxes aboliſhed; but to the calamities, which gave room for complaints, has been added a new degree of miſery, as may be found by enquiring into the ſentiments of the lower people, and particularly thoſe of the country.

Such are the principles upon which the mutual happineſs of governors and ſubjects might eaſily be fixed, if in general aſſemblies of the nation, each party appeared fully convinced of the truth of theſe maxims: but, ſuppoſing this the caſe, there would ſtill be leſs need of general aſſemblies, to which recourſe is never had but when there is ſome diſagreement between the members and the head. It may, however, be concluded, that, as theſe aſſemblies are at preſent uſeleſs, both on account of the occaſions on which they are called, and of the methods

1596. thods in which they proceed, ſo they might be of great efficacy for the ſupport of regularity and general virtue, if the prince, acting as the real head of united members, would call them with no other purpoſe, than to oblige thoſe who lay down their employments, to give an account of their adminiſtration, in the face of the kingdom, and to chuſe, with wiſdom and diſcernment, thoſe by whom their places ſhould be ſupplied; animating them to a due diſcharge of their offices by his exhortations, and by a public diſtribution of praiſe and blame, puniſhments and rewards *.

Henry, while he waited for the meeting of the aſſembly, took a journey to Arques, Dieppe, and Caudebec, &c. that he might have a ſight of the places where ſo many memorable actions had been performed, and I accompanied him throughout his journey.

When he returned to Rouen, he opened the aſſembly, by a ſpeech, uttered with a dignity becoming a great prince, and a ſincerity with which princes are unacquainted: he declared that, to avoid all appearance of violence or compulſion, he had determined not to call an aſſembly of deputies, named by the king and blindly obſequious to all his inclinations, but that he gave an admiſſion at large to perſons of all ranks and conditions, that men of knowledge and merit might have an opportunity to propoſe, without fear, whatever they thought neceſſary for the public good; that at that time he would not attempt to confine them by any limitations, but enjoined them not to make an ill uſe of this freedom from reſtriction, by an attempt to leſſen the ſovereign authority, which is the chief ſtrength of the kingdom; and exhorted them to eſtabliſh union amongſt their members, to give eaſe to the people, to clear the royal treaſury from debts, which, though it was ſubject to them, it never had contracted; to ſhew their juſtice in reducing exorbitant ſalaries, without leſſening thoſe that were neceſſary; and to ſettle, for times to come, a fund clear of incumbrances, and ſufficient to maintain the army.

He added, that it ſhould be no objection to him, that the meaſures propoſed were not of his own contrivance, provided he found them dictated by juſtice, and public ſpirit: that they ſhould not find him

* There cannot, I think, any thing be added to the juſtneſs of theſe ſentiments. And we need only remit hither thoſe who, as Comines, Boulainvilliers, &c. have taken the ſide of the ſtates, and the ariſtocratical party.

pleading

pleading his age, his experience, or perſonal qualities, as an exemption from any juſt regulations, though princes often made excuſes far leſs defenſible; but that he would ſhew, by his example, that it was no leſs the buſineſs of kings to enforce edicts, than of ſubjects to obey them *. 1596.

Henry roſe after this ſpeech, declaring that neither he nor his council would be preſent at their conſultations, that they might be wholly freed from conſtrant; and accordingly went out with all his counſellors, leaving only me, to lay before the aſſembly ſuch accounts, memoirs, and public papers, as were neceſſary for their information.

When I gave an account of the laſt aſſembly of theſe ſtates at Paris, I ſpoke at large of their methods of proceeding, and the forms uſed in thoſe great and numerous aſſemblies; and ſhall therefore only obſerve, at preſent, that, excepting the ſubject of their deliberations, this aſſembly reſembled the former. As they were now neceſſarily to come to ſome concluſion, particularly with relation to the ſubſidies, and to ſettle the method of raiſing them, they could think of nothing better to be done, than to make a collection of old uſeleſs regulations of a nature contrary to the preſent ſtate of affairs; inſtead of conſidering that the nation ought to be treated as a body afflicted with ſome new and extraordinary diſtemper, and therefore requiring an uncommon remedy, and that in proportion as its mechaniſm is better known, the operations performed upon it ought to be altered; ſuch is the force of prejudice, that men continue obſtinately to endeavour the cure of their preſent diſorders, by means of which the inefficacy is demonſtrated by their inability to prevent the evils or to ſtop their progreſs. An injudicious reverence for antiquity, a falſe notion of cauſes, occaſioned by the

* "If I were deſirous, ſays he, to paſs "for an elaborate orator, I would have "introduced here more fine words than "good will; but my ambition aims at "ſomething higher than to ſpeak well: "I aſpire to the glorious titles of the de"liverer and reſtorer of France. I have "not called you together, as my prede"ceſſors have done, to oblige you blindly "to approve of my will and pleaſure; I "have called you to be aſſembled, in or"der to receive your counſels, to depend "upon them, and to follow them; in "ſhort, to put myſelf into your hands as "my guardians: this is a declaration "which is not very common for kings, "for new heirs, and conquerors like me to "make; but the love which I bear my "ſubjects, and the extreme fondneſs which "I have to preſerve my ſtate, have made "me find every thing eaſy and every thing "honourable." Peref. part. 2.

1596. diſtance of time; a want of diligent reflection on the paſt, and of clear views of the future, about which our ſelf-love hinders us from coming to any agreement, all contribute to perpetuate the wrong meaſures of ancient times. It is a maxim with ſome, that laws and cuſtoms are not to be changed; a maxim to which I zealouſly adhere, except when the advantage, and what is much ſtronger, the neceſſity of the public * requires their alteration.

Accordingly they amuſed themſelves with raking old ſchemes out of the duſt, and went on ſtill enlarging the collection, which they found already to be of no value, till an impoſſibility came full in their view, and deſtroyed their project; for it appeared that theſe old conſtitutions were adapted to a form of government in which royalty, tho' decorated with a ſpecious title, was a ſtate of ſervitude; and could therefore not be applied to a time when the public intereſt had concentered, in a ſingle perſon, the authority which was formerly diſtributed amongſt great numbers, and eſtabliſhed monarchy as the ſureſt foundation of general ſecurity.

This fancy was followed by another, which held them for a time by ſome ſpecious appearances, though, in effect, it was no leſs inconvenient than the former. This was the eſtabliſhment of a new council, which they thought it proper to denominate the council of reaſon,

* The genius of the French nation, they ſay, is ſuch, that this alone renders all change, even the moſt uſeful and neceſſary, extremely dangerous for us: a ſyſtem, whoſe foundation it ſeems all the world, at this day, agrees was excellent, and which, notwithſtanding this, has had very troubleſome conſequences, makes us inſiſt more than ever upon this conſideration. The duke de Sully, who lived at a time in which he did not want for proofs of the defects objected to the nation, would have anſwered to this, that two things are abſolutely neceſſary in any nation whatever, in order to ſecure the ſucceſs of ſuch ſort of enterprifes: the firſt is an authority in the legiſlator, ſufficiently great not to be obliged to change, or abate the leaſt tittle of his plan thro' fear, or policy, or compliance: the ſecond, is a wiſdom equally great, to prepare all the means for putting it in execution. Amidſt a great number of real changes that have been made in the different parts of the government, which will be ſeen in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, we may obſerve a ſtill greater number of projects which have not been executed, tho' formed a great while ago: and what is the reaſon? why, becauſe Henry the Great and his miniſter watched and waited for the proper conjunctures and circumſtances, &c. which ſhould render them certain and infallible. I will not ſcruple to ſay, that perfect ſkill conſiſts not in imagining, but in knowing, the hazards that proceed from too great precipitation, and too great ſlowneſs, to be aware of the proper opportunity; and in ſhort, to know how to conduct and how to prepare for it..

whoſe

whose members should be first named by the assembly, and afterwards by the sovereign courts. But there was already a council of this kind, and that very council had been apparently the cause of the disorders of the finances, and the misery of the nation. This signified nothing; the whole multitude suffered themselves to be so dazzled by a fine name, and a new election, that it was proposed, and determined, to make the same evil its own remedy. It was settled, that the new council should divide into two portions the revenues of the king, which they estimated, without much examination, at thirty millions *; that they should keep one half in their own hands, for the discharge of arrears, pensions, wages of offices, and other public debts and engagements; and that out of the same sum they should repair or make cities, buildings, roads, or other public works; and that of this sum neither the king nor the sovereign court should have power to take cognizance, or examine the application. It may easily be imagined, how the members of the council flattered their rapacity by a disposal absolute and unaccountable of half the revenues of the state: let us for a moment suppose them dishonest in their management, what numbers must be distressed, what confusion and ruin must ensue? 1596.

The other part was left to the king, to be managed by him, or his ministers, with equal exemption from account: this was burthened with all the expences of the artillery and fortifications, all foreign affairs, embassies, and negotiations, the support of his household, his buildings, and his equipage, the payment of his officers, and his privy purse. Neither party was confined by any prescriptions, as to the manner of raising or managing either share of the revenue; so they preserved that mutual independence on which the projectors valued themselves; as if the strength of the kingdom did not depend upon the power of assisting, according to their respective need, any part that should happen to be in distress, and supplying the sick, if I may use the expression, with the superfluous blood of those that are in health.

As the thirty millions at which the royal revenues have been rated, were suspected to be somewhat more than their real value, they resolved

* The author has reason to say that this computation is not exact, since, notwithstanding the augmentation of the king's revenues, and the clearing of his debts that happened under his ministry, and which may be seen in the sequel of these Memoirs to amount to a very considerable sum, cardinal Richelieu did not value the whole revenues of the state, after all the alterations which he himself had made, at more than thirty-five millions. Test. Pol. part 2. page 152.

1596. to create a new tax, by laying a penny in the ſhilling upon all merchandiſes *, and proviſions bought and ſold in the kingdom, by wholeſale or retail. When they computed the amount of the trade of particular perſons, and the expences of neceſſity, convenience, and luxury, they concluded that this new tax might ſafely be rated at five millions; and the happy notion was bleſt a thouſand times, though in reality the ſcheme was no leſs chimerical than the new computation was defective †.

When the aſſembly had thus brought their ſcheme in all its branches to perfection, they ſent it by their deputies to the king, who received the propoſal in his council: the indignation raiſed by this project inſtantly appeared by ſuch a confuſion of outcries and murmurs, that the king had great difficulty to make the council give their opinions one by one. The field of diſcuſſion was boundleſs; every man was made eloquent by vexation and reſentment. When my turn came, I ſatisfied myſelf with ſaying coldly, that I had nothing to add to ſuch fine harangues. The king, who obſerved me attentively, and wondered at my caution, reſolved to have a private converſation with me before he gave the ſuffrage which was to determine for, or againſt the ſcheme of the aſſembly; he therefore adjourned the conſideration of the affair till the morrow, in the preſence of the ſame perſons. When we were alone, he aſked me with eagerneſs, the reaſon of my ſilence; and I made to him the following obſervations.

It is certain, that the aſſembly were ſo infatuated with their new ſcheme, that if the king ſhould follow the opinion of his council, and reject it in high terms, he would expoſe himſelf to the danger of a general diſſatisfaction; the more dangerous becauſe the ſtates aſſembled acknowledged no ſuperior, nor allowed that even the king had power to alter their deciſions. One of the moſt important maxims of mo-

* Corn was the only thing that was exempted.

† M. de Sully thinks and ſpeaks of the eſtabliſhing a *ſou* or penny in the ſhilling, as almoſt the whole world thought and ſpoke of it at that time. Le Grain nevertheleſs gives his ſuffrage to this tax, liv. vi. Matthieu does not condemn it; and what is of greater weight, cardinal Richelieu finds it to be ſo much the more juſt, as it is eſtabliſhed, ſays he, in divers other ſtates, and had been already reſolved on by a body of the ſtate, under Francis I. However, the difficulties and inconveniencies which M. de Sully mentions in the ſequel are real, and partly the ſame which made Richelieu be the firſt entirely to diſſuade Lewis XIII. from eſtabliſhing it. Teſt. Pol. part 2. ch. 9. ſect. 7.

narchy

narchy is, that the king would take care not to reduce his ſubjects to actions of diſobedience, or even to words of diſreſpect; beſides, the king would directly break the word, by which he had promiſed the aſſembly to conform himſelf to their reſolutions: and to conclude, all they that contrived, or had adopted the ſcheme, would make the rejection of it by the king, an argument by which they would convince themſelves, that this was the true ſcheme of affairs, till by an attempt to put it in execution they were cured of their notion, and would inſinuate, that only their prince had prevented them from ſeeing that practice eſtabliſhed in France, which had been for ſo long a time deſired. Every body knows, that it is the diſpoſition of the people, eſpecially of thoſe that have ſpirit and reſentment, to abuſe the actions of their ſovereign. 1596.

On the other ſide, it was equally certain that this project was at once deſtructive in its tendency, and impracticable in its execution; to give full conviction of this the leaſt knowledge of the finances was ſufficient: beſides the obſtructions which I have juſt been mentioning, how many more muſt ariſe from the competitions which would be produced by an election of the members of the council, who were to be taken equally from all the provinces of the kingdom. No ſooner could this ſcheme, which was now only ſketched out, be branched into particulars, than that appearance of impartiality and juſtice, by which the conduct of public affairs muſt be neceſſarily thrown into the hands of new and unexperienced men, would occaſion innumerable miſcalculations, and miſtakes. It was apparent that the heads of the new council would immediately grow giddy, and that all the meaſures they would take would be only blunder accumulated on blunder.

From the impoſſibility that any advantage ſhould ariſe from this ſcheme, I drew my arguments to perſuade the king to conſent to it; by which he would obtain, in the eye of his people, the honour of falling readily into the meaſures which they themſelves had marked out; and this condeſcenſion would be ſo far from leſſening the royal authority, that when the new council had made the melancholy experiment of their ſtrength, he would ultimately receive this advantage, that all the parts of the finances would fall back into his hands, with exemption from dependence. As the calculation of the royal revenues was made by the aſſembly, and the council ſelected from it, it would be ſuppoſed that they had taken in all neceſſary conſiderations relating to thoſe payments,

1596. ments, of which the collection was moſt difficult and expenſive: they could not therefore take it amiſs, that the king choſe his fifteen millions of that part which he liked beſt. Chuſing for his part the revenue of the five great farms, *des parties caſuelles, du domaine, et des aides,* he might expect, without preſumption, to ſee them doubled, if not trebled, in a ſhort time. This I ſpoke with full confidence, becauſe I had already provided myſelf of reſponſible people, who had engaged to take theſe farms at a conſiderable advance. With reſpect to that which remained in the hands of the council of reaſon, the caſe was quite otherwiſe; and I would have been bound to the king, that the penny in the ſhilling, amongſt others, would not, when all expences were defrayed, bring in above two hundred thouſand crowns clear money.

The reaſon why I did not give this opinion openly in the council, was, becauſe I thought it proper that it ſhould ſeem to come from the king himſelf. The king, after having heard me with great attention, was afraid leſt my advice ſhould bring him into difficulties, and into a miſtake in ſome ſort irretrievable; but having conſidered my reaſons very ſeriouſly, he reſolved to follow my opinion.

When the council met next day, they determined as the day before, and I determined in the ſame manner. The king declaring that he could not follow their advice, left them in the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, and went in to the aſſembly, where he declared, in ſtrong terms, that finding himſelf diſpoſed to promote, with all his power, the inclinations of ſo wiſe a body, he received their ſcheme without any qualification or reſtriction, which he conſidered as conſiſting of three articles; the erection of an independent council, the diviſion of the public revenues, and the levy of a penny in the ſhilling; that the aſſembly had nothing to do but in twenty-four hours to name the new council; to give in a ſchedule of the thirty millions, that he might chuſe his own ſhare; and that they ſhould ſee, by his conduct, whether he or the council were the beſt œconomiſts. The goodneſs and compliance of the king were loudly praiſed; and the council finding itſelf concluded by a determination ſo unanimous, which left no farther room for debate, at leaſt between the king and his ſubjects, thought of nothing but returning to Paris, there to conclude this maſter-piece of policy.

2

The

1596.

The new council was not formed with so little disturbance as had been expected; that change of temper which retarded the election was so great, that penetrating persons saw from that moment how chimerical a scheme had been embraced by the multitude. The nomination was at last completed, in which the clergy were very busy from the first; and the cardinal de Gondy *, famous for his œconomical abilities, was put at its head, as if public affairs were to be administered by the same rules as those of a private house. The council of reason held their meetings regularly in the episcopal palace, where the cardinal had assigned them an apartment.

But no sooner had they begun to lay papers upon the table for the collection of the payments of the next year, but these new money-mongers were so much perplexed, that they knew not on which side to turn them. The farther they went the more the labyrinth was perplexed; they found nobody that would undertake for the penny in the shilling; the farmers asked for other funds, but at a discount which put them quite at a loss; and to add to their vexation, the business could not be put off: all the pensioners of the state came upon them, and talked of nothing but millions to people that had not yet got a single farthing. Chagrin and vexation soon broke the unanimity of the new council; they began immediately to quarrel, and reproach one another with ignorance and rashness.

The thing was come, in a few weeks, to this pass, that the council of reason could do nothing reasonably; and they were forced to apply to d'Incarville and me, and begged of us to come, at least once a week, and give them such counsel as we gave the king, whose part of the revenue they saw growing and flourishing day after day. I excused myself on account of my employ, which took me up altogether. They then addressed the king; who, with his ordinary goodness, commanded me to go: but I did not forget, on that occasion, what was necessary to his service. I lamented the state of the affairs of the council; I found no means of extrication, and I helped forward nothing but perplexity. In short, scarce three months had passed before these profound politicians, being at the end of all their art, and sinking un-

* Peter de Gondy, bishop of Paris, and brother to Albert de Gondy duke of Retz, a peer and marechal of France, of whom we have spoken before.

der

1596. der their burden, went to the king to beg to be diſcharged. The king, whom I believe began to like this new regulation that ſet him at eaſe, told them that every thing was difficult at firſt; adviſed them to take heart, and ſent them away confuted by their own reaſons. But they ſoon came back, and changed their intreaties to importunity; confeſſed that they had been in the wrong when they undertook to govern the kingdom, and ſhewed a thouſand times more ſatisfaction on their diſmiſſion from their employment, than at their advancement to it.

This burden fell upon me, as an addition to that with which I was already loaded, and my labour was ſo great, that it required both my days and nights. As I had a kind of paſſion for the re-eſtabliſhment of the finances, I made prodigious advances in the ancient regiſters of the council of ſtate, the parliaments, the chambers of accounts, and the courts of aids, and even in the private accounts of the former ſecretaries of ſtate, for the new ones would not communicate theirs. I did the ſame thing in the offices of the treaſurers of France, in the treaſury-chamber, and in the papers of the treaſurers of the exchequer *: I raked even into that vaſt collection where all the ordinances are kept inſcribed. Having a deſign to draw up a general ſtate of the finances for the year 1595, which was the end of all my reſearches, I thought it fit to neglect nothing, that I might come as near as was poſſible, in the firſt year of my management, to the exactneſs to which I earneſtly deſired to carry it. Whatever fraud or miſtake had crept into the finances, I imagined that it could be neither ſo great nor ſo general, but I ſhould be able to prove and ſhew its original, by comparing theſe pieces which I have been mentioning, or by the inferences to be drawn from them, with a due obſervation of the different proportions of various times and alterations of affairs.

The people of the king's council were frighted at the ſight of my project, and beginning to imagine that I ſhould throw every thing open, blamed themſelves now more than ever for not having with

* "Rony, before he entered upon this "office of ſuperintendant, had furniſhed "himſelf with all the neceſſary informa- "tions, the better to be enabled to ac quit "himſelf therein: he perfectly knew all "the revenues of the kingdom, and all "the expences neceſſary in raiſing them: "he communicated all that he knew of "this matter to the king, who had in "like manner ſtudied all theſe things tho- "roughly himſelf." &c. Peref. p. 225.

much

much vigour oppoſed my admiſſion into the council. Maiſſes, to whom I muſt do this juſtice, that as ſoon as he diſcovered my intentions he joined his endeavours with mine, gave me information of their terrors and regret. To confirm them in their ſuſpicions, I declared in public, that I had obtained ſuch intelligence about the finances, that they would be preſently regulated upon another plan; and I deſired that the comptroller-general, the intendant of the finances of France, the treaſurer of the exchequer, and the receivers-general, ſhould be joined with me, in order to draw up this general ſtate of the finances, of which theſe very men were in ſuch terror. I had the care, however, to keep the pen always between my own fingers. 1596.

However, I could not this time keep myſelf clear of ſeveral conſiderable errors, nor eſcape being tricked by theſe old practitioners. I think it is no ſhame to confeſs it; this very year they gained a profit of one fifth, which is exorbitant, though infinitely leſs than their ordinary gains. I propoſed the next year to remedy both this and another miſtake which I had committed: one of the chief tricks of the financiers was, to make the expence of the current year appear to be much more than the receipt, and to anticipate the revenues of the following year; by which means the expence of the next year, and of all the reſt in ſucceſſion, was thrown into a confuſion from which theſe men drew many advantages, particularly that of appearing never to have money which was not pre-engaged long before, and of being able to alledge this excuſe to the king, and all thoſe whom they were not inclined to pay. In the ſecond place, they made uſe of that money: and, to conclude, they paid off the old debts at a very low price, and yet charged them entire in their accounts. This negligence of mine coſt the kingdom this year two millions.

This fault I corrected the following year, during my reſidence in Brittany; ſo that from that time forward the receipts and expences exactly agreed. And in the mean time, to fill up the deficiency which my miſtake had made, I took the *parties caſuelles*, *les gabelles*, the five great farms, and the toll of the rivers, out of the hands of the duke of Florence, who held them under the names of Gondy, Senamy, Zamet, le Grand, Parent, l'Argentier, and other old managers, who had no ſhare in the new finances; and I increaſed theſe farms with two millions that had been loſt by miſcomputation. The contractors for the finances, and their aſſociates of the council, were thunderſtruck with this laſt blow; but for this time their ſpite vented itſelf in ſmoke,

1596. the king having ſupported me for ſome time in a manner ſo conſpicuous, as ſunk them all into inactive deſpondency. The conſequence of his conduct to the aſſembly was, that he was made maſter, not only of the pretended council of reaſon, but likewiſe of his own, whoſe authority was now declining; and he had no longer reaſon to fear that his deſigns would miſcarry, as formerly, by their obſtruction.

The deſign in which he was then actually engaged, was the ſiege of Arras, which had been propoſed in the council of war, which, excepting only the ſecretary, conſiſted merely of men of action: it had there paſſed without oppoſition; but the reſolution was kept ſecret, becauſe only by concealment could we be aſſured of ſucceſs. That the merchants with whom I agreed for ſupplies of all neceſſary proviſions might know nothing of the matter, I named to them a great number of cities along all the frontiers of Picardy, and Arras among the reſt, at any of which they obliged themſelves to deliver, during the whole campaign, fifty thouſand loaves a day. Santeny, Robin de Tours, Mauleville, and Lambert chevalier de Guet d'Orleans, engaged likewiſe for the conveyance of every thing elſe, and particularly of twenty-five cannons. The contract paſſed at ſo low a price, that if the misfortune that happened at Amiens a little after, had not obliged us to draw thither the forces deſigned againſt Arras, they would have been conſiderable loſers: but as it happened, they made a reaſonable gain.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK IX.

THE preparations that were making for war, did not prevent their enjoying at Paris all the amuſements that winter commonly brings along with it. The gentleneſs of the government ſecured the tranquility of the public, who taſted all the ſweets of it, without any of that allay which for ſo long a time had imbittered all their pleaſures. Gallantry, ſhews, play, took up the time of the courtiers; and the king, who liked theſe diverſions through taſte, permitted them through policy. Monſieur and madam de Fervaques, intreated me to allow of the addreſſes of monſieur de Laval *, the ſon of this lady, to my eldeſt daughter. I referred them to the king, without whoſe conſent I could not now diſpoſe of my daughter, ſince it had been propoſed by the princeſs, to marry her to monſieur de Rohan; with whom the king being at that time offended, approved of monſieur de Laval. 1597.

* William de Hautemer, count de Grancey, ſeigneur de Fervaques, who afterwards became a mareſchal of France. His wife was Andrée d'Allegre, widow to Guy count de Laval, whoſe ſon was likewiſe called Guy, the twentieth of that name, count de Laval, de Montfort, &c. who was ſome time after killed in Hungary: in him ended that branch of Laval, or rather of Rieux, which continued only in the female line: for this Guy count de Laval was of the houſe of Coligny.

1597.

The court every day had the pleaſure of a new entertainment, from engagements of this nature, the moſt ſplendid of which was given by the conſtable, at the ſolemnity of baptizing his ſon. This was the pretence; but it was well known, that one of the moſt beautiful young ladies of the court, and who was afterwards married to an old man, was the real object of theſe gallantries. Montmorency, amongſt all the courtiers, choſe out twelve noblemen for his ballet, who he thought would appear there with the greateſt magnificence; and prevailed upon the king to lay his commands upon me to be of this number. The elegance and propriety with which it was conducted, and which is the very eſſence of theſe ſort of diverſions, was ſuperior to any thing I had ever ſeen of the kind. This entertainment was univerſally allowed to have greatly excelled all that went before it: it was likewiſe the laſt, and a ſtrange diſturbance happened at the end. I retired about two in the morning, and had been an hour and a half in bed, when I ſaw Beringhen enter my chamber, with the utmoſt conſternation painted in his countenance: he could but juſt tell me that the king wanted me; and aſſure me, in anſwer to my enquiries, that no accident had happened to his perſon; for this was the firſt queſtion I aſked, and his reply comforted me beforehand for the misfortune, whatever it was, ſince I ſaw none which were abſolutely irremedible, but thoſe that threatened his life. I put on my cloaths haſtily, and ran to the Louvre, in great anxiety of mind: upon my entering the king's chamber, I ſaw him walking about very faſt, his arms folded, his head reclined, and all the marks of a deep uneaſineſs * impreſſed on his countenance. The courtiers ſtood in different corners of the room, leaning againſt the hangings, without uttering a ſingle word.

The king coming to meet me, preſſed my hand with great emotion, crying "Ah, my friend, what a misfortune! Amiens is taken. I confeſs, I continued immoveable, like all the reſt, at this unforeſeen blow: a place ſo ſtrong, ſo well provided with every thing that was neceſſary, ſo near to Paris, and on the ſide of Picardy the only key to the kingdom, to be taken ſo ſuddenly ere we could be informed that it was

* "Being as it were thunderſtruck at this, and yet looking up to heaven as he commonly does more in adverſity than proſperity, he ſpoke aloud, This blow is from heaven! Then pauſing a little ſaid, I have ſufficiently acted the part of king of France, it is time now that I aſſume the character of king of Navarre: and, turning to the marchioneſs, who wept, we muſt quit our preſent warfare, and take horſe to engage in another.

threatened

threatened with an attack: the thing was almoſt incredible, and the general conſternation appeared to be too well grounded. However, I took my reſolution immediately, and while the king, who had received this news as he was preparing to go to bed, related to me the manner in which the Spaniards, with ſome ſacks of walnuts, had ſurprized this important place *, I reflected that, inſtead of increaſing, to no purpoſe, the general dismay, prudence ſuggeſted that, in the preſent circumſtance, it was neceſſary to keep up every one's ſpirits, and to comfort the king. I therefore told him that I had in good time juſt put the finiſhing hand to a ſcheme, by which not only Amiens, but ſeveral other places, would be reſtored to him without much difficulty. 1597.

THIS hint alone ſeemed, on a ſudden, to have robbed the late misfortune of half its force; and although it did not hinder the king from reflecting on all the difficulties of an enterprize which might have very fatal conſequences, yet, as the aſtoniſhment the courtiers were in left them nothing to ſay in anſwer to the king's interrogatories but what tended to increaſe his diſquiet, his hopes were greatly raiſed by what I had ſaid, and he deſired to know what methods they were by which I propoſed to ſerve him. I replied, that he ſhould be informed by the papers I had drawn up for that purpoſe; and I went out as if to fetch them, leaving the king at leaſt in a more compoſed ſtate of mind than I had found him. Had he been a witneſs of my perplexity and uneaſineſs, when I was alone in my cloſet, he would have ſuppreſſed part of thoſe praiſes which he beſtowed on me when I had quitted his chamber; for then it was, that, reſigning myſelf up to reflection, I comprehended the whole extent of thoſe misfortunes, which might be expected from the preſent poſture of affairs. The king's treaſure exhauſted, not a ſingle regiment fit for ſervice, at the ſame time that there was an abſolute neceſſity both for money and troops in great abundance, and that without any delay.

* It was on the eleventh of March, Hernand Trillo de Porto-Carrero, a Spaniard, the author of this ſcheme, had diſguiſed like country men and country women, carrying goods to market, about thirty Spaniards, who ſlipped up one of the gates of the town, and arm'd the guard, by placing out at the entrance three or four loaded with walnuts, full of powder in one of them unript, and during this time the Spaniſh troops, who lay concealed behind the hedges, marched up, and, putting the guard to the ſword, made themſelves maſters of the town. See an account of this in all the hiſtorians, under the year 1597. Hernand Trillo was killed in bravely defending this town againſt Henry IV. He uſed to ſay, that the three greateſt conquerors he knew, were Henry for the conduct of a whole army, the duke of Maienne for the ſiege of a town, and marechal Biron for a battle. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 232.

I READ

1597. I READ over my private memoirs: I revolved in my mind all thoſe ſchemes for levying money, which I had employed my leiſure hours in concerting, foreſeeing that the king would have ſoon an occaſion for them. Moſt of theſe ſchemes might be reduced to two different kinds; one very eaſy and plain, wherein all that was neceſſary to be done was to augment the land-tax, and other impoſts already eſtabliſhed; the other more difficult, which conſiſted in contriving new ſources from whence money might be drawn. The firſt I did not think it prudent to have recourſe to, ſince, after all the hardſhips which the country people had endured, to oppreſs them ſtill more by an augmentation of taxes, the ſole weight of which falls upon them, and at a time when they but juſt began to breathe again, was to complete the ruin of the ſtate, and to deprive the king himſelf, for the future, of his moſt fruitful, and in one ſenſe his moſt certain reſources.

I THEN turned my thoughts another way, and fixed upon the following project, which was to demand of the clergy a free gift for a year, if not for two years, and oblige them to make immediate payment; to augment the old offices with new members, four in each ſovereign court, beſides four maſters of accounts in every chamber, two in every office in the finances, two offices of counſellor in every preſidial court, an aſſeſſor in every royal tribunal, and an elect in every election; to add a third to all the officers of the finances*; to keep back half a year's payment of the arrears of ſums borrowed from the contractors in the laſt reign; to increaſe the tax on ſalt fifteen *ſous* a pottle, and to leave it always in that ſtate, becauſe ſuch an increaſe would give room for the ſuppreſſion of certain offices too chargeable to the public; to raiſe the entry of goods, and the tolls of rivers a third part, by a new eſtimate; and, as all theſe meaſures gave us, for the moſt part, only the hope of money, to begin by borrowing twelve hundred thouſand livres from the richeſt people of the court and principal cities, and to aſſign them payments out of an augmentation of the gabels and five great farms; and, to ſupply the ready money which we ſhould have occaſion for beſides, to raiſe a proſecution in the chamber of juſtice againſt the old contractors, who had made conſiderable fortunes, and oblige them to ſuffer a new tax, in form of a loan.

* The offices of the finances were poſſeſſed by two perſons: the firſt was called l'Ancien; the ſecond, who had been appointed after, was called l'Alternatif; and this third was called Triennial, becauſe he had every third year his rotation with the other two, who alone had the privilege of reimburſing the Triennial.

THIS

This plan was indeed of sufficient extent. However, it was not my intention, that these methods should be all made use of at once, but, being uncertain how long the war would continue, they might employ them successively, beginning with those that were the least burthensome. With regard to the troops that were necessary, I thought they could not do better than to raise them in those provinces of the kingdom which had no longer any occasion for defence. Thus I taxed the isle of France, by joining Barry to it, with a complete regiment; the Orleanois with Touraine was to furnish a second; and Normandy itself a third: these regiments were to consist of fifteen hundred and fifty men, furnished and maintained by the provinces, from the day of their arrival before Amiens; because these provinces enjoyed the right of calling the regiments by their own name, and of appointing the officers. 1597.

Five days after I carried my project to the king, with the proper evidences formally drawn up in thirteen papers. His majesty retired to examine them with me, in the presence of d'Arambure, Lomenie, Beringhen, and l'Oserai. When I had finished reading them I told the king, that, with these supplies, there was nothing to retard his departure for the expedition of Amiens; since all the necessary preparations for a camp in Picardy were already made in such a manner, that, I durst assure his majesty, his army would not only find there provision in great plenty, but likewise every thing requisite for mere convenience, with the same ease, and at the same price as in a city. I added, that whatever resource this scheme might afford the king in his present necessities, his majesty must not imagine it would be carried into execution, without increasing the number of those wounds of which France was far from being wholly cured: that he need only take a slight view of the immense debts and engagements with which the state was overburdened; that, to an exhausted state, a new tax, in whatever manner disguised, is always the same; therefore the war should not be renewed, but with a view of procuring an advantageous peace, which was now become absolutely necessary: and however great the public misery was at present, I was fully convinced that twelve years of continued peace would be sufficient to restore the kingdom to a flourishing condition.

I did not doubt but that, by the conduct which the king appeared disposed to observe, the enemies, notwithstanding the advantages they had gained, would be the first to wish for the end of the war; and at that

1597. that time I freely diſcloſed a thought to the king, the juſtneſs of which was verified by the event; and this was, that the firſt overtures for a peace would be made by the king of Spain, whom policy, in that ſtate of weakneſs and incapacity to which the common courſe of nature had reduced him, would not permit to expoſe his crown to the uncertain chances of war, always to be feared, but chiefly in the beginning of a prince's reign who was ſtill a child. I even went ſo far as to foretell, that Spain would purchaſe peace by the reſtoration of all the towns ſhe had taken from France.

My ſcheme for raiſing money was ſo much approved by the king, that he reſolved to propoſe it himſelf in full council; but he communicated it beforehand to a kind of little council of war, compoſed of the duke of Montpenſier, meſſieurs de Montmorency, de Maïenne, d'Auvergne, de Biron, d'Ornano, de Bellegarde, de Saint Luc, de Fervaques, de Roquelaure, and de Frontenac: he afterwards ſummoned an extraordinary council, to which he admitted all in Paris who had a right to a place there, particularly the chief perſons of the aſſembly of Rouen, who ſtill reſided there. The king could take no happier meaſures to eſtabliſh his authority upon the weakneſs of this great aſſembly, which was now acknowledged by themſelves. He began with lamenting the loſs of Amiens, declaring the neceſſity there was to recover this city as ſoon as poſſible, giving in a full plan of all that was neceſſary for that purpoſe: he concluded with aſking the advice of all that were preſent, concerning the means of carrying it into execution, complaining, in order to conceal from them what he himſelf had to propoſe, that his moſt uſeful and neceſſary enterprizes were always oppoſed by difficulties, and retarded by delays.

Here the king ſtopped as if to wait for the deliberations of the aſſembly. Each looked upon the other without uttering a ſingle word; at length the nobles broke ſilence, but it was only to refer the affair to the financiers, who in their turn replied, that it belonged wholly to the nobles. Henry urging them to deliver their opinions, ſome general propoſals for new levies were made, which were immediately oppoſed by one half of the aſſembly; and the counſellors finding their ſpeech all at one time, to ridicule, in a confuſed and diſorderly manner, whatever might be offered by either party, the king, ſeizing that moment when their animoſity was carried to ſuch a height, that there was not the leaſt probability of their coming to any agreement, drew the memorial out of his pocket, telling them, that, although he had but little experience

rience in the affairs of the finances, yet, upon the preſent occaſion, he would offer his opinion, which he was always ready to give up for a better: he then prepared to read the paper, which threw all that were preſent into a fixed attention, and afterwards into an aſtoniſhment, that rendered them ſpeechleſs and immoveable. Henry ſuffered them to remain in this ſilence for two moments, then declaring that he underſtood it as an unanimous conſent, added, that ashe had on intention to make uſe of all thoſe meaſures at one time, he would begin by borrowing the ſum of twelve hundred thouſand livres; and exhorted the nobles and the wealthieſt perſons in the kingdom, to comply voluntarily with the preſent neceſſity of the times, and depend upon his royal word, that the lenders ſhould have their principal reimburſed in the ſpace of two years, together with the intereſt. His majeſty then brought forward the fifteen *ſous* upon ſalt, the eſtabliſhment of the third man in the finances, and an enquiry into the conduct of fraudulent contractors. The affair was decreed, and a decree drawn up upon that plan. We had, in a very little time, three hundred thouſand crowns voluntarily lent: the creation of the third man brought in twelve hundred thouſand, and the ſame ſum was drawn from the collectors of taxes, to whom the treaſurers of France were joined, but were ſuffered however to tax themſelves. 1597.

The council of the finances, accuſtomed to rejoice in the calamity of the people, were ſoon comforted under theſe new ſubſidies, provided they might paſs through their hands. They repreſented to the king, after having greatly commended his memorial, that the ſucceſs of it depended upon his employing perſons of great experience, ready diſpatch, and poſſeſſed of a full power to execute it. The king replied, that the perſon he was reſolved to employ ſhould be inveſted with his authority; and that with regard to the other qualities, he pitched upon me (I was preſent at this diſcourſe) as the moſt induſtrious and moſt prudent amongſt them, although the youngeſt. He expreſſed himſelf in yet ſtronger terms to Schomberg (whom his majeſty viſited juſt before his departure, on account of an indiſpoſition *

* Gaſpard Schomberg, count de Nanteuil. This diſorder was a difficulty of breathing, that proceeded from the membrane that covers the heart becoming oſſeous on the left ſide, as alſo ſome others of the neighbouring parts; and this was found ſo upon opening his body after his death, which happened two years afterwards. He was employed in the making the edict of Nantes, as ſhall be obſerved hereafter; and he did many other ſervices to the ſtate. M. de Thou highly commends his character and abilities, both as a warrior and as a ſtateſman.

1597. that confined him to his bed) and to the counſellors he found in the ſick count's chamber. He told them, that as I only ſhould bear the blame, if he was not ſupplied with every thing he had occaſion for, while he employed himſelf wholly in fighting againſt his enemies, ſo he was reſolved that every thing ſhould be regulated in the council agreeable to my directions. And accordingly, before he went away, he inveſted me with his whole authority. This mortified Schomberg to ſuch a degree, that he choſe rather to go and ſerve at the ſiege, than ſee me at the head of the finances. Sancy likewiſe left the council, to hold his rank in the army as colonel of the Swiſs.

The gentlemen of the council gave me ſtill more reaſon to ſuſpect them, of which I had a proof in the affair of the third men. After having recorded the edict by which they were created, I endeavoured to raiſe as much money as was poſſible from theſe offices, And to deprive the gentlemen of the council of all means of ſerving, at a low rate, any relation or friend, as was uſual with them, I applied myſelf with as much aſſiduity to the pen, as any clerk or treaſurer *des parties caſuelles*; and not ſatisfied with uſing this precaution, I gave a note under my hand to each purchaſer, who was obliged to carry it to the treaſurer, from whom, after laying down the money, he received an acquittance, and both were to be produced to me.

All artifice becoming ineffectual, the contractors had recourſe to a method which, doubtleſs, had ſeldom failed before; they attempted to corrupt me with bribes. Robert de Tours, a very conſiderable contractor, after conferring with the council, whom he had gained over to his intereſt, came to my houſe, and entreated one of my ſecretaries to procure him an interview with my wife, to whom he offered a jewel worth ſix thouſand crowns as a preſent for me, and another worth two thouſand for her, that I might not oppoſe a determination of the council, who had aſſigned to him the nomination of all the third men in the diſtricts of Tours and Orleans, for the ſum of ſeventy-two thouſand crowns. He was introduced to me by madam de Roſny, whom, by a ſevere reprimand in the contractor's preſence, I made ſenſible of the fault ſhe had committed. Nor did I ſpare him, in order to prevent ſuch attempts for the future. He left me greatly ſurprized, and probably as much offended at my behaviour. I had juſt been refuſing, from another contractor, ſixty thouſand crowns, for one half of that of which he had before offered me ſeventy-two thouſand for

for the whole; and that very evening, that half brought me fourſcore thouſand crowns, becauſe I divided it into ſmall parcels. 1597.

This employment detained me at home all that day and the following, for I thought it of more conſequence than to attend the chancellor's ſummons, who had ſent a ſerjeant of the council twice to me, to deſire I would come thither, and finiſh an affair which would procure the king, he ſaid, ſeventy-five thouſand crowns of ready money. I went as ſoon as I was diſengaged, without thinking any more of Robert de Tours. The chancellor, upon my entering the council-chamber, made me ſome ſlight reproaches for my negligence: I anſwered him bluntly, that I had been more uſeful to the king, in my cloſet. "We have been no leſs ſo here," returned the chancellor, who ſought to enhance the value of the ſervice he had done the king, in procuring him this ready money, by the neceſſity his majeſty was in for it, having, by two letters ſucceſſively, demanded ſome of the council. When I diſcovered that this was the money which had juſt before been offered me by the contractor of Tours, he having only added three thouſand crowns more to the ſum, I repreſented to theſe gentlemen, in very ſtrong terms, that ſince they could not be ignorant that Robert had firſt applied to me, they ought not to have concluded, without my knowledge, an affair which had appeared to me unjuſt.

Finding that they were endeavouring to impoſe upon me, partly by complaint, and partly by an air of authority, I told them plainly, that if I had been of a humour to be gained by bribes, the bargain would not have returned to them; but that ſince the king relied upon my fidelity, I would not fail to give him every proof of it in my power. The chancellor, Freſne, and la Grange-le-roi, ſenſibly affected with the reproach conveyed in theſe words, had the aſſurance to mention immediately, that a bargain by which the king loſt more than half of what was due to him, was, notwithſtanding, more advantageous for him, ſince he was paid with ready money, than mine, by which I commonly allowed the purchaſers the term of ſix months for the payment of the ſecond moiety. They did not ſtop there, but reproached me with ſetting myſelf up for a reformer of the finances; and declared, with an air of contempt, that they were able to ſupport their bargain againſt mine. Upon this, growing violent, the council determined that their aſſignment to Robert de Tours ſhould take place.

1597. I did not think proper to ſay one word more concerning this unjuſtifiable method of proceeding, nor upon the regulation that was made in conſequence of it, which was, that thenceforward the council would have no regard to particular notes. But when Fayet, the ſecretary, brought me this arret to ſign, I refuſed to do ſo, till I had received the king's anſwer to a letter, in which, as I told Fayet, I had ſuppreſſed no part of the truth, nor concealed the perſons: this letter gave Fayet ſome apprehenſions, as I deſigned it ſhould; he intreated me to ſhew it him; and pretending to be overcome by his importunity, I yielded. It turned entirely upon the underhand practices which Robert had made uſe of to gain the gentlemen of the council; all which I had had the good fortune to diſcover. I likewiſe gave the king to underſtand, that this contractor had procured the favour of the council, by making to madam de Sourdis *, miſtreſs to the chancellor, the ſame offers which I had rejected; to which he had added other preſents to madam de Deuilly, a relation of the chancellor's, and Freſne's miſtreſs. Fayet repeating the contents of my letter to the perſons moſt concerned in it, they ſent him back immediately, to intreat I would not ſend it: the arret was ſuppreſſed, and Robert's bargain rejected.

In this manner I divided my labours, between the care of receiving the money of the ſtate, and laying it out advantageouſly for the neceſſities of the army, which wanted neither proviſions nor artillery during the whole time that the ſiege of Amiens continued. I took a journey regularly every month to the camp, carrying with me each time fifteen hundred thouſand crowns; which procured me the friendſhip of all the principal officers, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch exact payments. I extended my cares and ſolicitude even to the private ſoldiers, by eſtabliſhing an hoſpital in the camp, ſo convenient and ſo well at-

* Iſabel Babou de la Bourdaiſiere, the wife of Francis d'Eſcoubleau, marquis de Sourdis; ſhe had an elder ſiſter, called Frances, who was married to Antony d'Eſtrées, and mother to the fair Gabrielle; and likewiſe a younger ſiſter, who married Claude de Beauvilliers, the count de Saint-Aignan. This whole family was ſtrangely cried down and ſatirized in the Amours du Grand Alcandro, and other ſarcaſtical libels of that time, even as far back as the grandmother of theſe three ladies, who was called Mary Gaudin. All the daughters of this line were remarkably beautiful. Leo X. was ſo charmed with the beauty of Mary Gaudin, at Boulogne, where he had ſeen her, when he had a conference with Francis I. that he preſented her with a diamond, called by domeſtic tradition Gaudin's Diamond. It is Amelot de la Houſſaye who ſpeaks ſo; and he has collected ſeveral ſuch-like anecdotes of this whole family, to which I refer the curious reader, in the article *Babou de la Bourdaiſiere.*

tended,

tended, that several persons of quality went thither to be cured of their diseases or wounds *. 1597.

The king's solicitude for the safety of my person, which, indeed, he almost carried to excess, more than compensated for all my trouble. Saint-Luc, to whom the count de la Guiche had resigned the post of great master of the ordnance, took me with him to see his lodgments, knowing my fondness for that part of the military art: this engaged me very far in the trenches and other places in which there was some danger. The king being informed of it, gave me a severe reprimand, absolutely forbidding me to appear at any hazardous post; and said publicly on this occasion, that I had enemies even in the camp, who so eagerly desired my death, they would voluntarily expose themselves to any danger, provided I shared it with them. It was hardly possible for one who had been a soldier, not to feel his former ardour for war revive, near a prince who was equal to every military duty, and performed all with an application so unwearied, and courage so invincible, as might have animated hearts the least sensible to glory.

His example, however, did not produce the same effect upon all. In the very midst of his camp, a cabal of mutinous protestants was formed, headed by messieurs de la Tremouille, de Bouillon, and Du-Plessis, which gave him great uneasiness. Going to pay my respects to him, before I returned again to Paris, I found him in deep affliction: he had just received certain intelligence, that these three gentlemen, in concert with the two Saint-Germains, de Clan and de Beaupré, d'Aubigné †, la Case, la Valliere, la Saussaie, la Bertichere, Preaux, Bassignac, Regnac, Besslais, Constant, and other protestants, to the number of twenty, had held an assembly of the whole body of protestant bigots, wherein they had made a proposal, which they supported with

* D'Aubigné relates, that it was commonly said at that time, that Henry IV. had brought Paris with him before Amiens, to shew the abundance that reigned in his camp. And he likewise brought his mistress to Pecquigny, at which the marechal de Biron and other general officers murmured very much.

† This is the historian d'Aubigné, who is always called d'Aubigny in these Memoirs: his name is Theodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné: his birth, his services, and his courage, gained him great reputation among the calvinist party: he retired in 1620 to Geneva, where he died in 1631, aged fourscore, leaving behind him only one son, called Constans d'Aubigne, whose daughter was Frances d'Aubigne, the late marchioness de Maintenon. Addit. de Chaumont, seigneur de la Bertichere, brother to John de Chaumont, the marquis de Guitry; his posterity is still extant to this day. Hector de Preaux, &c.

all

1597. all the power and influence they had, to take advantage of the opportunity the ſiege of Amiens * afforded them, which could not be carried on without their aſſiſtance, to force an edict from the king entirely to their ſatisfaction; or, if he refuſed, to do themſelves juſtice, by taking up arms againſt him. Happily for the king, this propoſal was objected to by many perſons in the aſſembly, as well as in ſome of the great towns, which they had endeavoured to draw over to their party. His majeſty was a little comforted by this circumſtance, but he had reaſon to apprehend, that the moſt violent party would carry it at laſt. He commanded me to write to ſome of the principal amongſt them, to prevail upon them, if poſſible, to reſume more reaſonable ſentiments; and particularly the duke de la Tremouille, whom he knew to be the chief promoter of the conſpiracy.

Hitherto I had preſerved ſome degree of intimacy with la Tremouille, inſomuch that he thought himſelf obliged to require my preſence in theſe aſſemblies, but concealed the occaſion of them; and in his letter to me made uſe of ſuch ambiguous terms, as it was not

* It is certain, that it was by this conjuncture of the ſiege of Amiens, and the ſeveral ſteps which the calviniſts of France took to make their advantage of it, that they obtained the famous edict of Nantes, which was granted them the year following. The duke de Bouillon does not deny this. All the reaſons by which he juſtifies this conduct, may be ſeen in Marſolier, liv. v. but the beſt of all is the proteſt which he and Du-Pleſſis Mornai make, that whatever might apparently be the view of the calviniſts in theſe aſſemblies at Saumur, Loudun, and Vendôme, that were called together immediately after one another, and conducted with a great deal of warmth, neither they nor the other heads of the party ever had an intention of deliberating therein upon taking up arms, but only amicably to endeavour to obtain equitable conditions. We could wiſh, ſolely for the entire juſtification of the duke de Bouillon, that there had not been reaſon to upbraid him for refuſing to follow the king in his expedition to Amiens; and that the ſurprize of this town by the Spaniards had not been followed, on the party of the calviniſts, by a tranſlation of the proteſtant aſſembly of Vendôme to Châtelleraut, where the proceedings were ſo violent, that the king was obliged to ſend thither M. de Schomberg, de Thou, de Vic, de Calignon, and de Montglat, who were charged with full powers to offer ſuch conditions as ſufficiently ſhew, that Henry IV. thought he had every thing to fear from them. The reaſon why the calviniſts have filled Europe with their complaints about the revocation of the edict of Nantes, is becauſe the intervention of a ſpace of time of upwards of fourſcore years, has made them loſe ſight of the means they uſed at firſt to extort it. As to the above remark, conſult the Memoirs of the duke de Bouillon; his Hiſt. by Marſolier; the Hiſt. of the edict of Nantes; the Life of Du-Pleſſis Mornai; the Verbal proceſs of the aſſemblies of Vendôme and Chatelleraut, &c. but eſpecially d'Aubigne, tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 11. where he relates, at very full length, all the ſchemes and cabals of the calviniſt party, and the new turn which they endeavoured to give their affairs.

difficult

difficult to judge, that I was considered by these gentlemen as a man unfaithful to his own party; and that la Tremouille was not far from engaging in an open rebellion. This did not hinder me, however, from taking advantage of the remaining correspondence there was between us, to endeavour to bring him back to his duty. I wrote to him in answer, that although it were true, the king, in respect to him, was such as he imagined, there was neither honour nor greatness in extorting from him a declaration which was the effect only of necessity; but that, in reality, this prince had the same sentiments as formerly for the protestants; that he was not the cause of that injustice they suffered from the catholics, since he had equal reason to complain of them himself; that besides he should observe, that the consequence of this edict, obtained so unseasonably, would not be so advantageous for them as they imagined, since the catholics, always more powerful than they, were able to prevent it for the present; and for the future, the king, justly offended at their violent proceedings, would lose all inclination to grant them one day, voluntarily, what in so unfavourable a conjuncture they wanted to anticipate by force; and all the effect which an unsuccessful attempt would produce, would be to create a distrust of them in the catholic party, and put them upon their guard against them. I reminded Tremouille of the examples of those illustrious protestants, who, on all occasions, both by their words and conduct, shewed, that a protestant who acts conformable to his faith has the good of the state, and the true interest of his king always in view. Tremouille was so little moved with my letter, that he shewed it to every one, and made a public jest of it: but these designs not being supported by a sufficient number of partisans, fell to the ground. 1597.

The post of great master of the ordnance became vacant, at my fourth visit to the camp. Saint-Luc *, looking between two gabions, where, in appearance, there was scarcely room enough for a cannon-ball to enter, was unfortunately shot dead by one. The king was conversing alone with me when Villeroi and Montigny came to tell him the news, which they would not impart in the presence of any other person, because of the particular designs each had on this post. I came up to the king again when they had left him, and his majesty informed me of Saint-Luc's death, and likewise that Villeroi and Montigny had first asked him for this post; the first for his son d'Alincourt.

* Francis d'Epinai de Saint-Luc: he is called the brave Saint-Luc. See his eulogy in Brantôme's *Vies des hommes illustr.* in the article *Saint-Luc*, tom. I.

1597. or his nephew Châteauneuf-l'Aubepine *, and Montigny for himſelf. Saint-Luc had genius, readineſs of invention, was capable of great induſtry, and poſſeſſed of much perſonal courage; the only fault he could be charged with, was his reſigning himſelf up too much to a lively imagination, which furniſhing him with ſcheme after ſcheme, he conſumed in theory great part of that time which ſhould have been employed in practice. The king, however, thought none of the candidates capable of filling his place; d'Alincourt wanted fortitude, and, ſaid the king, has no colour on his nails: Chateauneuf † concealed his want of real genius, under an appearance of affectation and grimaces. Montigny was, in truth, valiant, and of warm affections; but theſe qualities were not ſufficient to entitle him to ſo conſiderable a poſt, as he was without expedient, order, or œconomy.

His majeſty, by talking to me in this manner, appeared to me to have no other reaſon for heſitating whether he ſhould beſtow this poſt upon me, but becauſe he thought the duties of it incompatible with thoſe of ſuperintendant of the finances. It was not difficult for me to undeceive him; and that inſtant he promiſed I ſhould have it; but deferred this proof of his friendſhip for me, till the ſiege was at an end, my preſence being, in his opinion, neceſſary at Paris; during which time he would leave the place vacant. I did not ſee the king all the following day, and unfortunately for me he ſaw the marchioneſs of Monceaux in that interval, who omitted nothing to prevail upon him to change his reſolution in favour of the elder d'Eſtrées ‡, her father. The king reſiſted the intreaties of this lady, and even her tears, but he was not proof to her threats of throwing herſelf into a convent, if he refuſed her this favour. The fear of loſing her rekindling all the ardours of his paſſion, ſhe obtained the poſt for her father. The next day the king, with ſome confuſion for the weakneſs he had ſhewn, informed me of what had paſſed; however, in one circumſtance he took care of my intereſts, by conditioning with monſieur d'Eſtrées,

* Charles de l' Aubepine, marquis de Chateauneuf. Francis de la Grange, ſeigneur de Montigny.

† He was made keeper of the ſeals in 1630, and reſigned them in 1633.

‡ Antony d'Eſtrées. "He (Saint-Luc) "dying, M. d'Eſtrées ſucceeded in his "place, as well deſerving it, by being "thoroughly inſtructed in the duties be- "longing to the poſt by his brave father. "Thus right and truth, though they wait "long, at length meet with their reward: "for he was injured by not getting this "place on his father's death. At the laſt, "truth and right got the better with re- "gard to him." Brant. *Vies des hommes illuſtres*, tom. I. p. 227. in the article *M. d' Eſtrees*.

who

who was utterly incapable of exercising this employment himself, that he should exchange it for the first post under the crown which should become vacant, and absolutely resign it (if a more considerable war should happen to break out) in favour of him whom his majesty should appoint: and he again engaged his word to me, that I should be the person. 1597.

I was satisfied with this assurance, and returned to Paris, where a few days afterwards I received news from the camp of the death of my youngest brother, governor of Mante*, whom I had left in good health. Of four brothers his death reduced us to two. The king rejected all the applications that were made to him by several persons for the government of Mante, to bestow it without any solicitation upon me. I received this gift by the same letter which his majesty wrote to me on occasion of my brother's death, together with the writings necessary to invest me with all the rights of my brother, who died without children. I sent Baltazar my secretary to Amiens, to procure my patent for the government, which as soon as I had received, I went to Mante to be acknowledged as governor, designing to stay there but four days.

The gentlemen of the council, supposing my absence would be much longer, and probably followed by a resignation of my employment in the finances, were full of joy; and one of the first advantages they drew from it, was to take proper measures for appropriating to themselves part of those sums destined for the siege of Amiens. They all signed a letter to his majesty, written in the name of the council, in which they represented to him that, having been supplied with every thing that was necessary for the siege during five months, his majesty could not be surprized to hear that his funds were quite exhausted, having nothing remaining but some bad arrears and assignments of payment. Henry, who knew not that I was at Mante, and who, by an effect of his ordinary vivacity, had not examined the signatures of this letter, was so much the more surprized at it, as I had positively assured him that I was able to furnish him with the usual sums for four months longer, which was all the time the siege was expected to last. He exclaimed in very severe terms against the gentlemen of the council, in the presence of the chief officers of his army; nor for this once was I spared any more than the rest: but after a moment's reflection, calling

* Solomon de Bethune, baron de Rosny, and governor of Mante. This is the third of the four brothers, of whom we have spoke in the beginning of these Memoirs: he was only six and thirty years of age when he died.

1597. his eyes upon the names subscribed to this letter, among which he did not see mine, and learning from the courier that I was at Mante, he condemned himself immediately for his too precipitate anger; and that the reparation he made me might be complete, he read my answer to the letter he wrote me upon this occasion, in the presence of the same persons.

His interest indeed required that he should remove their apprehensions. A siege so extremely laborious had sometimes discouraged both them and their soldiers to such a degree, that an absolute desertion would have been the consequence of his treasure being exhausted, since, upon the least delay of the remittances, the king could not hinder many from leaving him. All went on well to the end; if the besieged defended themselves with vigour, and made sallies upon sallies, they were attacked with the same spirit, and were always defeated.

The sap was carried as far as the ramparts, and the besiegers had just taken possession of two casemates, which they rendered useless to the besieged, when the cardinal archduke, with the count of Mansfield, who served under him in quality of lieutenant-general, thought it time to make an effort to prevent the reduction of the place: they marched towards it with an army consisting of between twelve and thirteen thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse, and passed the river of Authie, with an intention to offer the king's forces battle, or at least to throw a considerable supply into Amiens. All that endeavoured to enter were driven back *. The king went himself to reconnoitre the enemy's army: he had a full view of it; and notwithstanding the superiority of

* Perefixe relates this fact very differently. "The archduke, says he, came and "lay before the quarter called Long-"pre, on the 15th of September, at two in "the afternoon, when nobody expected "him. He might have easily thrown three "thousand men into Amiens; so great "was the consternation which was spread "in the camp. Henry, doubting of the "success of that day, spoke out aloud, O "Lord (at the same time leaning upon the "pommel of his saddle, with his hat in his "hand, and his eyes lifted towards heaven) "if 'tis to-day that thou intendest to punish "me, as my sins deserve, I offer up my "life a sacrifice to thy justice, spare not "the guilty; but, O Lord, for thy great "mercy's sake, pity this poor kingdom, "and chastise not he flock for the errors "and faults of the shepherd. When he "saw nothing appearing, he withdrew dis-"satisfied, said he gallantly, with the cour-"tesy of the Spaniards, who would not "advance one single step to receive him, "and who, with a bad grace, refused the "honour which he offered them." Perefixe, part 2. Most part of the historians agree, that the Spaniards let slip one of the finest opportunities they ever had, of beating the king's army: and this prince said himself afterwards, that some of his chief officers told him all was now lost. Matthieu, tom. 2. liv. ii. p. 234.

their

their numbers, finding them a confused and disorderly multitude, without discipline or conduct, resolved to attack them; but at the first motion he made, the archduke retreated with precipitation *: probably it would not have been impossible to have forced the Spaniards to a battle, and to have beat them without discontinuing the siege: at least Henry was always of this opinion. Nevertheless he yielded to the advice of the greatest number, who were for allowing the archduke to retreat. After this, they applied themselves closely to the siege. The ravelin having been carried away, and the body of the place beginning to be sapped, Amiens surrendered the latter end of September this year, which had been almost wholly employed in this siege. 1597.

When I look upon the great number of letters which I received from the king during the expedition of Amiens, I cannot help being surprized that a prince, who had the operations of a great siege upon his hands, and the care of a whole camp, should yet be so attentive to all affairs within his kingdom, and with equal facility and equal diligence acquit himself of such opposite employments. I shall spare the reader the trouble of perusing all these letters, as likewise those which his majesty did me the honour to write to me afterwards. I reckoned above three thousand, without taking in those that I have neglected to preserve, or have been lost through the carelessness of my secretaries. It would be too tedious to give a particular account of each: some of them I suppress in obedience to his majesty's orders, as they regarded persons whose reputation he had no desire to wound, and whom I have doubtless more reason to avoid offending, as I should do by revealing intrigues

* The king said of the cardinal archduke, that he came on like a captain, but went off like a priest. La Curée very earnestly desired of the king, that he would be pleased to let him go and discover the posture of the enemy's army, putting his majesty in mind, that the Spaniards had entered France four times, and that he had every time attacked them, and was the first who had beaten them. Henry made answer, M. La Curée, don't be in a hurry; and at the same time he gave him leave. La Curée was much spoke of upon this occasion for his valour, and the noble retreat he made before the army encamped at Beaucourt, four leagues from Amiens. However, he afterward said, upon this occasion, that when three or four hundred men retreat in this manner before a whole army, it is only the fault of that army, if they are not cut off. He was an undaunted man: for one day he flung himself into the midst of the enemy, when by his hand being numbed with holding his pistol, he could not use his sword. There were even women dressed like men, who fought in the French army: four among them were very remarkable, who distinguished themselves in taking prisoners with their own hands, and one especially, who went under the name of captain Cateou. Their particulars are taken from vol. 8929 of the king's MSS. See also on this head, tom. vi. des Memoirs de la Ligue, in which are given very high commendations of the spirit, alertness, and valour of Henry IV.

1597. of ſtate, or merely gallantry, which have ſtill continued ſecret: as for the reſt, they turned wholly upon accounts, application of particular ſums, payments, penſions, and other things of the ſame nature, all of which were ſo dry and unentertaining, that they afford new matter for praiſes of this prince.

With regard to his finances, for example, he was ſo extremely exact as to make me give him an account once a week, of the money received, and the uſes it had been put to*. He does not miſs to remark that, in caſting ſome cannon, they wanted to rob him of a piece. In a remiſſion of ſix or ſeven thouſand crowns which he was obliged to grant the people upon the land-taxes, he ſettles himſelf the gratification that ought to be repaid to certain pariſhes which had ſuffered moſt. He calculated exactly the number of the offices that were ſold, and the money ariſing from thence. He never forgot any perſon to whom the ſtate was indebted, or who had done it any ſervice, either in the diſtant provinces or the neighbouring kingdoms, aſſigning with the utmoſt diſcernment a particular fund for all. His great care was, that the fund appointed for the ſupport of the war ſhould not be broken in upon by any other payment, as appears when he mentions a recompence to be given to the ſieur de Vienne, who had brought back the city of Tour to its obedience, or the repayment of four thouſand crowns that he had borrowed of madam de Beaufort.

The number of his letters relating to his military affairs are prodigious. He calculated ſo juſtly the ſums neceſſary for the making of trenches and other works, together with the ſoldiers pay, that there was no danger of a miſtake in following him. The order he obſerved in the march of his troops was not regulated with leſs prudence, than that of the convoys of money which came to his camp, that the one might not be retarded, nor the other intercepted.

All this made up but one part of his cares. The letter wherein he ſpeaks of the repairs of Montreuil, Boulogne, and Abbeville; thoſe in which he expatiates upon the method of maintaining regularity in he provinces, obedience in the cities, ſubordination in the different bodies, on occaſion of the chamber of accounts which had failed in the reſpect they owed him; that in which he ſays, "I would not mix the expences of "maſquerades with theſe deſtined for the uſe of my army;" for Mortier,

* A hundred crowns could not be expended, ſays Perefixe, but he knew whether they were well or ill laid out.

who

who had provided dreſſes for a maſque, had cauſed the money laid out on that occaſion to be inſerted in a memoral of military expences; that alſo which contained his reply to the offer which the city of Paris made him by her mayor and aldermen, to ſupport, at their own expence, twelve hundred men, in conſideration of which ſervice, he diſcharged this city from paying the aids a ſecond time, and many other of this kind; all theſe ſhew, that the ſame hand that was able to draw up a plan of attack, was equally capable of conducting the affairs of the cabinet. 1597.

The only thing he neglected was his perſonal maintenance; to make him think of it, Montglat, the firſt ſteward of his houſhold, was forced to inform him, as he tells us in ſome of his letters, that he could ſcarce make the pot boil any longer. He was not aſhamed to confeſs a thing which affected his domeſtic enemies only; it was their part to bluſh that he was deſtitute of apparel, arms, and horſes: however, he afterwards found means to ſettle a fund for his own ſubſiſtence, which could not be confounded with any other; it was the mark of gold ariſing from the offices which were ſold, that he deſtined for this uſe. Such were the ſubjects of many of the letters he wrote me this year, from which the reader may judge of thoſe of the following years, the originals of which I keep with the utmoſt care, but ſhall only tranſcribe the moſt important amongſt them. It is remarkable, that although there are a great number of them, and almoſt all very long, there are few however, that are not written with his own hand, and particularly thoſe which are directly addreſſed either to the council or me *.

I was preſent at the council which was held after the ſurrender of Amiens, upon the operations of the reſt of the campaign. Theſe propoſitions were made: to follow the enemy's army, ſeize ſome cities of Artois by ſurprize, and beſiege Dourlens in form: upon which each A city of Picardy.

* I obſerved in the preface the reaſons that induced me not to tranſcribe here ſo many letters. They may be ſeen at the head of the new collection of Henry le Grand's: the originals of ſome of them are at this day to be ſeen in the fine muſeum of the duke de Sully, with marginal notes written by Maximilian de Bethune's own hand. But the moſt valuable pieces in this cabinet, beſide a conſiderable number of original letters of Henry III. and other cotemporary princes, are papers of ſtate, letters, ſerious or gay pieces, and other fragments, writ by Henry le Grand's own hand, and by his chief miniſter, or only ſigned or marked in the margin by them. We have already ſpoken of that which contains the commodation of the count de Vallais, and other governments and towns, eſpecially in Normandy: we ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to mention particularly ſome others.

one

1597. one that was preſent gave his opinion; mine was, that it could not be expected the cardinal infant, who had ſo obſtinately refuſed to fight, when he had no other way of ſuccouring Amiens, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be obliged to come to an engagement now, when he was ſenſible he ſhould have all the king's forces to encounter, and had had ſufficient time to take meaſures to avoid it; nor was it more probable, that the enterpriſes upon the cities of Artois ſhould ſucceed, in the neighbourhood of ſo numerous an army: yet that either of theſe deſigns appeared to me more judicious than the project of laying ſiege to Dourlens, ſince that in fifteen days we might know what was to be expected from the former, and incur no ſhame by failing in them; whereas, by following the latter, we ſhould infallibly have the regret to find that we had conſumed a great deal of time, money, and troops, to no purpoſe. It was reſolved, that the two firſt meaſures ſhould be ſuddenly attempted, without renouncing the ſiege of Dourlens. The Spaniards kept upon their guard, and the French gained no other advantage by this attempt, than the honour of having endeavoured to finiſh the war by a ſingle action, which contributed as much as all the reſt, to make the king of Spain deſirous of peace.

It was quite the reverſe with the enterpriſe of Dourlens, upon which they were obſtinately bent. The king ſent me at Paris, whither I had now returned, his laſt reſolutions on that head. I did not ſcruple to repreſent to him, in terms ſtill ſtronger, the reaſons that had hindered me from approving that propoſal; that his army, having ſuffered conſiderably at the ſiege of Amiens, was not in a condition to undertake a ſecond equally laborious, in the month of October, a ſeaſon when the ground about Dourlens, which is naturally fat and viſcous, was made impracticable by the rains, and within ſight of an army eager to ſeize an occaſion of being revenged. The king did not take my freedom amiſs, though he was not convinced by my reaſons. He wrote to me in anſwer, that the expedition of Dourlens was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of Amiens and Abbeville: that by putting Picardy in a ſtate of ſecurity, he ſhould facilitate the ſale of the new offices; and that he would take ſuch meaſures, that the ſiege ſhould not continue ſo long as I apprehended.

Accordingly Dourlens was inveſted the ninth of October, and on the thirteenth, the rains had ſo much ſpoiled the ground and the roads, that the works could not be brought forward. Villeroi informed me in a letter, that they already repented of their attempt: in effect, the

the king ſet out almoſt immediately after, from his quarters at Beauval, and came to Belbat, where he gave orders for raiſing the ſiege, at which the ſoldiers had ſuffered ſo much during the ſhort time it had laſted, that they were upon the point of diſbanding. The king cauſed them all to be paid, placed them in winter-quarters upon the frontier, left his light horſe there, retrenched part of the garriſons which the ſurprizing of Amiens had obliged him to throw into the neighbouring places, and ſet forward for Paris, to ſpend the winter there, taking his rout through Rouen and Monceaux, where he ſtaid eight days. 1597.

From this place he ſent me orders to over-rule the difficulties which the chancellor de Chiverny raiſed in parliament, to erect his country of Armagnac and Lectoure into a preſidial; and to aſſign the money ariſing from it to the payment of coſts granted in parliament to the ſieur de Fontrailles, count of Armagnac, in a ſuit which he had carried in that court againſt his majeſty. As the princeſs might have ſome claims upon this money, by virtue of the ceſſion her brother deſigned to make her of all his eſtates in this province, the king deſired me to keep the matter ſecret, and uſed the ſame precautions with Fontrailles and the chancellor, the laſt of whom obſerved this command very ill; but his indiſcretion had no bad conſequence, the princeſs leaving the court of France a ſhort time after. In the ſame letter, the king ordered me to pay Demeurat his ſolicitor at Riom, as likewiſe la Corbiniere, who was employed to furniſh proviſions for the troops that were left in Picardy. It was in theſe intervals from buſineſs, that he extended his attention to the moſt inconſiderable objects. He made me give the ſieur de Piles, an old faithful ſervant, a reward of three thouſand crowns, and a counter of eight thouſand livres to Gobelin, to whom, at the ſame time, he repaid ſixteen thouſand livres, advanced by him for the ſupport of his houſhold. There was no name, even to that of the poor woman who gathered the taxes at Giſors, which was not mentioned ſomewhere in his letters.

The poverty of the people *, which was indeed exceſſive, having produced many blanks in the receipts for the taxes, the king ſuſpected that the gentlemen of the council, who were very zealous in repreſenting and exaggerating theſe deficiencies, would find means, when they

* Pontac, deſcribing in his letters the deſolation which the civil wars had caſted to the kingdome, aſſures us, amongſt other things, that one might always have ſo overrun with briars and thorns, that their track could not but with much adoe be diſcovered. Epiſt. 73. ad Camerar.

1597. had obtained a diſcharge for the people, to put large ſums in their own pockets, by concealing the diſcharge that had been granted; he ordered me firſt to get information, whether the people were as much behind hand in the years 1594 and 1595, as thoſe gentlemen had made him believe; which would eaſily be done, by examining the accounts of receipts and expences given in by the general and particular receivers, and by viſiting the courts of the ſame provinces, whither I was already gone; and ſecondly, to examine whether this deficiency of the taxes did not proceed from idleneſs in the collectors, and diſobedience in the people.

To conclude, his majeſty began to buſy himſelf at Monceaux with another matter of importance, that of drawing up articles, on which he deſired to come to an agreement with the proteſtants. This work he preſſed for ſome time upon the chancellor and Villeroi: I was likewiſe ordered to engage in it; but he would have had reaſon to complain a long time of the little attention which thoſe men paid to his deſign, if he had not come himſelf to Paris to put it in execution *.

For theſe two laſt affairs concerning the financiers and the proteſtants more leiſure was neceſſary than the king, upon his arrival at Paris, was able to afford them. He was obliged to turn his thoughts upon making new preparations for paſſing the following ſpring into Brittany, where the rebels, finding themſelves out of the view of their ſovereign, continued, with impunity, in diſorder and diſobedience. The duke of Mercœur, who was at their head, durſt not, however, openly favour their revolt; on the contrary, the letters he wrote to the king were filled with ſeeming tokens of ſubmiſſion; and during the ſpace of two years, it had been his whole ſtudy to amuſe him with feigned propoſals which he knew how to evade fulfilling. The king, on his ſide, had conſtantly diſſembled with the duke, and hitherto contented himſelf with favourably receiving the officers of this province, who, weary of Mercœur's delays, addreſſed themſelves directly to his majeſty: but at length, the king thinking it time to go and attack this rebellious ſubject, even at his own doors †, this deſign, which was carried on with the utmoſt ſecrecy, employed us during the whole winter.

* "He ſaid to a deputation of the townſ-
"men, who came to compliment him af-
"ter the expedition to Amiens, ſhew-
"ing them the marechal de Biron, "Here,
"gentlemen, is the marechal de Biron,
"whom I freely preſent both to my friends
"and enemies." Peref. part 2.

† One of the duke de Mercœur's friends, having aſked him one day, if ever he dreamed of being duke of Brittany, he

It would have anſwered no purpoſe to have undertaken it without a body of twelve hundred foot, and two thouſand cavalry, and a train of artillery, conſiſting of twelve cannons at leaſt; and it was not poſſible to draw out theſe troops from the ſix thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe, which his majeſty thought neceſſary for the defence of the frontier of Picardy, and which he had committed to the care of the conſtable, aſſiſted by the counſels of meſſieurs Bellièvre, Villeroi, and Sillery. New funds were to be found for the ſupport of all theſe troops; the taxes could not poſſibly be increaſed otherwiſe than by leſſening the coſts of the collection, which is with reſpect to the king a real increaſe. I likewiſe applied myſelf to collect the debts that were in arrear, and to recover ſuch as were neglected; to which I joined ſome new impoſts, few in number, and not oppreſſive. 1597.

The king, without theſe ſupplies, would have been obliged to have liſtened to propoſals for a peace, and could not then have concluded one, but upon terms very advantageous to Spain. Pope Clement the eighth deſired it with great ardour; and, long before the campaign of Picardy, had ſent the cardinal of Florence, in quality of legate, to propoſe it to the king; at the ſame time Calatagironne*, patriarch of Conſtantinople, went by his holineſs's orders to Spain for the ſame purpoſe. The negotiation had been unfortunate in the beginning. The king more irritated than diſcouraged by the invaſion of Amiens, only anſwered the cardinal haughtily, that he would defer hearing what he had to propoſe, till after he had regained this place. The king of Spain, on the other hand, although it was with regret that he beheld the war renewed, yet founded great hopes upon his ſucceſs in Flanders, and particularly upon having ſurprized the city of Amiens, the poſſeſſion of which might draw along with it that of all the neighbouring country from the Oiſe to the Seine. Alexander de Medicis.

The expeditions of the campaign being more favourable to the French, drew both ſides nearer an accommodation. Philip knew Henry to be a prince with whom it was as difficult to keep as to gain advantages, and having beſides a foreboding in his own mind, that the

made anſwer, "I know not whether it "be a dream, but it has laſted theſe ten "years and upwards." The ducheſſe de Mercœur's grandmother was Charlotte, heireſs of the houſe of Penthievre, whoſe pretended rights to the duchy of Britanny were apprehended the foundation of thoſe of the duke de Mercœur.

* Father Benedict de Calatagironne, general of the order of Saint Francis.

1597. illneſs he was ſeized with would be mortal, the fear of leaving at his death the prince his ſon expoſed to ſuch an enemy as the king of France, induced him to liſten to the advice of Calatagironne, who when he was aſſured of the king's inclinations, returned to Rome to acquaint the pope with them, and was by his holineſs again deputed to France, to give the cardinal of Florence an account of his ſucceſs, and act in concert with him.

Accordingly their eminences renewed their former ſolicitations with Henry, and often repreſented to him, that the peace, in ſome meaſure, depended wholly upon him. The king, who was undeceived in his turn, and no longer influenced by thoſe great and flattering hopes, which, through a reliance upon the promiſes of his courtiers, he had entertained, ſaw the return of the two negotiators with pleaſure: tho' he appeared indifferent to their propoſals, at length he told them, that he would not be againſt a peace, provided Spain would give up all ſhe poſſeſſed in his dominions. The legates hinted, that this might poſſibly be obtained. And the king replied, that upon this plan he permitted them to treat and conclude a peace with the three miniſters he had left in Picardy, to whom he referred them: in the mean while, that he might not loſe the advantage of thoſe preparations he had made for war, nor waſte time ſo precious in mere negotiations, he ſet out for Brittany.

The king took his rout through Angers, in the beginning of March, ordering his army to follow him by ſhort journeys: he permitted his council likewiſe to attend him, but not till it had made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſupplying his army in Brittany, and the troops and commiſſioners for the peace in Picardy, with all things that were needful. As I now had the abſolute direction of the council, and met with no oppoſition whatever, I quickly put matters in ſuch a ſtate as I thought I might join the king without any bad conſequence. I expected to have found him already far advanced in Brittany, and was greatly ſurprized to hear, as I drew near Angers, that the king had not left that city. The duke of Mercœur muſt have been infallibly ruined, but for the ſervice he received from meſdames * de Mercœur and de † Mar-

* Mary de Luxembourg, daughter to Sebaſtian de Luxembourg, duke of Penthievre and vicecount de Martigues, was wife to Philip Emanuel de Lorrain, duke de Mercœur.

† Mary de Beaucaire, daughter to John, ſeigneur de Peguillon, widow of Sebaſtian de Luxembourg, and mother to the ducheſs de Mercœur.

tigues

tigues upon this occasion: they began with obtaining, by the interest of the marchioness de Monceaux, a passport to meet the king at Angers ‡; where, as soon as they arrived, they entirely gained over the king's mistress to their party. The duchess de Mercœur offered her only daughter to be disposed of in marriage to whomsoever the king thought proper, hinting to the marchioness, that she would not be against marrying this opulent heiress to her son Cæsar ‖. The marchioness of Monceaux was so agreeably flattered by this alliance, that from that moment, considering the duke of Mercœur's interests as her own, she solicited for him with the utmost ardour and assiduity: the two ladies likewise employed every art to soften a prince remarkable for his complacency to the sex. He suffered himself to be disarmed by their submissions, promises, and tears, and no longer thought of chastising the duke of Mercœur. 1597 Frances de Lorraine.

The moment I alighted at Angers I went to pay my respects to the king. This prince, who by the first word I uttered, and the turn only of my countenance, comprehended all I had in my mind, embraced me closely in his arms, and pressing me to his bosom, "My "friend," said he to me, "you are welcome; I am truly glad to see "you here, for I have had great need of you." "And I, sire," I replied (incapable of those mean compliances that are dictated by flattery) "am greatly grieved to find you still here." "It is long," said the king, interrupting me, "that we have learned to understand each "other by half a word; I guess already what you would say to me; "but if you knew what has passed, and to what a forwardness I have "already brought affairs, you would alter your opinion." I replied, that those advantages, whatever they were, which he meant, he might have obtained, and many far more considerable, if, instead of stopping at Angers, he had presented himself before Nantes, at the head of his army. The king endeavoured to excuse himself upon the want of instruments proper for the siege of the city. I answered, that he would have had no occasion for them, because Nantes would have rendered them unnecessary by a surrender, and perhaps have delivered *the

‡ They had come thither before the king, but were refused entrance; upon which they withdrew to Pont de Ce, till the king arrived at Angers.

‖ "The espousals were celebrated at "Angers with the same magnificence as if "he had been a lawfully begotten son of "France: he was but four years of age, "and the last for." Perf. 2d part.

* All the historians agree, that Henry IV. was in a condition to have made the duke de Mercœur smart for his disobedience: he would never suffer that this duke should send him any person in his name to Versailles; and protested that he would rather endure a continued war, than consent that one of his followers should come to treat with him thus like a foreign prince.

1597. duke of Mercœur into his hands. The firſt of theſe things it was highly probable would have happened, and the king acknowledged he believed ſo. After this confeſſion I added, "It is true, I do not find "the bravery of my prince in this inſtance, but I ſhall ſay nothing, "becauſe I know what it was that withheld you." With this prince, I was not apprehenſive my ſincerity would have any bad conſequences. He confeſſed all to me, though with ſome little confuſion, alledging as an excuſe his compaſſion for thoſe who were in a ſtate of humiliation, and the fear of diſobliging his miſtreſs.

After this the converſation turned wholly upon news: his majeſty had juſt received letters from the queen of England, expreſſing her deſire of ſending an ambaſſador to him, to induce him, as we imagined with great probability, to continue the war. By other letters, from Bellièvre and Sillery, he was informed, that the legates had offered, in the name of Spain, to reſtore all the cities, except Cambray, that had been taken during the war. The king's carrying troops into Brittany, without being under a neceſſity of leaving Picardy defenceleſs, had given great ſurprize to Spain, and ſatisfaction to the court of London, ever ſolicitous to humble the pride of that crown. I adviſed Henry not to refuſe a peace for the ſake of a ſingle city, and to be ſatisfied with having driven the enemy out of Picardy and Brittany.

This latter province, which had panted for tranquility a long time, was ſenſible how much it owed to his majeſty, whoſe preſence at the head of an army was the only thing that could procure them that happineſs. The party of Mercœur became the king's party. The Spaniards were not in a condition to hold out long againſt their united forces. Blavet* and Douarnenes, where they were cantoned in the greateſt numbers, could not fail of yielding ſoon to the common lot, and a few days were ſufficient to clear the province entirely of its foreign enemies, who afterwards aſſembled her ſtates, in order to prove her gratitude to the king, by granting him a conſiderable ſubſidy. His majeſty commanded me to continue my rout to Brittany, and while I waited there for his arrival, to pay the troops, and quarter them in caſerns in the neighbourhood of Rennes and Vitré, with ſtrict orders to keep up an exact diſcipline there: after which I was to go to Rennes, to repreſent his majeſty's perſon in the ſtates, to haſten their reſolutions concerning

* Blavet is now called Port Louis, and lies in the biſhopric of Vannes: Douarnenes is another port and road, in the biſhopric of Quimper.

the

the ſums that were promiſed, and uſe all my authority to facilitate the levying it. The king having an inclination to ſtay ſome days longer at Angers, laid hold of the pretence, that ſomething was ſtill wanting to the treaty with the duke of Mercœur. 1597.

I had no reaſon to be offended with the ducheſs of Mercœur for having endeavoured to procure the moſt favourable conditions ſhe could, yet I ſo far reſented her making the king the dupe of her arts, that if his majeſty had not obliged me to make her a viſit, I would have left Angers without ſeeing her; although I was related to this lady by the ſame ſide by which I had the honour to be allied to the royal family, that is, by the houſe of Luxembourg *.

The king remonſtrated to me, that if the conſideration of being related to her, together with the laws of politeneſs, were not ſufficient to induce me to pay her this reſpect, yet the ducheſs of Mercœur deſerved it on account of that regard ſhe had for me, which the knowledge of my intentions could not alter. In effect, I was received by her and madam de Martigues with the higheſt diſtinction and reſpect. Madam de Mercœur, after ſome gentle reproaches for having endeavoured to hurt her intereſt, and that of her daughter, my little kinſwoman, told me, that there was nothing ſhe ſo ardently deſired, as to be able to put the affairs of the duke her huſband into my hands, that I might conclude this treaty with the king in whatſoever manner I thought fit. I anſwered the ducheſs, that while my reſpect and adherence to her were not inconſiſtent with the ſervice of the king, which always carried me againſt any other conſideration, ſhe ſhould find nobody more diſpoſed to ſerve her than myſelf.

I went to Château-Gonthier that evening, and reached Vitré the next day, where I ſaw but too plainly of what importance it was to be extremely cautious and circumſpect in quartering troops, that nothing might be neglected. Meſſieurs de Salignac and de Moüy, marechals de camp, were of great uſe to me upon this occaſion. Tranquility was ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed in all this part of the country, that the countrymen who at firſt had retreated to the woods, and fortified themſelves there, where every moment they were ready to come to blows, now returned to their houſes; and the city of Rennes thought that In Anjou.

* Jane de Bethune, daughter to Robert, the ſixth anceſtor to M. de Sully, was married to John de Luxembourg.

ſome

1597. ſome acknowledgment was due to me: for this reaſon, when the ſtates were aſſembled, a fine apartment was prepared for me during my abode in that city, at the houſe of mademoiſelle de la Riviere: ſhe was a woman of wit and gallantry, who being always looking out for pleaſures for herſelf, was the fitter for the commiſſion with which ſhe was charged, of engaging me in all the entertainments which are commonly found in cities like Rennes, opulent and polite. If the life of a miniſter was to be at all times like that which I led in this city, and which laſted almoſt ſix weeks, it would have in reality all thoſe charms which are falſly attributed to it. I had no other employment than being preſent at the aſſembly of the ſtates, who, with all poſſible gratitude, agreed to the ſervice the king required of them, and granted him, without any oppoſition, eight hundred thouſand crowns; of which one hundred was to be paid the firſt month, as much the ſecond, and afterwards two hundred each month, till the whole was paid. To furniſh this ſum, a tax was created of four crowns upon a pipe of wine. The aſſembly were deſirous of adding a preſent of ſix thouſand crowns to me, which I refuſed, without examining whether this was among the number of thoſe occaſions when I might have been permitted to have accepted a preſent. The king, to whom the merit of my diſintereſtedneſs had been highly exaggerated, and who had himſelf beſtowed more praiſes on my conduct in the aſſembly, than it deſerved, was reſolved, that the expence of a preſent to me ſhould be his, and inſtead of ſix, gave me ten thouſand crowns. During ſix and twenty years, which I had ſpent in his majeſty's ſervice, I had never received ſo conſiderable a gift. On this occaſion there was a kind of generous conteſt betwixt the king and the province of Brittany; which at laſt obtained, that theſe ten thouſand crowns ſhould be added to the eight hundred thouſand the aſſembly had offered his majeſty.

The treaty with the duke of Mercœur being completed, the king ſent it to the chamber of accounts at Rennes to be regiſtered. As ſome private articles in this treaty were not expreſſed, the court thought it had a right to refuſe regiſtering it, without certain reſtrictions with reſpect to theſe articles. Henry, who knew better than any other prince in the world how far the power of theſe ſovereign courts extended, and always appeared careful not to make the leaſt encroachment upon it, reſented this refuſal with becoming ſpirit; and, together with the diſpatches which I received from him regularly every day, he ſent me an order in writing for the chamber of accounts, in which he obſerved, that this court could not be ignorant, that in all treaties or acts relating merely

merely to war or the king's perſon, the ſovereign of France took counſel with no perſon, nor demanded his letters to be regiſtered but as a formality, which otherwiſe was little eſſential; he reproved them for their raſh conduct, and ordered them to repair their diſobedience by an abſolute ſubmiſſion to his will. 1597.

The king did not ſhew leſs firmneſs on another occaſion that likewiſe regarded the ſovereign courts. Theſe bodies aſſumed the privilege of furniſhing immediately but half of the ſum which the aſſembly had taxed them for their contingent, and endeavoured to take a more convenient and more diſtant time for the payment of the reſt: they made the ſame difficulties about their ſhare of the neceſſary contributions for the maintenance of thoſe troops which they had demanded themſelves. Henry eaſily comprehended, that they would not have had recourſe to this artifice, but to avoid contributing any thing, as ſoon as he had quitted the province: therefore, he ſent me word, that it was his will they ſhould furniſh the whole tax; which was done accordingly. Their murmurs on account of paying the troops ceaſed, as ſoon as they were convinced that the tranquility of their province depended upon this regulation, and they were the firſt after that to approve of my conduct.

These ſeveral orders were ſent to me from Nantes, to which place the king had advanced, after the treaty with the duke of Mercœur had been agreed upon, to attend to two affairs of importance, namely, the edict for the proteſtants, and the reception of the two ambaſſadors from England and Holland. His majeſty believing his preſence in Picardy was neceſſary to forward the peace, intended to have left Nantes in a month's time, without taking a journey to Rennes, which he had looked upon as uſeleſs; and had already given orders for the march of the five regiments of Navarre, Piedmont, the Iſle of France, Boniface, and Bréauté, which he drew out of Brittany, to fortify the frontier of Flanders. The king having informed me of his deſign with reſpect to theſe regiments, I repreſented to him, that the probability of a peace being now changed to an abſolute certainty, it was neceſſary to diſband part of his troops, and leſſen the number of his garriſons, as being a burden too heavy for the kingdom to ſupport, and that two of thoſe regiments were now ſufficient for Picardy; accordingly, only the two firſt were ſent thither, under the conduct of the marechal de Briſſac. I even inſiſted ſo much upon the neceſſity there was for his majeſty to ſhew himſelf at leaſt in the capital of Brittany, that the king, altering his

1597. his ſcheme, reſolved to come and ſpend ſome days there before his return to Paris; and for that purpoſe, to diſpatch, as ſoon as poſſible, thoſe two affairs that detained him at Nantes.

It was now become more neceſſary than ever, to regulate that concerning the proteſtants: theſe people aſſumed ſuch a licentiouſneſs of tongue in France, that the king himſelf did not eſcape the rage and malignity of their invectives. The remonſtrances his majeſty had made to the authors of the plot before mentioned, were ſo far from bringing them back to their duty, that, in appearance, it ſerved only to make them uſe their utmoſt efforts to bring the whole proteſtant party in their ſeveral ſynods *, to the moſt violent reſolutions: madam de Rohan did not ſcruple to cabal with many of them, in order to carry, by a plurality of voices, the propoſal of taking up arms, and forcing the king to receive ſuch conditions as they ſhould preſcribe to him; in which attempt ſhe was ſeconded, with ſurprizing aſſiduity, by d'Aubigné, remarkable for his ſatirical turn, and propenſity to ſlander †. It was he who in thoſe aſſemblies had the aſſurance to mention, that they ought no longer to place any confidence in a prince who, together with his religion, had abjured every ſentiment of his affection, good-will, and gratitude, for the proteſtants, that nothing but neceſſity forced him to apply to them and treat them with regard; that when this was over, he would have no longer any care about their conſciences, liberties, or lives; that the peace with Spain, which was upon the point of being concluded, would plunge the party into the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſince the ſole motive that induced Henry to conſent to it, was to unite himſelf with that crown and the pope, to ſacrifice them to their common hatred; and therefore, that nothing remained to be done, but to take advantage of the king's perplexity during ſo toilſome a ſiege, the diſtreſs he was in for money, the need he had of their aſſiſtance, and the power which the duke of Mercœur ſtill poſſeſſed in Brittany, to obtain by force what Henry would afterwards refuſe to grant them.

The ſiege of Amiens.

To incite the members of theſe aſſemblies to a revolt, the proteſtants thought the blackeſt calumnies were lawful. D'Aubigné was not aſham-

* As Shumur, Loudon, Vendôme, and Châtelleraut: of theſe we have ſpoke before, on occaſion of the cabals of the proteſtant party during the ſiege of Amiens.

† He is ſuppoſed to be the author of the Confeſſion of Sancy, the Adventures of the baron de Fœneſte, and other lampoons.

ed

ed to repreſent Henry there, as a prince to whom all religions * were indifferent, and who was only zealous for that which would ſecure him a throne †. This was the notion he wanted to give of his converſion. According to him, the ſuppoſed injuries offered to the proteſtants left no room to doubt of the new ſyſtem of politics that Henry had formed for himſelf. Thoſe injuries opened d'Aubigné a vaſt field for exclamation; the leaſt of them were repreſented as outrages of the moſt violent nature, and inſtances of the deepeſt treachery; and thus, without any regard to the extreme injuſtice he was guilty of, he placed to the king's account all thoſe hardſhips which proceeded ſolely from the catholics or the court of Rome, The duke of Bouillon, leaving others to declaim, ſupported d'Aubigné, by his uncommon dexterity in ſowing diviſion between the king and all that came near him, whether catholics or proteſtants, and created him ſufficient employment, that he might not for a long time be at liberty to turn his arms againſt him. The taking of Mende by Foſſeuſe, and the fitting out of the count d'Auvergne, were the conſequence of theſe counſels. 1598. In the Gi-ran dan.

None of theſe perſons neglected to make their court to the ambaſſadors from England and Holland, as ſoon as they arrived at Nantes; and depended ſo much the more upon drawing them into their ſchemes, as they were not ignorant, that it was particularly recommended to them to prevent a peace with Spain. Theſe ambaſſadors were, Lord Cecil ‡, ſecretary to queen Elizabeth, and Juſtin de Naſſau, admiral of the Republic: they demanded a private audience of the king; or, if that could not be obtained, at leaſt to have no one preſent but Lomenie and me. But I was then employed at Rennes.

* M. de Sully is very much to be commended for ſacrificing to the love of truth all intereſt and conſideration for a party, as he does here, and in a thouſand other places of his Memoirs, eſpecially as he is ſo ſtrongly attached to his religion; which he has always ſhewn: but in every one of theſe paſſages he furniſhes us with very ſtrong weapons againſt himſelf; and after having laid open, in this manner, the deſigns and the ſpirit by which the whole body of the reformed in France were actuated, there is no perſon but will agree, that the ſtate had reaſon to apprehend every thing from them.

† "There are three things," ſaid Henry IV. "which the world is very un-"willing to believe; and yet, for all that, "they are ſtill true and moſt certain; "namely, that the queen of England died "a maid; that the archduke is a great "general; and that the king of France is "a very good catholic." Journal de l'Etoile, p. 233.

‡ This was not the ſecretary himſelf, whoſe name was William, but his ſon Robert. De Thou, liv. cxx. See likewiſe Chronol. Septennaire for the year 1598, concerning this interview of Henry IV. with the Engliſh and the Dutch ambaſſadors.

1598.

If the two ambaſſadors had given credit to the proteſtants, all they had to do was to intimidate the king, and force him by menaces to come into their deſigns; but either this was not in their power, or being convinced of the proteſtants injuſtice, they thought it beneath them to be influenced by their paſſions; and therefore took no notice to the king of what they had ſuggeſted. They had indeed offers to make that were much more likely to prevail with a prince, whoſe inclination for war they were not ignorant of: the Engliſh ambaſſador offered, in the name of the queen his miſtreſs, ſix thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to be maintained at her expence; and Naſſau four thouſand foot, and a large train of artillery completely furniſhed and ſupplied, beſides a particular ſupply, which they hinted would be very conſiderable, provided Henry would endeavour to retake Calais and Ardres. Upon the ſuppoſition that the king appeared inclined to accept theſe offers, the two ambaſſadors had orders to conclude a treaty of alliance immediately between France, England, and the Low-Countries, againſt Spain, and to ſtipulate that neither of theſe three powers ſhould liſten to any propoſal, either for a truce or treaty with the common enemy, but with the conſent of the two others.

Happily the king eſcaped this dangerous ſnare; and the conſideration of the preſent ſtate of his kingdom had more weight with him than all others. He thanked the ambaſſadors with great politeneſs, and introduced his anſwer by aſſuring them that, although he could not accept the offers of their ſovereigns, yet he would not depart from that friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted between them; and that the peace he was going to conclude with Spain (for he did not conceal the terms he was upon with Philip) ſhould not hinder him from keeping up the ſame correſpondence with them as before, nor from ſupplying them with money, when they had occaſion for it, with this only precaution, that theſe loans were taken under the title of acquittances of debts, to give no pretence for a quarrel with Spain.

He afterwards, with the ſame ſincerity, explained to them all his reaſons for putting an end to the war. His kingdom, he told them, was not like England and Holland, ſecured by nature from the attacks of her enemies, but open on all ſides; his caſtles unfortified, and deſtitute of ammunition; his marine weak, his provinces laid waſte, and ſome of them reduced to mere deſarts. He went on to give a more particular deſcription of the abuſes that had crept into the government, and

and introduced a thouſand diſorders; all ſubordination being deſtroyed by the licentiouſneſs that had been practiſed with impunity amidſt the confuſion of civil and foreign wars; his power weak, and unſtable, and the royal authority, as well as the moſt ſacred laws of the ſtate, equally diſregarded. Theſe evils could only be remedied by a peace; and if that remedy was ever ſo little delayed, France was every hour approaching to its ruin, the diſtemper would ſoon reach the heart, and no human help would then be able to remove it. Henry did not forget to ſtrengthen theſe motives, by a compariſon of his preſent ſituation, in all theſe reſpects, with that of England and Holland, who could engage in a war, on which their ſafety depended, conſiſtently at the ſame time with their ſafety and their intereſt; and the king drew this parallel with ſo much clearneſs and judgment, and ſo exact a knowledge of the ſtate of thoſe countries, as to make them feel the truth of what he was ſaying; ſo that the two foreigners, having nothing to oppoſe againſt ſuch convincing arguments, looked upon each other in amazement. The king gave them to underſtand, that, when he had ſettled the affairs of his kingdom, he ſhould then, with more aſſurance of ſucceſs, renew his former deſigns againſt the empire, and the houſe of Auſtria; but that theſe two enterpriſes were not of a nature to be executed at one and the ſame time. The ambaſſadors, for form's ſake, thought they ought to diſſuade his majeſty from his reſolution, but did it ſo faintly, being themſelves ſtruck with the force of his arguments, that, before the conference was ended, the king brought them over entirely to his opinion, and obliged them to confeſs, that the peace he was going to conclude was for the advantage of all Europe. They left France ſoon after, and filled their reſpective countries with the opinion they had conceived of the great wiſdom and extraordinary abilities of the king of France. 1598.

In effect, what innumerable miſeries would this prince have drawn upon his kingdom, if following the wild emotions of hatred and revenge, rather than the calm dictates of wiſdom and prudence, he had at that inſtant engaged in a war, which, though in his power to begin, was not to end! How dreadful the conſequence, if chance, which arbitrarily diſpoſes of all the events of war, ſhould have favoured the enemies of France! But granting that his arms were victorious, how little preferable to a defeat is that ſucceſs, which a prince muſt purchaſe at ſo dear a rate, as by the alienation of his domaines, by the anticipating and mortgaging his revenues, by the ruin of commerce and agriculture, from whence France derives her chief ſupport, and laſtly, by the utter devaſtation of his provinces! Such evils cannot be

1598. balanced by the acquiſition of new teraitories, the poſſeſſion of which keeps the conqueror in perpetual alarms, and, remaining as ſo many hateful monuments to the enemy of the ambition and injuſtice of him that gained them, cheriſhes and keeps alive thoſe ſeeds of envy, hatred, and diſtruſt, that ſooner or later never fail to produce the ſame miſeries with which the kingdom was before overwhelmed: on this account, I am not afraid to ſay, that, in the preſent ſtate of Europe, it is almoſt equally unhappy for its princes to ſucceed or miſcarry in their enterpriſes; and that the true way of weakening a powerful neighbour, is not to carry off his ſpoils, but to leave them to be ſhared by others.

The inſolence of the proteſtant cabal was totally depreſſed, when they found that the ambaſſadors, upon whom they had ſo greatly relied, were entirely brought over to the king's opinion; and, not doubting but that a peace would now be ſoon concluded, they thought only of procuring reaſonable conditions. It was happy for them that at a time when it would have been eaſy to puniſh them for their unjuſtifiable proceedings, they had a prince to deal with whoſe reaſon was always ſtronger than his reſentment. Both ſides were then very induſtrious to draw up that famous agreement known by the name of the edict of Nantes, by which the rights of the two religions were afterwards both clearly explained and ſolidly eſtabliſhed. Schomberg, the preſident de Thou, Jeannin, and Calignon, were employed to draw it up, of which all I ſhall ſay is, that, by this edict, it was provided that the French calviniſts, who till then had been only privileged by truces reſumed and continued, ſhould have a fixed and durable eſtabliſhment*. All that now remained to be done, was to make this treaty be regiſtered and confirmed by the parliaments and ſovereign courts, and to begin with thoſe of Paris; which was deferred till the king's return to that city.

* The edict of Nantes was ſigned the 13th of April. De Thou ſays, that the judicial confirmation of it was put off till after the departure of the legate, whom they were loth to ſend away diſcontented. The conceſſions this edict contains, more favourable than thoſe that had been formerly granted them, are, that thereby they were admitted to places of truſt, both in the courts of juſtice and in the finances: all the reſt is no ways eſſentially different from the edict of pacification that paſſed in 1577. Bayle aſcribes the honour of compoſing the edict of Nantes to the reformed miniſter Chamier. See it in Matthieu, tom. II. book ii. and in ſeveral other hiſtorians. There were likewiſe ſome ſecret articles, of which the moſt diſadvantageous for the calviniſts is that which forbids them the exerciſe of their religion in a great many towns and particular diſtricts, as Rheims, Soiſſons, Dijon, Sens, &c. becauſe Henry IV. had ſo engaged himſelf by particular treaties before, with the different lords of the league.

Having

1603

Having paid what he owed to the proteſtants *, according to the exacteſt juſtice, the king thought himſelf not obliged to ſhew much regard to thoſe who ſtill continued to ſtir ſedition, ſuch as the duke of Bouillon in particular, who had moſt reaſon to reproach himſelf, and for once, he reſolved to ſpeak to him like a maſter: he had now acquired a right to do this, even though we ſuppoſe him not to have had it in the character of king. He propoſed as ſoon as he arrived at Rennes, to execute this deſign, and took his rout thither without delay. The duke of Bouillon then lodged at the houſe of l'Alloué, where he was confined to his bed by the gout: the king went to viſit him, and after the firſt compliments, ſignifying that it was his pleaſure to be left alone with the duke, the reſt of the company quitted the chamber, and his majeſty deſired that he would, without interruption, hear what he had to ſay to him. He began with a particular detail of all his proceedings, to ſhew that he was not ignorant of any of them: he dwelt chiefly upon ſome ſteps the duke had taken ſince the edict of Nantes, and were therefore ſo much the more criminal, as it ought to have prevented him from entertaining a thought of revolting againſt a prince who had ſo generouſly adhered to his intereſt. The duke attempted to offer ſomething in his excuſe, but he was ſtopped by the king, who told him, that without any juſtification, he would from that day forget all that was paſſed; and ſince he had pardoned whatever the moſt inveterate malice had been able to ſuggeſt to his enemies, he had no inclination to exclude from his favour an old ſervant, with whom he had been pleaſed for a long time: in concluſion, he adviſed the duke, with an air of authority, which became him better as he uſed it ſeldom, to make good uſe of the counſel he was now giving him as his friend, to think no more of his paſt behaviour, but for the ſake of acting in a manner quite contrary; for if he ſhould again fail in his reſpect to his king and maſter, he was reſolved to make uſe of that convenience which the peace now eſtabliſhed in the kingdom gave, to bring him to puniſhment: after which the king, without waiting for his anſwer, went out and left him to his own thoughts.

The inhabitants of Brittany were charmed with the affability of their king, and his complaiſance in being preſent at all the entertainments with which the ladies contended to divert him. Henry divi-

* Le Grain mentions a good ſaying of Henry IV. One day as the proteſtants were importunately teaſing him with their demands, "Apply to my ſiſter," ſays he to them, "for your affairs are now fallen into "the hands of women to conduct them."

ded

1598. ded his time between theſe aſſemblies, the ſport of running at the ring, balls, and tennis-playing, without leſſening his aſſiduity about the marchioneſs of Monceaux, who was very far advanced in her pregnancy.

In the midſt of theſe amuſements, the king at certain intervals appeared ſo penſive and reſerved, that it was not difficult to gueſs ſome ſecret uneaſineſs preyed upon his mind; and I was the more convinced of it when his majeſty, who often diverted himſelf with hunting, ordered me twice to follow him apart, that he might have an opportunity of converſing with me alone; yet when I did ſo he was ſilent. I then remembered that the ſame thing had happened at Saint-Germain, and Angers; and I concluded that he had a deſign in view, which he had ſome difficulty to diſcloſe to me, knowing with what freedom I ſometimes oppoſed his opinions; but what this deſign was I could not poſſibly gueſs. Returning from the abovementioned viſit to the duke of Bouillon, his majeſty being at the foot of the ſtair-caſe, ſaw me as I entered the court, and calling me, made me go with him into the garden, which was extremely large and beautiful, holding my hand with his finger between mine as uſual, then ordered the door to be ſhut, and that no perſon ſhould be allowed to enter.

This prelude made me expect to hear a ſecret of great conſequence. Henry did not enter upon it immediately, but, as if he had not ſufficient reſolution to explain himſelf, began to tell me what had juſt paſſed between him and the duke of Bouillon. This converſation was followed by news relating to the negotiations of Vervins, and led him inſenſibly to reflect on the advantages France would receive from a peaceable government. One circumſtance, the king ſaid, gave him great uneaſineſs, which was that, not having children by the queen his wife, it would anſwer no purpoſe to be at ſo much trouble to procure peace and tranquility to his kingdom, ſince, after his death, it muſt neceſſarily fall into its former calamities, by the diſputes that would ariſe between the prince of Condé and the other princes of the blood, concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown. His majeſty confeſſed to me, that this was his motive for deſiring, with ſuch ardour, to leave ſons behind him. Unleſs his marriage with the princeſs Margaret could be diſſolved, it was not poſſible for him to be abſolutely happy; but the informations he received from the archbiſhop of Urbin, meſſieurs de Perron, d'Oſſat, and de Marquemont, his deputies at Rome, of the pope's favourable diſpoſitions in reſpect to that affair, gave him great hopes of its ſucceſs: in effect, Clement the eighth, who was as good a politician as any prince

prince in Europe, revolving in his mind what means were moſt likely to hinder France, and the other chriſtian kingdoms, from falling again into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, could find none ſo effectual as to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown of France, by authoriſing Henry to engage in a ſecond marriage, which might produce him male children. 1598.

Our converſation being fixed upon this ſubject, it was eaſy for me to perceive that it was from hence his majeſty's uneaſineſs proceeded; but I could not ſo ſoon know what particular circumſtance it was that diſturbed him. The king began to conſider with me what princeſs of Europe he ſhould chuſe for his wife, in caſe his marriage with Margaret of Valois ſhould be diſſolved; but indeed he ſet out with a declaration that ſhewed any reflections on that head would be fruitleſs. "That "I may not repent, ſaid he, of taking ſo dangerous a ſtep, nor draw "upon myſelf a misfortune which is with juſtice ſaid to exceed all "others, that of having a wife diſagreeable in perſon and mind, it is "neceſſary that in her whom I marry I ſhould find theſe ſeven things, "beauty, prudence, ſoftneſs, wit, fruitfulneſs, riches, and a royal "birth;" but there was not one in all Europe, with whom he appeared entirely ſatisfied. "I ſhould have no objection to the infanta of Spain," purſued Henry, "although ſhe is a little advanced in years, provided that "with her I could marry the Low-Countries, even though I ſhould be "obliged to reſtore to you the earldom of Bethune: neither would "I refuſe the princeſs Arabella * of England, if, as it is publicly ſaid "that crown really belongs to her, ſhe were only declared preſumptive "heireſs of it; but there is no reaſon to expect that either of theſe "things will happen. I have alſo heard of ſome princeſſes of Ger-"many, whoſe names I have forgot; but the women of that country "don't ſuit me: I ſhould always fancy I had a hogſhead of wine in bed "with me; beſides, I have been told that France had once a queen of "that country, who had like to have ruined it: all theſe conſiderations "have given me a diſguſt to the German ladies. The ſiſters of prince "Maurice have likewiſe been mentioned to me; but beſides that they "are proteſtants, which would give umbrage to the court of Rome "and the more zealous catholics, they are daughters of a nun; which, "together with a certain reaſon that I'll inform you of ſome other

* The marchioneſs Aibelle, or Arabella Stuart. She was daughter to Charles, earl of Lenox, who was grandſon to Margaret queen of Scotland, eldeſt ſiſter to Henry VIII. Her couſin-german James VI. king of Scotland, having in 1602 been declared lawful heir to queen Elizabeth, the following year a conſpiracy was formed in her favour; and ſhe died in 1616, a priſoner in the tower of London. See the hiſtorians.

1598. " time, has prevented my entertaining any thoughts of them. The " duke of Florence has a niece who is ſaid to be handſome, but ſhe is " deſcended from one of the moſt inconſiderable families in Chriſten- " dom that bear the title of prince, it not being above threeſcore or four- " ſcore years ſince her anceſtors were only the firſt citizens in Florence; " ſhe is likewiſe of the ſame race with the queen-mother Catherine, " who did ſo much miſchief to France, and to me in particular.

" These," continued the king, obſerving that I liſtened attentively to him, " are all the foreign princeſſes that I have any knowledge of: " of thoſe within my own kingdom my niece of Guiſe would pleaſe " me beſt *, notwithſtanding the malicious reports that have been " ſpread that ſhe loves *poulets* in paper better than in a fricaſſee; for " my part I not only believe thoſe reports to be falſe, but ſhould rather " chuſe a wife who is a little fond of gallantry, than one who wanted " underſtanding; but I am apprehenſive that the violent affection ſhe " diſcovers for her family, particularly for her brothers, would create " ſome diſorders in the kingdom."

After this the king named all the other princeſſes in France, but to as little purpoſe: he acknowledged that ſome were beautiful, and genteel, ſuch as the eldeſt of the duke of Maïenne's two daughters, although of a brown complexion, the two daughters likewiſe of the duke of Aumale, and three of the duke of Longueville; but all theſe were either too young, or were not in his taſte. He afterwards named mademoiſelle Rohan, the princeſs of Conti's daughter, of the houſe of Lucé; mademoiſelles Luxembourg and Guémené; but the firſt was a proteſtant, and the ſecond not old enough, and the perſons of the two others did not pleaſe him: and all for ſome reaſon or other were excluded. The king cloſed this enumeration by ſaying, that although theſe ladies might be all agreeable enough to him in their perſons, yet he ſaw no way to be aſſured that they would bring him heirs, or that he could ſuit himſelf to their tempers, or be convinced of their prudence, three of the ſeven conditions without which he had reſolved never to marry; ſince, if he entered into an engagement

* Louiſa Margaret of Lorrain: ſhe was a very beautiful princeſs. It was propoſed, at the time of the ſiege of Paris, for her to marry Henry IV. in order to unite the two parties. The ſarcaſtic lampoons of that time charge her with carrying on an intrigue with the duke de Bellegarde, maſter of the horſe: and what Henry ſays here of *poulets*, is taken from a ſong that was made againſt mademoiſelle de Guiſe, which may be ſeen in l'Etoile, for the year 1596.

of

of that kind, it would be with a deſign to give his wife a ſhare in the management of all his domeſtic affairs; and that, as according to the courſe of nature he ſhould die before her, and leave children very young behind him, it would be neceſſary that ſhe ſhould be able to ſuperintend their education, and govern the kingdom during a minority. 1598.

Weary at length of endeavouring to no purpoſe to find out what the king aimed at by this diſcourſe, "But what is it you mean, ſire," "ſaid I, by ſo many affirmatives and negatives; and what I am to con-"clude by them, but that you are deſirous to marry, and yet cannot "find a woman upon earth qualified to be your wife? By the manner "in which you mentioned the infanta Clara Eugenia, it ſhould ſeem "that great heireſſes are moſt to your taſte; but can you expect that "heaven ſhould raiſe a Margaret of Flanders, or a Mary of Burgundy, "from the dead for you, or at leaſt reſtore the queen of England to "her youth?" I added ſmiling, "that for proof of the other qualities "which he demanded, I ſaw no better expedient than to bring all the "beauties of France together, from the age of ſeventeen to that of "twenty-five, that by talking with them in perſon, he might know "the turn of their temper and genius; and that for the reſt he ſhould "refer himſelf to experienced matrons, to whom recourſe is had on "ſuch occaſions." Then beginning to talk more ſeriouſly, I declared that, "in my opinion, his majeſty might contract his expectations, by "ſtriking off a great fortune and royal birth, and content himſelf with a "wife who was likely to keep his heart, and bring him fine children; "but that here again he muſt content himſelf with mere probability, "there being many beautiful women incapable of child-bearing, and "many illuſtrious fathers unhappy in their offſpring*; but that what-"ever his children ſhould prove, the blood from which they ſprung "would ſecure the reſpect and obedience of the French nation."

"Well," interrupted the king, "ſetting aſide your advice concern-"ing this aſſembly of beauties, with which I am mightily diverted, "and your ſage reflection that great men have often children who "poſſeſs none of their qualities, I hope to have ſons whoſe actions "ſhall exceed mine. Since you confeſs that the lady whom I marry "ought to be of an agreeable temper, beautiful in her perſon, and of

* The author, on this head, mentions, very improperly, Ninias, Anaxindaris, Nebuchodonoſor, Cyprus, Alexander, Trajan, Conſtantine, and Charlemagne. I likewiſe retrench in this converſation, as in many other paſſages, ſeveral diſcourſes that are too prolix, and full of uſeleſs erudition.

1598. " ſuch a make as to give hopes of her bringing children, reflect a little, " whether you do not know a perſon in whom all theſe qualities " are united." I replied, that I would not take upon me to decide haſtily upon a choice wherein ſo much conſideration was requiſite, and to which I had not yet ſufficiently attended. " And what would you " ſay," returned Henry, " if I ſhould name one, who, I am fully con- " vinced, poſſeſſes theſe three qualities." " I ſhould ſay, ſire," replied I, with great ſimplicity, " that you are much better acquainted with her " than I am, and that ſhe muſt neceſſarily be a widow, otherwiſe you " can have no certainty with regard to her fruitfulneſs." " This is all " that you would deſire," ſaid the king, " but if you cannot gueſs who " ſhe is, I will name her to you." " Name her then, ſaid I, for I own I " have not wit enough to find out who ſhe is." " Ah! how dull are you," cried the king, " but I am perſuaded, you could gueſs who I mean " if you would, and only affect this ignorance to oblige me to name " her myſelf; confeſs then that theſe three qualities meet in my mi- " ſtreſs: not" purſued the king (in ſome confuſion at this diſcovery of his weakneſs " that I have any intention to marry her, but I want " to know what you would ſay, if, not being able to meet with any " other whom I could approve of, I ſhould one day take it into my " head to make her my wife."

It was not difficult for me to diſcover, amidſt theſe ſlight artifices, that his majeſty had already thought of it but too much, and was but too well diſpoſed to this unworthy marriage, which every thing he had ſaid tended to juſtify. My aſtoniſhment was indeed very great, but I thought it neceſſary to conceal my thoughts with the utmoſt care: I affected to believe that he was jeſting, that I might have an opportunity of anſwering in ſuch a manner as might make the king aſhamed of having entertained ſo extravagant a notion. My diſſimulation did not ſucceed; the king had not made ſo painful an effort to ſtop there. " I " command you," ſaid he to me, " to ſpeak freely; you have acquir- " ed the right of telling me plain truths; do not apprehend that I ſhall " be offended with you for doing ſo, provided that it is in private; ſuch " a liberty indeed in public would greatly offend me."

I replied, that I would never be ſo independent as to ſay any thing in private, any more than in public, that might diſpleaſe him, except on ſuch occaſions when his life, or the good of the ſtate was in queſtion. I afterwards repreſented to him the diſgrace ſo ſcandalous an alliance would draw upon him, in the opinion of the whole world, and the re-

proaches

proaches he would ſuffer from his own mind upon that account, when the ardour of his paſſion being abated, he ſhould be able to judge impartially of his own conduct. I ſhewed him that if this was the only means to which he could have recourſe to free France from the calamities a doubtful ſucceſſion would occaſion, that he would expoſe himſelf to all the inconveniencies he was anxious to avoid, and others ſtill greater: that although he ſhould legitimate the children he had by madam de Liancourt, yet that could not hinder the eldeſt, who was born in a double adultery, from being, in this reſpect, inferior to the ſecond, whoſe birth was attended with but half that diſgrace; and both muſt yield to thoſe whom he might have by madam de Liancourt after ſhe was his lawful wife: this bye circumſtance making it impoſſible to ſettle their claims, could not fail of becoming an inxhauſtible ſource of quarrels and war. "I leave you, ſire" purſued I, "to make reflections "upon all this, before I ſay any more." "That will not be amiſs," returned the king, who was ſtruck with my arguments; "for you have "ſaid enough of this matter for the firſt time." But ſuch was the tyranny of that blind paſſion, to which he was ſubjected, that in ſpite of himſelf he reſumed the diſcourſe that very moment, by aſking me if, from the diſpoſition I knew the French to be of, eſpecially the nobility, I thought he had any reaſon to apprehend they would riſe in rebellion, while he was living, if he ſhould marry his miſtreſs. 1598.

This queſtion convinced me, that his heart had received an incurable wound: I treated him accordingly, and entered into arguments and expoſtulations, with which I ſhall not trouble the reader, ſince his own imagination may ſuggeſt to him all that it was neceſſary to ſay upon this ſubject, which has been already dwelt upon too long. We continued three hours alone in the garden, and I had the conſolation to leave the king in a full perſuaſion of the truth and reaſonableneſs of all I had ſaid to him.

The difficulty lay in breaking thoſe too powerful ties; the king had not yet brought himſelf to that point: he had many dreadful *conflicts

* In this inward ſtruggle, the voice of reaſon and decorum had not the ſtrongeſt ſway with Henry IV. and even though M. de Sully does here and elſewhere ſay it, the world has always been perſuaded, upon very good grounds, that, if the death of his miſtreſs, whom he ſo tenderly loved, had not prevented this prince, he would either have married her, or he would not have married again at all. He was not always directed on this head by the ſole advice of the duke de Sully, at leaſt if we believe a very curious anecdote, which may be ſeen in vol. 9590 des MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi; where it is obſerved, that Henry IV. being at Saint-Germain-en-Laye (this was procu-

1598. of mind to ſuffer ere that could be effected; and all he could do for the preſent, was to defer taking his laſt reſolution till he had obtained the permiſſion he had been ſo long ſoliciting from the pope, and till then to keep his ſentiments ſecret. He promiſed me not to acquaint his miſtreſs with what I had ſaid, leſt it ſhould draw her reſentment upon me. "She loves you," ſaid the king to me, "and eſteems you ſtill more; "but her mind ſtill entertains ſome remains of diſtruſt, that you will "not approve of my deſign in favour of her and her children: ſhe "often tells me, that when one hears you perpetually talking of "my kingdom and my glory, one is apt to think that you prefer "the one to my perſon, and the other to my quiet." I anſwered, that againſt this charge I could make no defence; that the kingdom and the ſovereign were to be looked upon with the ſame eyes: "Re- "member, ſire, added I, that your virtue is the ſoul that animates this "great body, which muſt, by its ſplendor and proſperity, repay you that "glory and happineſs that it derives from you, and that you are not to "ſeek happineſs by any other means." After this we left the garden, and it being night ſeparated, leaving the courtiers to rack their imaginations in vain to gueſs the ſubject of ſo long a conference.

Neither the king nor I had attended to a circumſtance abſolutely neceſſary on ſuch occaſions, which was Margaret's conſent to the diſſolution of her marriage: I conceived it to be highly proper to enter upon this negotiation while we expected the ſucceſs of that which was carrying on at Rome. I was willing firſt to ſound the intentions of the

bly but ſome months at moſt after his return from Brittany, ſent for his three miniſters (M. de Roſny, de Villeroi, and de Sillery) to conſult with them about this ſo important a queſtion, relating to his marriage; and that the firſt (who to be ſure was M. de Roſny) was of the ſame opinion as is mentioned in this place of his Memoirs: that the ſecond adviſed him on the contrary not to marry, but leave the ſucceſſion to the prince de Condé, who by birth-right was his true heir: and that at laſt the third (this was M. de Sillery, the moſt arful courtier of the three) in oppoſition to both the former advices, told him, that the beſt thing he could do was to marry his miſtreſs, and legitimate the eldeſt of the children he had by her. Henry IV. (continues the author of this anecdote, who plainly ſhews himſelf to be a perſon to whom one of the three miniſters themſelves had communicated what paſſed between the king and them) I ſay Henry IV. ſeemed ſurprized at this, and afterwards ſaid, "I had promiſed myſelf a great deal from "your ability and fidelity, by the advice "I wanted of you with regard to my "marriage; yet ſtill I fear, that inſtead of "having ſatisfied me, you have only in- "creaſed my irreſolution by the contra- "riety of your opinions, which are back- "ed with ſuch ſtrong reaſons, that I find "myſelf not a little embarraſſed as to the "judgment which I ſhould make as to the "beſt of them; as to that therefore I re- "quire a little time to conſider of it," &c. and after he had ſaid this, he got up and diſmiſſed them.

2 princeſs;

princeſs; therefore the ſubſtance of the letter I wrote to her on this ſubject was, that, moſt ardently deſiring a reconciliation between her and the king, upon which France founded her hopes of having a lawful heir to the crown, I thought it my duty to intreat ſhe would authoriſe me to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to effect this reconciliation; but that, if the inclinations of both parties were ſuch as to render this attempt fruitleſs, or that it ſhould not conduce to the purpoſe I mentioned to her (a point I was ſenſible the ſterility of this princeſs would make her ſecretly agree to) I hoped ſhe would not be offended if I ſhould afterwards take the liberty to perſuade her to make a ſtill greater ſacrifice, which the ſtate expected from her. I did not explain myſelf any farther, but after what I had mentioned juſt before, upon the neceſſity of giving legitimate children to the crown of France, it was not difficult to gueſs what I meant by this ſacrifice. 1598.

The queen took time to deliberate upon a matter of ſuch importance, before ſhe ſent me an anſwer; which I did not receive till five months after I had written to her: it was dated from Uſſon *, where ſhe uſually reſided, and was ſuch a one as we would have wiſhed for, prudent, modeſt, and ſubmiſſive. Margaret, without explaining herſelf any more than I had done, upon a ſeparation that was not yet publicly talked of, was contented with ſubſtituting, inſtead of it, an aſſurance that ſhe would readily ſubmit to the king's will; adding the moſt candid praiſes of his conduct, and thanks to me for my ſolicitude and cares.

The king ſtaid at Rennes but ſeven or eight days, reſolving to ſet out as ſoon as poſſible for Paris, that he might reach Picardy the beginning of May: he took his rout through Vitré †, from whence I received orders from him to give a gratuity to the garriſon of Rocheſort, and afterwards to cauſe the caſtle to be razed. From Vitré his majeſty coaſted along the Loire, and came to Tours, by the way of la Fleche, which he took pleaſure in ſeeing again, it being the place where he had paſſed part of his time in his youth.

* This princeſs had at firſt retired, many years before, to Agen, and afterwards to Carlat. King Henry III. her brother, had not treated her better than Henry IV. her huſband, but perſecuted her every where, and at laſt ſhut her up in the caſtle of Uſſon in Auvergne, where, after his death, ſhe was contented to live.

† I have ſubſtituted this word in the place of that of Villeroi, as the original bears: there never was a place of that name in Brittany; and, in fact, Henry IV's road lay through Vitré.

I staid

1598.

I STAID behind him at Rennes five or six days, to put the affairs of the finances in order, pay the troops, ſettle their departure from Brittany, and their march through the midſt of the provinces; after which I came to Tours to the king; his majeſty having ſent for me upon an affair of great importance. I left him to continue his journey to Paris, whither (notwithſtanding all the haſte he was able to make) he did not arrive till the latter end of May. I was ſo weary * of the formality of our reception into the great cities, and particularly of the long ſpeeches that we were tormented with in every place, that taking a bye-road by le Maine and le Perche, I came alone to my eſtate at Roſny, where my wife was employed in attending the building of a houſe, and had narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed to pieces under the ruins of the old edifice, which was firſt to be demoliſhed. I ſtaid there but a ſhort time, yet upon my arrival at Paris, I found the king was gone from thence; he had only paſſed through it, and taken the road to Amiens immediately: this city he thought convenient for correſponding with the plenipotentiaries at Vervins, and likewiſe for viſiting all the fortreſſes upon the frontiers, to facilitate the evacuation of thoſe that were to be reſtored to him by the treaty, and to provide for their ſecurity for the future. All this was but the work of eight days, and his majeſty was no ſooner come to Paris than the treaty was ſigned †.

* The king was no leſs ſo. L'Etoile relates ſome very ſmart repartees of his majeſty to theſe importunate haranguers; one of them tired him with long titles and compellations of honour, and repeating often, "O very benign, O very great, O "very merciful, &c. king." "Add too, "ſays Henry to him, and very weary." Another having begun his ſpeech with theſe words, "Ageſilaus, king of Lacede-"mon, ſire," &c. The king, interrupting him, ſays, "*Ventre, ſaint gris!* I have "heard a good deal ſpoken of this Ageſi-"laus, but he had dined firſt; but, for my "part, I have not yet." Having twice told another, that he ſhould cut ſhort his harangue; and ſeeing that he went on tediouſly nevertheleſs, he left him, and ſo went away, telling him, "You muſt ſay "the reſt then to maſter William," meaning the fool that belonged to the court.

† On the 2d of May 1598, the peace was ſigned, in the name of the king, "by "M. Pomponne de Bellièvre, knight, lord "of Grignon, and counſellor of ſtate to "the king, and M. Nicholas Brulart, kt. "lord of Sillery, counſellor of ſtate to the "king, and preſident in his court of par-"liament at Paris. In the name of the "cardinal of Auſtria, having full powers "from the king of Spain, by M. John "Richardot, knight, chief and preſident "of the privy council of his ſaid majeſty, "and one of his council of ſtate; M. "John Baptiſte de Taxis, knight, &c. "and M. Louis Verreiken, knight, &c." See this whole treaty in the *Memoires & negotiations de la paix traitées à Vervins*, tom. II. with an account, in form of a journal, of all that paſſed between the plenipotentiaries, from the opening of that negotiation till the concluſion of the peace.

The

1598.

THE treaty was very clear and plain: the reſignation of all the towns and fortreſſes that Spain poſſeſſed in France was almoſt the only conſiderable article in it. No difficulty aroſe concerning the affair of the marquiſate of Saluces; the king did not think fit to break off the peace on account of this article, which was looked upon to be of ſo little importance, that if Savoy ſhould refuſe to do juſtice in it, the king, it was ſaid, might, with very little trouble, ſeize the whole territory without any obſtruction from Spain. Both parties, however, obliged themſelves to ſtand to the pope's * deciſion of the affair. Here the plenipotentiaries committed an error, which was the cauſe of engaging his majeſty ſoon after in a war that might have been avoided. I ſhall take no notice of the reſt of thoſe formalities in uſe amongſt them †, and leave it to others to extol thoſe refined ſtratagems that in politics are thought the maſterpiece of human wit.

THE king ſigned the treaty at Paris, in the preſence of the duke d'Arſcot ‡ and the admiral of Arragon; the arch-duke did the ſame at Bruſſels, in the name of the king of Spain and his own, before mareſchal Biron, on whom the king, to qualify him for this ceremony, had juſt beſtowed the rank of duke and peer of France, a dignity that completely turned his head. Meſſieurs de Bellievre and de Sillery were

* What regards the duke of Savoy, who was repreſented by M. Gaſpard de Geneve, marquis de Lullin, and counſellor of ſtate, &c. is at the end of the 24th article, and imports, "that the re- "mainder of the other differences that "are between the ſaid moſt chriſtian king "and the ſaid duke, ſhall be referred to "the judgment of our holy father Cle- "ment VIII. to be determined by his ho- "lineſs within one year. . . . And mat- "ters ſhall continue in the ſtate in which "they are at preſent," &c.

† There were found the ſame difficulties as to the ſubſtance, and the ſame obſtacles as to the formalities that are uſually to be met with in ſuch ſort of deliberations. They may be ſeen in the *Lettres de M. de Bellievre & de Sillery*, and in the *Relation*, &c. ibid. Theſe two negotiators have been generally commended for the firm and wiſe conduct which they ſhewed therein. In their letters, and, among others, in thoſe dated the 7th of April, and 4th of March, they give a particular detail of the motives that induced them to conclude with the agents for the duke of Savoy in the manner which M. de Sully complains of: and all this they did by the particular orders of his majeſty, in his letter of April 9, &c.

‡ Charles de Croy, duke d'Arſcot and prince de Chimay; don Franciſco de Mendoſa and Cardona, admiral of Arragon. Henry IV. took an oath for the obſerving of the treaty of peace on Sunday the 21ſt of June, the cardinal de Florence, the pope's legate, officiating in the moſt ſolemn manner. The account is alſo to be met with, ibid. tom. II. p. 266. of the MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, vol. 9361. Mem. de la ligue, tom. VI. Mem. de Nevers, tom. II. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. Cayet, and others.

likewiſe

1598. likewiſe preſent. The duke of Savoy gave his ſolemn aſſent to the peace at Chamberry, in the preſence of Gadagne Bothéon *, governor of Lyons, who was deputed to him from the king for that purpoſe.

Thus, notwithſtanding a league ſo powerful as that of the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and all the eccleſiaſtics of chriſtianity, did the king of France accompliſh his deſigns †, and crown them with a glorious peace: all thoſe that had been employed in effecting it he rewarded with a royal munificence; and to prevent this meaſure from alienating Holland from his intereſts, he ſent Buzenval to Amſterdam, to keep up a good intelligence with the States, and to pay the penſion his majeſty allowed them. It is not poſſible to reflect on the great abilities of this prince, and his ſurprizing diligence in ſhewing himſelf in every part of his kingdom where his preſence was the leaſt neceſſary, without giving him thoſe praiſes he ſo well deſerves.

* "He is ſtyled, in the oath taken by the duke of Savoy on the 2d of Auguſt, "the illuſtrious lord, William de Guadaigne, lord of Bothéon, knight of the "orders of the moſt high and moſt excellent prince Henry IV. the moſt chriſtian king of France and Navarre, counſellor in his council of ſtate, captain of "fifty gens-d'arms, and his lieutenant-general in the government of the Lyonnois, Forêt, and Beaujolois, ambaſſador, "intruſted and deputed," &c. Mem. & Negociations, &c. tom. II. p. 365.

† The letters which this prince wrote to his two miniſters at Vervins, during all the time that this negotiation laſted, confirm this. They are inſerted in the Mem. & Negociations, &c. ibid. He ſays, "that with one ſtroke of his pen he had "performed more exploits than he could "have done during a long war with the "beſt ſwords of his kingdom." It was alſo ſaid, upon this treaty, that the Spaniards had got the better by arms, but the French by negotiation.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK X.

PEACE brought with it other labours and other cares. The king began by reducing the number of his troops, both French and foreigners: the Swiſs, except three companies of an hundred men each, commanded by the colonels Galati, Heid, and Baltazar, were diſbanded. This reduction was not ſo complete as I could have wiſhed, and the neceſſity of the times ſeemed to require; but my advice on this head was not approved by his majeſty: however, if it had been conſidered that the royal treaſure was almoſt exhauſted, and yet that there was an abſolute neceſſity of furniſhing money for many occaſions ſo urgent, that new ſums were obliged to be borrowed for that purpoſe, I am of opinion that I could not have been reproached with a ſordid and miſplaced œconomy. 1598.

THESE ſums were to be applied to the fortifying a great number of towns, and the repairing of many buildings, that by the late diſorders of the times were threatened with approaching ruin, which it was neceſſary to prevent without delay. Upon viſiting the chief rivers of the kingdom, to ſettle the different claims (a buſineſs which was truſted

1598. to four perſons of known probity) it was likewiſe found neceſſary to raiſe ſeveral works, particularly upon the Charente.

Amongst other political regulations which were thought neceſſary to be made, the king ſet bounds to that prodigious quantity of grain, which it was uſual to ſend out of the kingdom, and which often expoſed France to ſuffer the greateſt inconveniencies from a ſcarcity of her own produce *: by another regulation, all that had no right to wear ſwords † were forbid, upon pain of the ſevereſt puniſhments, to appear in them.

* The moſt juſt conſequence which it would ſeem can be drawn from all the reaſonings we read and hear daily upon this point, namely of exporting corn out of the kingdom, is that which the duke de Sully infers here. It would be unreaſonable to deprive this kingdom of one of the moſt happy reſources and one of the richeſt ſupports of its commerce, by forbidding all exportation of this ſort of commodity: and it would be no leſs imprudent to allow it without meaſure or proportion.

If to find this proper medium, the public and royal magazines do not appear to be an anſwerable and ſufficient expedient, by reaſon of the great expences and ſtill greater inconveniencies that attend them; it would ſeem that the objection cannot be made againſt commiſſaries that might be eſtabliſhed to take care that the granaries of private perſons might be filled, opened and ſhut, whenever the public exigencies required it. This part of political œconomy, whoſe great and almoſt ſole view ſhould be to know and to keep up the proportion betwixt the productions of the earth and their conſumption, by fairly balancing the different years and different provinces, is not, I believe, ſo difficult as at firſt it appears.

† As to the regulation of carrying arms, ſeveral perſons are of opinion that it would be proper to add ſome diſtinguiſhing marks in the form of the cloaths, that might ſerve to make known in public the different ranks of people.

As to arts and ſciences, and the belles lettres: if it be true, as it appears that it cannot be doubted, that it is to the care that has been taken for ſome years paſt to cultivate them in Europe, we owe the difference that may at this day be obſerved among Europeans, with regard to the ſoftneſs of their manners, the politeneſs of their behaviour, their connexion with each other, and the means which a more pacific ſpirit has found out to diſcuſs and terminate, in a leſs cruel manner, their reſpective differences: it appears that, by all kinds of public motives, independently of that of the glory and particular intereſt that reſults from it, a great ſtate ought not to loſe ſight of this object. After all the care which has been already taken in this kingdom, in order to form and eſtabliſh a library, muſeums, and collections of all kinds, that might be worthy of the powerful monarch that rules it, to inſtitute academies where perſons apply themſelves to improve the arts and ſciences; the world expects with impatience to ſee the deſign executed that was formed ſome time ago, namely to accommodate all theſe different parts a little more to one another, in ſuch a large town as Paris, by bringing them all within the ſame walls, where one might conveniently find all, at once, as books, inſtruments, printing-houſes, and in general, all the neceſſary implements, together with proper accommodations for lodging the perſons appointed and ſet over to inſpect and take care of them; and eſpecially, to ſee eſtabliſhed a tribunal of arts and ſciences, conſiſting of proper perſons in the different academies, and paid by his majeſty, to make exact trials, and form a preciſe judgment concerning books, diſcoveries, and

1598.

AMIDST theſe occupations, polite literature was not excluded from a ſhare of the king's attention. He heard Caſaubon mentioned, and upon the reputation of this learned man, he invited him to come and ſettle in Paris with his family, where he fixed him by a penſion that afforded him the means of living as became a man of his character, who is not called, ſaid Henry, to govern the ſtate.

I AM under a neceſſity of ſuppreſſing a detail of leſs important incidents, the number of which would be infinite, were I to recount in theſe Memoirs all that his majeſty ſaid or wrote to me from Fontainebleau, Monceaux, and Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where he paſſed the remainder of this year, and where, from time to time, he commanded my attendance to confer with me upon different occaſions. I ſhall exactly fulfil my former promiſe, in ſuppreſſing all that are not in themſelves of ſome conſideration; and ſhall only obſerve here, that perhaps no miniſters of ſtate ever found in their prince more attention, or more readineſs of expedience, with reſpect to all that could promote either the advantage or the mere convenience of a kingdom, than I found in the prince whom I ſerved. Neither peace, nor domeſtic affairs, made him neglect to obſerve what was doing in the neighbouring courts: the queſtion about the true or falſe Don Sebaſtian * made then a great noiſe in Europe as well as in Spain. He ſent la Tremouille † into Portugal, to endeavour if poſſible to unravel the myſtery, that he might not, but upon full conviction, determine upon the juſtice or iniquity of the council of Spain, which had begun their meaſures by cauſing the ſuppoſed king of Protugal to be arreſted.

productions that might be uſeful to the public. At firſt there was an intention to make the ſquare or place Vendôme ſerve for this purpoſe; after this the old Louvre was pitched upon: but exigencies of ſtate that are ſtill more neceſſary to be attended to, have ever ſince made the execution of this project be deferred.

* This queſtion ſeems at preſent to be pretty well decided, by the authority of far the greateſt part of the beſt hiſtorians, who make no doubt but that king Sebaſtian loſt his life in the battle he fought with the Moors at Alcaar, in 1578; and conſequently that this pretended Don Sebaſtian was but an impoſtor, ſupported both at that time and ſince by the enemies of Spain. See the proofs of this king's death in M. de Thou, book lxv. of which we ſhall ſay more in the ſequel. France could beſides have meddled in this queſtion another way. Catherine de Medicis pretended to have a rightful title to the crown of Portugal, alledging that ſhe was deſcended of Robert, ſon to Alphonſus III. by Maude his firſt wife, who died in 1262. Since which time ſhe maintained, that all the kings of Portugal were no other than uſurpers: but as theſe were points very difficult to be decided, it appears, that ſhe made but little progreſs in making good her pretenſions.

† Claude de la Tremouille, duke de Thouars, who died in 1606.

1598.

Henry, not having yet explained himſelf concerning thoſe great ſchemes which he afterwards formed againſt the houſe of Auſtria, was deſirous of acting this year as a mediator between Spain and England; he therefore propoſed a conference to be held at Boulogne * between the two crowns, and ſent Caumartin and Jeannin, to aſſiſt at it in his name. It was in vain that I oppoſed a meaſure, which ſeemed to me to be founded in very bad policy; happily, however, this conference produced nothing that had been expected from it. The obſtinate hatred theſe two nations bare to each other, gave riſe immediately to ſo hot a diſpute about precedency, that they ſeparated before they had even begun to ſettle the ſmalleſt preliminary.

The jeſuits were not more fortunate in their endeavours to take advantage of that article in the treaty of Vervins, by which all French exiles as well as foreigners were at liberty to return into France and ſettle there; the arret of council which intervened, deprived them of this reſource, and they were obliged to make uſe of other means that ſucceeded better.

The aſſembly of the clergy that was held this year, and continued part of the following, ſhared likewiſe his majeſty's attention, as well as the promotion of cardinals. The ſon of madam Sourdis † was one of thoſe Frenchmen for whom the king procured a hat, although he was too young to be thought worthy of that diſtinction. Madam de Sourdis owed this favour to the ducheſs of Beaufort's intereſt, whom ſhe prevailed upon to ſupport her requeſt.

This was the title the king's miſtreſs now bore, for which ſhe quitted that of marchioneſs of Monceaux, when the birth of a ſecond ſon drew from his majeſty an increaſe of tenderneſs and honours. This lady had for a long time ſet no bounds to her ambition; ſhe aſpired at nothing leſs than being declared queen of France; and Henry's paſſion for her, which increaſed every day, gave her hopes of accompliſhing her deſigns. When ſhe was informed that the king's agents at Rome were commiſſioned to ſolicit the diſſolution of his marriage with Margaret, and that his majeſty was on the point of ſending the duke of

* This conference or congreſs, into which were admitted the ſtates of the United Provinces, was not held till the year 1599, in the months of May and June.

† Francis d'Eſcoublau, cardinal de Sourdis, and archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, who died in 1628.

Luxem-

Luxembourg * to that court with the title of ambaſſador, to haſten the conclufion of it, ſhe looked upon this to be a favourable opportunity; but ſuſpecting the agents, and probably the new ambaſſador, ſhe caſt her eyes upon Sillery, who was already deep in her intereſt, and whom this laſt inſtance of confidence would not fail of binding ſtill cloſer to her ſervice: ſhe ſent for him, and explaining her views to him, ſet no bounds to the reward which ſhe pretended to give for his ſervice and devotion. As ſhe knew what was moſt likely to tempt Sillery, ſhe aſſured him of the ſeals at his return from Rome, though at the hazard even of diſobliging madame de Sourdis her aunt and intimate friend, and promiſed him likewiſe the poſt of chancellor, as ſoon as it ſhould be vacant. At this price Sillery engaged, with all the oaths ſhe demanded from him, to neglect nothing that might prevail upon the pope to legitimate the two children ſhe had by Henry, and to diſſolve his marriage with Margaret. This firſt ſtep taken, few obſtacles remained to hinder her advancement to the throne. She eaſily found reaſons to make the king approve of the ambaſſador ſhe had choſen: the duke of Luxembourg was only ſuffered to ſet out, to be recalled as ſoon as Sillery ſhould be in a condition to take his place. The ducheſs was at no pains to conceal from the court the title with which ſhe had juſt graced her favourite; ſhe aſſiſted herſelf in preparing his equipages, and prevailed upon the king to give the neceſſary orders for Sillery's appearance with all the pomp and magnificence, by which the ſucceſs of his negotiation might be ſecured. 1598.

THE ducheſs of Beaufort at the ſame time, to prepare the French for the change which ſhe meditated for her children, obtained of the king, who had no leſs tenderneſs for them than for the mother, that the ceremony of the baptiſm of the ſecond ſon ſhe had lately born him, ſhould be performed at Saint-Germain, where his majeſty then was, with the ſame magnificence and honours which in this ceremony are only uſed to the children of France. Though I could pardon in this lady an intoxication in which ſhe was kept by the ſervile reſpect the courtiers paid to her children, and the adorations they offered to herſelf, I could not have the ſame indulgence for Henry, who was ſo far from taking any meaſures to undeceive her, that he gave orders for the baptiſm of this child, with a readineſs that ſhewed how agreeable the requeſt was to him. I declared my ſentiments of this proceeding with great freedom; I endeavoured publicly to oppoſe the inference which

* Henry de Luxembourg, duke de Piney, who was the laſt of that branch of Luxembourg.

I per-

1598. I perceived the courtiers would draw, in favour of children ſo dear to the king, for the ſucceſſion to the crown. The king himſelf, after the ceremony, became ſenſible that he had permitted too much, and told me that they had exceeded his orders; which I had no difficulty to believe. The child was named Alexander *, as the eldeſt had been Cæſar; and the court flatterers, by a kind of ſecond baptiſm, gave him the title of *Monſieur*, which in France no one is allowed to bear but the king's only brother, or the preſumptive heir to the crown.

The miſtreſs did not ſtop here; ſhe began to aſſume all the airs of a queen, not indeed wholly through her own preſumption, for I think ſhe knew herſelf too well to have indulged ſuch extravagant ideas, but was driven on to take that ſtep by the continual ſolicitations of her creatures and relations: madam de Sourdis, Chiverny, and Freſne, ſeconded her ſo well on their parts, that it became inſenſibly the public talk of the court, that the king was going to marry his miſtreſs; and that it was for this purpoſe he was ſoliciting his divorce at Rome. I was ſhocked at a report ſo injurious to the glory of this prince: I went to him, and made him ſenſible of the conſequence of it. He appeared to me concerned, and even piqued at it: yet his firſt care was to juſtify madam de Beaufort, who, he poſitively aſſured me, had not contributed to the report; for which all the proof he had was that ſhe had told him ſo: he threw the whole blame upon madam de Sourdis and Freſne, to whom he ſhewed that he was capable of pardoning a conduct ſo little reſpectful to him, ſince, although he was aſſured they were guilty, he gave them not the ſlighteſt reprimand.

One circumſtance added great weight to the ſteps I took on this occaſion both in public and private. Queen Margaret, with whom the affair of the approaching diſſolution of her marriage obliged me to keep a correſpondence by letters, was the laſt who heard of what was ſaid and done at court. With regard to madam de Beaufort's pretenſions, as ſoon as ſhe was informed of them ſhe wrote to me, and gave me to underſtand, that ſhe had not changed her mind with regard to a ſeparation from the king, but that ſhe was ſo much offended at their intending to give the place ſhe reſigned to a woman ſo infamous as the ducheſs was by her commerce with the king, that, although ſhe had at firſt given her conſent without annexing any conditions to it, ſhe was

* They gave him the title of chevalier de Vendôme. Lady Catherine, ſiſter to the king, and the count de Soiſſons, were the ſponſors at his chriſtening. He died grand prior of France, in 1629.

now

now determined to insist upon the exclusion of this woman; and no treatment whatever should oblige her to alter her resolution. I shewed this letter to the king, who judging by it how much his marriage with his mistress would irritate the best of his subjects against him, began, in reality, to change his sentiments and conduct. 1598.

I was of opinion, that if madam de Beaufort was acquainted with the contents of this letter, it might probably produce the same effects upon her. I would not take this trouble upon myself, being unwilling to meet the insolence and rage of a woman, who looked upon me as a stumbling-block in the way of her advancement, but I communicated the letter to Chiverny and Fresne, who immediately informed madam de Sourdis of it, and she almost in the same moment the duchess of Beaufort. But this lady's counsellors were not so easily alarmed; they were very sensible that the design they had undertaken to engage the king in, could not fail of meeting with many difficulties, and they had settled their behaviour upon each: the result of their deliberations had been, to hasten, as much as possible, the conclusion of the affair; persuading themselves, that when it was once over they might give it a colour that should make it excusable; or, at worst, matters would be composed after a little talk, as always happens when things are without remedy. They knew well the disposition of the French nation, especially the courtiers, whose first law it is to be always of the same mind with the sovereign, and whose strongest passion the desire of pleasing him. In a word, they thought themselves secure of every thing, provided the king himself did not fail them.

Fresne having drawn up the warrant for the payment of the heralds, trumpeters, and other under-officers of the crown, who had attended at the ceremony of the baptism, it was brought to me, as well as the rest, that I might give my order for its discharge. As soon as I cast my eyes upon this writing, a tender concern for the king's honour made me look upon it as a lasting testimony of his weakness, which was going to be handed down to posterity. I hesitated not a moment to return it, and caused another to be drawn up in terms more proper. The titles of Monsieur, Son of France, and all that could give any notion of that kind, was suppressed, and consequently the household fees reduced to the ordinary price, with which they were highly dissatisfied. They did not fail to renew their efforts; and in their discontent quoted Monsieur de Fresné, and the law by which their claim were

regu-

1598. regulated. At firſt I reſtrained myſelf before theſe people, whoſe bad intentions I well knew; but growing impatient at laſt I could not help ſaying to them, with ſome indignation, "Go, go, I will do no-"thing in it; know that there are no children of France."

No ſooner had theſe words eſcaped me, than, ſuſpecting that a troubleſome affair would be made of it, to prevent it, I went immediately to his majeſty, who was walking with the duke d'Epernon in the palace of Saint-Germain: I ſhewed him the warrant Freſne had drawn up, telling him, that if it was allowed, there needed no more but to declare himſelf married to the ducheſs of Beaufort. "This is "Freſne's malice," ſaid the king, after he had read it: "but I ſhall "take care to prevent it." Then, commanding me to tear the paper, he turned to three or four lords of the court who were neareſt him, "How malignant are theſe people," ſaid he aloud, "and what diffi-"culties do they throw in the way of thoſe who ſerve me with fidelity: "they brought a warrant to monſieur de Roſny, with a deſign to "make him offend me if he paſſed it, or my miſtreſs if he refuſed it." In the ſtate affairs then were, theſe words were far from being indifferent; they gave the courtiers, who had ſmiled at my ſimplicity, to underſtand that they might poſſibly be deceived themſelves, and that the ſuppoſed marriage was not ſo near as they had imagined. The king continuing to converſe with me apart, told me, that he did not doubt but that madam de Beaufort was greatly enraged againſt me, and adviſed me to go to her, and endeavour, by ſolid reaſons, to give her ſatisfaction: "If that will not do," added he, "I will ſpeak to her as her maſter."

I WENT directly to the ducheſs's apartment, which was in the cloiſter of Saint-Germain. I knew not what notion ſhe conceived of a viſit which ſhe found I began with a ſort of explanation: ſhe did not allow me time to go on: the rage with which ſhe was animated not permitting her to obſerve any meaſures, ſhe interrupted me with a reproach that I had impoſed upon the king, and made him believe that black was white. "'Tis well, madam!" ſaid I, interrupting her in my turn, but with great calmneſs, "ſince you think fit to talk in this manner, I "ſhall take my leave, but I ſhall not, however, neglect to do my duty." Saying this, I left her, not being willing to hear more, leſt I ſhould be tempted to ſay ſomething more ſevere. I put the king in a very ill humour with his miſtreſs, when I repeated to him what ſhe had ſaid. "Come along with me," ſaid the king, with an emotion that pleaſed me

me greatly, " and I will let you see that women do not wholly pos- 1598.
" sess me." His coach not being ready soon enough for his impatience, his majesty got into mine: and as we drove to the duchess's lodgings, he assured me that he would never have cause to reproach himself, that, through his complaisance for a woman, he had banished or even disgusted servants, who, like me, were only solicitous for his glory and interest.

Madam de Beaufort, upon my leaving her apartment so hastily, had expected to see the king soon after: and during that time had taken sufficient pains to set off her person to the greatest advantage; believing, like me, that the victory which one or other of us must now gain, would be the presage of her good or bad fortune. As soon as she was informed of the king's arrival, she came as far as the door of the first hall to receive him. Henry, without saluting her, or expressing any part of his usual tenderness, " Let us go, madam, said he, to your " chamber, and suffer no one to enter but yourself, Rosny, and I; " for I want to talk to you both, and make you live together upon " friendly terms." Then ordering the door to be shut, and that no one should be suffered to remain in the chamber, wardrobe, or closet, he took her hand, holding one of mine at the same time, and with an air that she had good reason to be surprized at, told her, that the true motive which had determined him to attach himself to her, was the gentleness he had observed in her disposition; but that her conduct for some time past had convinced him, that what he had believed to be real was only dissembled, and that she had deceived him: he reproached her with the bad counsels she had listened to, and the very considerable faults they had occasioned. He covered me with praises, to shew the duchess, by the difference of our proceedings, that I only was truly attached to his person: he commanded her to get so far the better of her aversion for me, as to be able to regulate her conduct by my advice, since, she might depend upon it, his passion for her should never induce him to deprive me of his confidence.

Madam de Beaufort began her answer by sighs and tears; she assumed a tender and submissive air; she would have kissed the hand of Henry; omitting no artifice which she thought capable of melting his heart. It was not till she had played over all these little arts, that she began to speak, which she did by complaining, that instead of those returns she might have expected from a prince to whom she had given her heart, she saw herself sacrificed to one of his grooms: she repeated

1598. all that I had ſaid or done to the prejudice of her children, in order to awake his majeſty's reſentment againſt me: then, feigning to ſink under the violence of her grief and deſpair, ſhe let herſelf fall upon a couch, where ſhe proteſted ſhe was determined to wait for her death, not being able to endure life after ſo cruel an affront. The attack was a little ſtrong; Henry did not expect it: I obſerved him heedfully, and ſaw his countenance change: but recovering himſelf immediately, that his miſtreſs might not perceive it, he continued to tell her in the ſame tone, that ſhe might ſpare herſelf the trouble of having recourſe to ſo many artifices on ſo ſlight an occaſion. Senſibly affected at this reproach, ſhe redoubled her tears, crying, that ſhe plainly perceived ſhe was abandoned, and that doubtleſs it was to augment her ſhame and my triumph, that the king had reſolved to make me a witneſs of the moſt cruel treatment that was ever ſhewn to any woman. This thought ſeemed to plunge her into a real deſpair. "By heaven, madam," ſaid the king, loſing patience, "this is too much, I know to what all this artifice "tends; you want to prevail upon me to baniſh a ſervant whoſe aſſiſt-"ance I cannot be without: I declare to you, if I was reduced to the "neceſſity of chuſing to loſe one or the other, I would rather part with "ten miſtreſſes like you, than one ſervant ſuch as him." He did not forget the term of groom which ſhe made uſe of; and was ſtill more offended, that ſhe had applied it to a man whoſe family had the honour of being allied to his own.

After this harſh ſpeech the king ſuddenly quitted the ducheſs, and was going out of her apartment without ſeeming to be moved at the condition he left her in; probably becauſe he knew her well enough to be aſſured that all this violence of grief was affectation and grimace. As for me, I was ſo far deceived by it as to be greatly concerned for her; and was not drawn out of this error till madam de Beaufort, perceiving the king was going to leave her ſo much offended, that ſhe had reaſon to apprehend he would never return again, changed her behaviour in an inſtant, ran to ſtop him, and threw herſelf at his feet; no longer to impoſe upon his tenderneſs, but to ſooth him to a forgetfulneſs of her fault: ſhe began by apologizing for her paſt conduct; aſſumed an air of gentleneſs and complacency, and ſwore ſhe never had, nor ever would, have any will but his. Never was there a change of ſcene more ſudden: I now ſaw a woman perfectly agreeable, eaſy, and compliant, who behaved to me as if all that had juſt paſſed had been a dream; and we ſeparated very good friends.

The

The king being at Monceaux about the end of October, felt some slight touches of a fever, which ended at last in a violent attack *; it was attributed to the disturbance caused by a prodigious quantity of humours, which were discharged by a purge; and as the fever seemed to have wholly ceased, the king thought himself cured, and wrote to me to that effect; observing, however, that his indisposition had left a faintness and dejection upon him which was not usual with him, but that he would endeavour to disperse it by walking, if he could get strength enough. These symptoms were the forerunner of a distemper, which a few days afterwards seized him with such violence that he was soon in great danger, and I had the affliction to find him in this condition on my arrival at Monceaux, with Châtillon and d'Incarville, whom he sent for in the letter I have just mentioned. I thought for a long time that I was only come to see my dear master expire in my arms, for he would not permit me to leave Monceaux during his illness, and often called me to his bed-side. In one of these moments when the obstinacy and continual recurrence of his distemper baffled all the art of the physicians, and this prince himself thought that his last hour was approaching; "My friend, said he to me, you have often seen "me meet dangers which it was easy for me to have avoided, know "better than any other person how little I fear death; but I will not "deny that I am grieved to die before I have raised this kingdom to "that splendor I intended for it; or convinced my people, by discharg-"ing them of part of their taxes, and governing them mildly, that I "love them as my own children." 1609

At length Henry's good constitution prevailed, and his distemper was removed almost instantaneously †; so that the grief into which his danger had plunged us, was followed immediately by the joy of his recovery. He had afterwards a slight relapse, which had no bad consequence: he sent me word of this at Paris, whither I had returned as

* In the following manner the historian Matthieu speaks of this disorder of Henry IV. "While he was very merry with "his mistress and Bellegarde, and laugh-"ing heartily at some satirical verses, he "was suddenly seized with a violent fit "of vomiting, which kept him for seven "hours together in very great danger, "all that time having a constant de-"sire to drink, and still throwing up the "water while the glass was at his hand." Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 277.

† It was during this malady that Henry IV. was very much troubled with a carneous excrescence; which served as a pretext to the duchess of Beaufort, to let him know, by means of la Riviere, his ill physician, whom she had gained over to her interest, that he could, after this, have no more children. Amelot de la Houssaye, num. I. sur la lettre 243 du cardinal d'Ossat.

1598. ſoon as I ſaw him out of danger. And in another letter, dated the 6th of November, which Schomberg, at his return from Monceaux, brought me to Paris from his majeſty, he informed me that his health was perfectly eſtabliſhed, except that he had ſome ſmall remains of that dejection on his ſpirits, of which he had formerly complained, and which he could not get rid of, notwithſtanding he followed exactly the advice of his phyſicians. The ſieurs Mareſcot, Martin, and Roſſet, having, upon the news of his illneſs, haſtened to Monceaux to aſſiſt his phyſicians in ordinary with their advice, he had the attention to cauſe them to be paid for their trouble, writing to me to give each of them one hundred crowns, and fifty to Rignault his ſurgeon.

The king had not yet quitted Monceaux when the cardinal of Florence, who had ſo great a hand in the treaty of Vervins, paſſed through Paris, as he came back from Picardy, to return from thence to Rome, after he had taken leave of his majeſty. The king ſent me to Paris to receive him, commanding me to pay him all imaginable honours. He had need of a perſon near the pope ſo powerful at this cardinal, who afterwards obtained the pontificate himſelf: I therefore omitted nothing that could anſwer his majeſty's intentions; and the legate having an inclination to ſee Saint-Germain-en-Laye, I ſent orders to Momier, the keeper of the caſtle, to hang the halls and chambers with the fineſt tapeſtry of the crown. Momier executed my orders with great punctuality, but with ſo little judgment, that for the legate's chamber he choſe a ſuit of hangings wrought by the queen of Navarre; very rich, indeed, but which repreſented nothing but emblems and motto's againſt the pope and the Roman court, as ſatirical as they were ingenious. The prelate endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept of a place in the coach that was to carry him to Saint-Germain; which I refuſed, being deſirous of getting there before him, that I might ſee whether every thing was in order; with which I was very well pleaſed. I ſaw the blunder of the keeper, and reformed it immediately. The legate would not have failed to have looked upon ſuch a miſtake as a formed deſign to inſult him, and to have repreſented it as ſuch to the pope. Reflecting afterwards, that no difference in religion could authorize ſuch ſarcaſms, I cauſed all thoſe motto's to be effaced.

I had long hoped that a peace would afford me leiſure to examine the finances of the kingdom thoroughly: all that I had hitherto been able to do, was only to alleviate the miſchief; and far from having been able to dig to the root, ſo as to eradicate it at once, the different neceſ-

neceſſities of the ſtate, which always followed each other ſo cloſe during the war, made it be looked on as a great ſtroke of policy to manage the finances without increaſing the confuſion. It is certain that, upon a cloſer examination, they ſeemed tainted with an incurable diſeaſe, which could not even be enquired into without the moſt unſhaken courage and invincible patience: the firſt glance was able to diſcover nothing but an univerſal loſs of credit, the royal treaſury indebted ſeveral hundred millions, no means of raiſing more money, exceſſive poverty, and ruin at hand; but this very ſtate of deſpair made it neceſſary not to delay a ſingle moment the undertaking this great work, while ſeveral opportunities concurring ſhewed at leaſt a poſſibility of ſucceſs. Every thing was in tranquility; the pay of the troops conſiderably leſſened, the greater part of the military expences ſuppreſſed, the king's council weary at length of making uſeleſs endeavours to deprive me of any management of public affairs, almoſt all buſineſs was tranſacted by me; theſe gentlemen diſdained even to come to the aſſemblies, unleſs forced thither by their own intereſt, or that of their relations or friends: in thoſe aſſemblies nothing was propoſed without my approbation, and nothing executed without my conſent; the king had no ſecret he reſerved from me, nor any authority that he did not occaſionally inveſt me with; all theſe conſiderations perſuaded me that, if the calamities cauſed by ſo many long and cruel civil wars were ever to be repaired, now or never was the time to accompliſh it. 1598.

I HAD received from nature a ſtrong conſtitution, a body able to ſupport * long labours, and a mind capable of great application, a natural

* The picture which M. de Perefixe gives us of M. de Roſny, altogether agrees with that which we have ſeen drawn here. "He had eſpecially, ſays he, a genius turned for the management of the finances, and all the other qualifications requiſite for ſuch a ſtation: in fact, he was a regular man, exact, and a great œconomiſt; he was punctual to his word, no ways prodigal, without any pompous oſtentation, not inclined to profuſe expence, game, or women, nor addicted to any thing that did not exactly tally with a man bred to ſuch an employment; beſides, he was vigilant, laborious, expeditious, beſtowing almoſt his whole time on buſineſs, and but little on his pleaſures: withal he had the happy dexterity of ſeeing thro' ſuch ſort of matters, and of unraveling the puzzling perplexities, and untying the intricate knots, under which the farmers of the finances, when they have a mind to be knaviſh, endeavour to conceal their tricks." Part. 3. P. Matthieu gives him no leſs high a character. Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 278. "The king gave him," ſays le Grain, "the poſt of ſuperintendant-general of his finances, inveſting him with ſo great an authority as had never been ſeen in that office before: in which, it muſt be confeſſed, there wanted a man at that time, who would have his eyes hood-winked to every other conſideration but the profenſity

1598. propenſity to regularity and œconomy, improved by a particular ſtudy of that ſcience during twenty-five years that I was near the king's perſon; and, if I may be allowed to ſay it, a paſſion yet more forcible for honour and virtue: ſuch are the qualities I brought to the conduct of public affairs; with theſe, although one cannot keep clear of committing faults, and thoſe likewiſe very inconſiderable, yet (and experience as well as the ſucceſs that attended my labours give me a right to ſay ſo) one may be aſſured that the revenues of a ſtate are fallen into good hands, when a moderate degree of judgment, much diligence and exactneſs, and ſtill more probity, are qualities remarkable in him that governs them. I dare not aſſume more likeneſs than this to the portrait I am going to draw of a good miniſter of the finances, becauſe that, although I have always propoſed ſuch an one for my imitation, yet I candidly confeſs I am far from pretending to ſet up myſelf for a model.

It would be the ſhorteſt way to ſay, that a man who is called to the management of public affairs, ought to have no paſſions; but that we

" king's advantage, that is, to the pub-
" lic treaſure, which it was neceſſary to
" reſtore to its full vigour; and who would
" be more rigid than what either the dig-
" nity of ſome perſons, or the reſpect due
" to others, would have endured at any
" other time; and indeed this great au-
" thority and power, which the king gave
" him, did, in a little time after, reſtore
" full ſtrength to all the main reſources of
" the ſtate." See the whole of what this writer ſays, with regard to M. de Sully, liv. vii.

" He put," ſays d'Aubigné, tom. III. liv. v. chap 3. " the finances into the
" hands of the marquis de Roſny, after-
" wards duke of Sully, becauſe he found
" he had a very extenſive and laborious
" genius, as alſo a natural ſternneſs and ſe-
" verity of temper, which, without re-
" garding the favour of any body, enabled
" him to bear the unpleaſing irkſomeneſs
" of rebuffs; and by that means, filled
" the king's coffers, to which the natural
" diſpoſition of his maſter did not a little
" contribute."

In a ſmall piece, tom. III. of the Mem. d'Etat de Villeroi, we find the following account. " This change in the face of
" affairs, which the ſaid ſieur de Sully had
" introduced into France, that had been
" brought to the loweſt ebb of diſtreſs,
" rendering it opulent and flouriſhing by
" means of his good management and in-
" duſtry, does ſufficiently teſtify his abili-
" ties. The remonſtrances which he made
" even to the king's pleaſure, and the op-
" poſition which he maintained againſt all
" the great men, ſhew his virtue, pru-
" dence and courage. Even thoſe who
" envy him ſay, that he alone was of more
" uſe to the public, and knew its intereſt
" better, than all the reſt of the kingdom
" beſides." The manuſcript which we quoted in the preface, coincides with this; and further may be added the ſuffrage of the greateſt part of the hiſtorians and memoirs of that time, which all agree, that M. de Sully has, in ſtrict juſtice, deſerved the appellation of the moſt laborious, the moſt capable, the moſt upright, and eſpecially the moſt ſteady miniſter that ever was. The ſeverity, rigidneſs, and haughty carriage, which are almoſt the only faults with which he has been charged, ariſe from the laſt mentioned quality, that no doubt was carried a little too far. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of it in the ſequel: but I thought myſelf obliged previouſly to add theſe teſtimonies, to the account he gives us, of his character and conduct.

may not wholly deſtroy the notion of ſuch a being, by reducing him to an impoſſible and merely ideal exiſtence, it is ſufficient to ſay that he ought to have ſuch a knowledge of them, as to be able to avoid their influence: he ſhould be ſenſible of all the meanneſs of pride, the folly of ambition, the weakneſs of hatred, and the baſeneſs of revenge. As I intend only to make ſuch reflections as immediately relate to him, I ſhall not here take any notice of the great meanneſs of treating people ill, not only by actions but even words, and of never giving orders to inferiors but in the tranſports of rage, or peevithneſs of ill-humour, ſeaſoning them with oaths and curſes, ſince, living for the public, he ought to appear affable, and be eaſy of acceſs to every body, except to thoſe who only come to him with a deſign to corrupt him, and never to loſe ſight of this maxim, which holds one of the firſt places in the affairs of government, That a kingdom ought to be regulated by general rules, and that exceptions only occaſion diſcontent, and produce complaints. 1598.

A JUST knowledge of what is due to rank, and of different degrees of diſtinction, is ſo far from being contrary to this maxim, that it is eſſentially neceſſary to it, as well for obſerving thoſe rules of behaviour to perſons of different ranks, which the French politeneſs has eſtabliſhed, as to cure himſelf of that error that his riches and the favour of his king place every other perſon in a ſtate of ſubordination to him. An inclination for the fair ſex is a ſource of weakneſſes and injuſtice, which will inevitably carry him beyond the bounds of his duty; a paſſion for deep play, will expoſe him to temptations a thouſand times more difficult to be overcome by a man who has all the money of the kingdom paſſing through his hands; that he may eſcape this dangerous ſnare, I am under a neceſſity of preſcribing to him to have no acquaintance either with cards or dice.

A DISLIKE of fatigue proceeds generally from the ſame inclinations which lead to voluptuouſneſs, or create effeminacy. A ſtateſman ought in temperance to ſeek for a remedy againſt a fondneſs for ſplendor, and the delicacies of the table, which ſerve only to enervate both body and mind. A virtuous man ought to be wholly unacquainted with drunkenneſs; a diligent man ought to be no leſs ignorant of what is called high living. As he ought to make his retirement in his cabinet at all times, and all hours, not merely ſupportable, but pleaſing; he cannot be too careful to prevent his mind from running on the delights of balls, maſquerades, and other parties of pleaſure; in all theſe trifling amuſements

1598. ments there is a nameleſs inchantment, that intoxicates the hearts of philoſophers and miſanthropes themſelves.

The ſame caution is neceſſary againſt hunting, keeping many ſervants, equipages, furniture, buildings, and all other occaſions of expence that luxury has invented. A taſte for any of theſe things ſoon degenerates into a kind of paſſion, of which the waſte of time is not the only bad conſequence; prodigality, ruin, and diſhonour, are the uſual effects of it: it belongs only to a man who cannot reſolve to live and amuſe himſelf with his own company, to think continually of galleries, columns, and gildings, and to run all his life after ſtatues, antiques, and medals. Do you learn to be contented with a common picture; the delicacy of procuring, at a great expence of money and anxiety of mind, original and other ſcarce pieces, proceeds wholly from an affectation of taſte.

I am, however, far from carrying the ſeverity of theſe maxims ſo far, as to forbid a man, inveſted with a public employment, from having any attention to his own eaſe; and to deny him all kinds of amuſement. I would have him indulge himſelf in moderate pleaſures, and take care of his fortune, provided that he does the one without diſſipation, and the other without diſhonour. It is one of thoſe advantages that attends a diſpoſition not prone to expence, and fond of regularity, that he who is poſſeſſed of it, if he lives long, finds himſelf inſenſibly in affluent circumſtances. To have made a fortune, a phraſe that has ſo hateful a ſound, becauſe, when it is applied to a man of buſineſs, it commonly means nothing but injuſtice, oppreſſion, and cruelty; and when applied to a courtier, nothing but mean tricks, deſpicable flattery, cringing ſervility, and even at ſome times knaveries and treachery, is nothing more than a natural conſequence, and even an act of virtue, where all ſee that the fortune is only the reward of labour, or an honeſt recompence of good actions: that I may not be miſtaken, I will add, that this ought to appear ſo clearly as to force our greateſt enemies to ſee it and confeſs it*.

It ought therefore to be an eſtabliſhed rule, that every man who undertakes the management of the finances, or any other part of the miniſ-

* A great part of the maxims which fill up chap. 8. part. 1. of the Political Teſtament of the cardinal de Richelieu, that treats both of the council and counſellors of the king, is evidently taken from this and many other places of M. de Sully's Memoirs; and chiefly what he ſays of the four qualities requiſite to conſtitute a perfect counſellor, to wit, capacity, fidelity, courage or reſolution, and application. I ſhall have occaſion in what follows to make ſome remarks upon that which ſeems overſtrained in the maxims and manners of M. de Sully, with regard to what is called luxury.

try,

try, ſhould make, and renew from time to time, a kind of acknowledgment of the ſtate of his income; that is, that upon his entrance into the miniſtry he ſhould draw up an exact and particular memorial of his preſent poſſeſſions, and upon his leaving it give in another in the ſame form; ſo that whatever alterations have happened in his fortune may be known to others as well as himſelf. I have already taken care to give the public an account of every augmentation of my fortune, and each new dignity that was conferred upon me, according to the different periods of time when they happened, and I ſhall ſtill continue this method: but as I look upon this affair to be ſubject to calculation, I am going to put every one into a way of doing it himſelf, and ſhall ſhew it completely done at the end of theſe Memoirs. 1598.

My father's eſtate being equally divided between me and the only remaining brother out of four that I had, my ſhare of it, joined to my wife's fortune, which was ten thouſand livres, amounted only to fifteen or ſixteen thouſand livres a year; and as it increaſed but very little during five and twenty years when the king had no means of rewarding his ſervants, this was my whole income when the revenues of the ſtate were committed to my care. I am ſenſible that there are many perſons who would bluſh to make ſuch a confeſſion; but for my part I have already ſaid, that in this reſpect I ſee only one thing that ought to give occaſion for a bluſh, which is, the infamy of poſſeſſing riches either ill or doubtfully acquired: I have neither the reproach of extortion, confiſcation, or unwarrantable profits to apprehend; all that I added to my firſt fortune aroſe merely from the king's bounty to me, ſo that I owe all to one God, and one maſter.

What I had been able to add to my fortune till the preſent year 1598, amounted to the following ſums; an appointment of two thouſand livres a year as counſellor of Navarre; as much as counſellor of ſtate, with a penſion of three thouſand ſix hundred livres, which the king annexed to this poſt: my ſalary as member of the council, having been augmented by degrees, and in proportion to the ſervices the king found he received from me, was, at this time, brought to twenty thouſand livres: the king doubled my company of gendarmes, which at firſt only conſiſted of fifty men, and after it was incorporated with that of the queen, of which I was made captain-lieutenant, the pay amounted to five thouſand livres: the king made me likewiſe hono-

1598. rary * counſellor of the parliament of Paris, but without any income. It was at this time, that Chauvelin the younger had the firſt diſpenſation that had been granted from the rule of forty days, paying for it four thouſand crowns. I ſhall make but one article of the government of Mante, which had been juſt then given me, and that of Gergeau which I had afterwards. Such was the ſtate of my fortune at that time; the courſe of it, till then extremely ſlow, became very rapid the following years, by the great offices with which his majeſty honoured me, and by rewards ſo conſiderable, that when I collect them together they will make one of the moſt important articles. I ſhall take into it his leaſt preſents, and even thoſe which I received from other royal perſons. Before I enter into the diſcuſſion of affairs, and account of the finances which I have promiſed, ſince I have begun to inform the public of my perſonal character, I will finiſh the picture by giving a detail of my public employments, and my whole manner of living, after I was in a public employment: this is the proper place for it, although, in order to ſay all upon this head at one time, it is neceſſary I ſhould ſuppoſe myſelf poſſeſſed of all thoſe poſts which were not given me till ſome time after.

Six days in the week a council was held both morning and evening; the firſt and moſt important was called the council of ſtate and the finances, which ſingly took up the Tueſdays, Thurſdays, and Saturdays, by ſitting both in the morning and afternoon; the king was the head of it, and was generally preſent. The dukes and peers, the officers of the crown, the knights of the king's orders, or thoſe who had a warrant from his majeſty, had a ſeat and a voice in the conſultations: here were received and examined all kinds of petitions on any occaſion whatever, but eſpecially thoſe relating to the penſions of ſtate, which from this time began to be paid with a punctuality that made them be preferred to every other eſtabliſhment, and even to landed eſtates. The three other days of the week were likewiſe taken up morning and evening with different councils, which were called *conſeils des parties*, compoſed of a certain number of particular counſellors, where examinations were

* The letters patent by which Henry IV. made the marquis de Roſny an honorary counſellor, and thereby gave him a privilege of ſitting in parliament, &c. dated March 16, 1602, may be ſeen in the regiſters of the parliament of Paris; as alſo the enrolment of theſe letters, and his admittance accordingly on the 19th of March the ſame year.

held

held of things properly referred to each of theſe councils: if there was any controverſy, it was diſpatched to the courts of juſtice to whoſe cognizance it belonged; and care was taken that juſtice ſhould be done honeſtly and ſpeedily. I was a member of each of theſe councils, and commonly preſided in them when the king was not preſent, which often happened, eſpecially in the *conſeils des parties*. I never failed to be at the council of ſtate, the whole buſineſs of which lay upon me: all the letters and petitions that were to be preſented there were addreſſed to me; and as the queſtions that require general deliberations are not very common, it often happened that in communicating the affair, I delivered likewiſe the reſolutions to be taken; and often carried thither arrêts ready drawn up, that every thing might be diſpatched at one ſitting; and it happened but very ſeldom that alterations were made. I have always laid it down as a rule, that the anſwers which were given for regulating the conduct of perſons employed in great affairs, cannot be too expeditious, or too diſtinct; all the time that is ſpent in conteſtations is loſt time. 1598.

It may be eaſily imagined how much time theſe employments demanded: I accuſtomed myſelf to riſe at four o'clock in the morning, both in winter and ſummer; and the two firſt hours were taken up in putting in as much order as poſſible thoſe affairs that were to be each day brought upon the carpet: a miniſter who acts otherwiſe will leave all things in confuſion and perpetual diſorder, by the different perplexities he will find himſelf involved in at laſt. At half an hour after ſix I was dreſſed, and ready to attend the council, which began at ſeven, and generally ended at nine; and according to the importance of the buſineſs that was tranſacted in it, at ten, and ſometimes eleven o'clock. It often happened that his majeſty, inſtead of coming to the council, would ſend for me at nine or ten o'clock, when it was over, and either alone, or with his two other miniſters of ſtate *, Vil-

* Thus were thoſe called then, who ſince have been intituled ſecretaries of ſtate: and ſuch as were named ſecretaries of ſtate, as M. Forget, M. Lomenie, M. Beaulieu-Ruſé, and M. Potier, were properly no more than four ſecretaries of the finances, or his majeſty's firſt clerks. Tho' it appears that none of the three hath been called prime miniſter of ſtate, yet ſo unequally was the diſtribution of the functions of the miniſtry made between M. de Sully and his two colleagues, and Henry IV. gave the firſt ſo great a ſhare, and ſo much authority in what belonged to their province, that we may ſay he was, in effect, prime miniſter, only that he had not the name: this title was not at that time much in uſe; for the chancellor du Prat, under Francis I. the conſtable de Montmorenci, under Henry II. &c. did not bear it, tho' they ſolely poſſeſſed the confidence of their maſters. M. de Villeroi was at

1598. leroi and Sillery, walk with us, acquaint us with his intentions, and give each of us orders relating to our particular employments: from thence I went home to dinner.

My table generally consisted of ten covers; and being served with a moderation that was not approved of by the lords of the court, especially the epicures, who make a serious affair of refining upon every thing that is eat or drank, I seldom invited any persons to dine with me; so that my table was usually filled only with my wife and children, or at most with some friend who was not more difficult to be pleased than myself. Frequent attempts were made to alter my conduct in this respect, but I always replied to any reproaches of that kind, in the words of an ancient, That if the guests were wise, there was sufficient for them; if they were not, I could suffer the want of their company without trouble.

When dinner was over, I went into my great hall, where it was known that I regularly gave audience, and therefore at that hour always full: every one was admitted, and had free audience; the reply was no less speedy: herein my particular taste agreed perfectly with his majesty's intention. I began with the ecclesiastics of both religions: the country people, who remained last, were kept but a little time in expectation. I took care to dispatch every one's business before I retired; and even sent for those who, staying in the court or the garden, had suffered the hour to slip. If the affair that was proposed to me was equitable, and depended upon me, I promised in two words the execution of it; if otherwise, I civilly chid the proposer, and honestly forbore to meddle with it: if it appeared doubtful, or complicated, I called an intendant, or one of my secretaries, to whom I gave the papers that led to an explanation of it. And such was my management, that the affair was totally dispatched within a week, if I had promised it; and let the business be ever so much perplexed, the council before whom it was laid always dispatched it within the month.

As to the other councils, which were held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, I assisted at them likewise as long as I could, before the increase of my employments had likewise increased my business, and even afterwards; but when the direction of the marine, ar-

the head of foreign affairs, having also the president Jeannin for his collegue. M. de Sillery and Bellièvre, who became chancellor some little time after, had the management of all domestic affairs.

tillery,

1598.

tillery, fortifications, buildings, bridges, and cauſeys, were entruſted to me only, to which muſt be added the affairs of my governments, I was obliged to apply to this buſineſs in the place of the other; and to devote the mornings of theſe three days to the diſpatch of buſineſs relating to theſe offices, becauſe his majeſty thought them of conſequence enough, eſpecially that of ſurveyor-general of the highways, and ſuperintendant of the fortifications and works, to be preſent at the clearing the accounts of each of theſe bodies of people, which was done in the preſence of the governors and other officers, who were called together in a body on theſe occaſions: notwithſtanding this, I did not neglect the other councils, but took care to be preſent when any important affair was debated, eſpecially when it related to war.

I REGULATED my time in ſuch a manner, that I had ſtill leiſure enough for thoſe other affairs, and alſo for many more which I have not yet mentioned. The extraordinary and unforeſeen buſineſs I was engaged in, the converſations I had with his majeſty, the orders and letters I received from him, may be imagined by a general declaration, that this prince not only informed me of whatever happened to him, but alſo entruſted me with his moſt private affairs *, his ſecrets, deſigns, reflections, private diſtempers, pleaſures, domeſtic uneaſineſſes, fears, hopes, amours, friendſhips, and diſguſts; in a word, all was confided to my fidelity and diſcretion, terms which I am juſtly entitled to make uſe of. In all theſe moments to comply with the king's deſires and occaſions, there was an abſolute neceſſity to lay aſide the moſt preſſing buſineſs, to invent ſchemes, to go upon private errands, anſwer letters, and undertake journeys; by all which, the affairs of the ſtate would have been injured, if by giving the night as well as the day to theſe accidental employments, which were not regulated by months, days, or hours, an extreme diligence in reſuming thoſe affairs that had been interrupted by them, had not reſtored every thing to its proper ſtate.

ONE is ſurprized, in giving this detail, how, with ſuch an exact œconomy of time, there ſhould remain ſo little for affairs merely domeſtic: the few moments I could ſpare for them, I was never able to find but in one of the afternoons of thoſe ſame three days; and theſe

* "Never any miniſter had the confidence of his maſter more entirely than this had; and never was any more worthy of it, on account of his fidelity, activity, continual application to buſineſs, and diſintereſtedneſs in every thing that related to the king's ſervice." &c. Hiſt. de France de Chalons, tom. III. p. 255.

I ſnatched

1598. I ſnatched by intervals. It was neceſſary therefore that my wife ſhould accuſtom herſelf to do all that I was not abſolutely obliged to do; otherwiſe I muſt have relied upon people of buſineſs, or upon my domeſtics.

As to amuſements, and hours of eaſe and refreſhment, which were neceſſary to ſoften the fatigue of ſuch extreme application to buſineſs, they were regulated with as much exactneſs as my moſt ſerious affairs; but, like them, ſubject to frequent interruptions: when, by good fortune, this did not happen, I had no occaſion to go out of the arſenal to find them; for it was in this caſtle that I reſided from the time I was made grand maſter till the death of my king, which gave me up to the tranquility of a private life. The exerciſes of the arſenal, which was an excellent ſchool for young people, gave the greateſt relief to my mind, eſpecially when I ſaw my children, my ſon-in-law, my relations and friends, mingled together: the good company which appeared in the afternoon at that little rendezvous, the exultations which were often heard, the air of gaiety without effeminacy, and of pleaſure without negligence, which appeared there, is, of all things which I know, moſt proper to relieve a mind to which, by long habit of labour, all the amuſements of mere idleneſs have been made inſipid. In whatever manner I ſpent the afternoon, when the hour of ſupper arrived, I ordered all my doors to be ſhut, and no perſon to be ſuffered to enter, unleſs he came from the king. From this hour, till I returned to bed, which I always did at ten o'clock, there was no longer any mention of buſineſs, all was eaſe, mirth, and ſocial joy, with a ſmall number of good and agreeable friends.

The office of prime miniſter, though at all times laborious, is not always loaded with the ſame difficulties; and the good fortune of thoſe is to be envied, who are called to it at a conjuncture, when the whole ſtream of affairs having for many years run on in a calm and regular courſe, they have nothing to do but ſit quietly at the helm, content themſelves with a general inſpection, and leave the reſt to be performed by that great number of perſons who act under their order. This advantage I never enjoyed, as may be perceived by what I have had occaſion to ſay of it at different times; and, not to touch yet upon the affairs of the finances, which was at that time an ocean without bottom or ſhore, I deſire the reader juſt to caſt a look upon the different perplexities which muſt be met with, without examining foreign affairs; a cabal of diſaffected people to watch narrowly, and, if poſſible, to break;

break; a religious diſpute to terminate, a powerful party to ſatisfy, and a general ſubordination and ſcheme of government to eſtabliſh and cauſe to be obſerved. Things were in ſuch a ſtate, that of all thoſe officers of war and *police*, of the finances, judicature, and the king's houſhold, of penſioners, and thoſe that received ſalaries from the ſtate, nothing more was known than that their number was infinite, and that there was a neceſſity for learning their names, and marking them all in a regiſter, in order to ſuppreſs part of them. 1598.

THE affairs of war were in the utmoſt diſorder, the regulation of which did not, as may poſſibly be thought, depend upon the diſbanding part of the troops; there was a neceſſity for taking cognizance of all the towns and fortreſſes, moſt of which were ſo near deſtruction, that upon this account, as well as to leſſen the number of garriſons that were ſupported in France, thoſe that were uſeleſs were to be demoliſhed; which could not however be done till after the death of thoſe perſons from whom it would have been dangerous to take away the governments of them.

THE marine alone might have furniſhed buſineſs enough for one miniſter for a great number of years; for this part of the ſtate, which requires ſo much application, does not make a very rapid progreſs; it can be derived only from that quiet and ſplendor which a kingdom gains by peace and a good government *. It is not to be imagined to what a degree the marine, and the commerce that depended on it, had been neglected in France. I agreed with the king, that this eſtabliſhment ſhould be begun at the foundation; that the ſea-coaſts ſhould be viſited, and ports examined, in order to take meaſures for repairing them. That the ſame ought to be done with thoſe few diſabled veſſels and galleys that were yet to be found, till new ones could be built; after which, officers ſhould be appointed, and ſailors and pilots ſought for, who might be ſtimulated to induſtry by rewards: in a word, to ſpare a longer detail, that an abſolutely new marine ſhould be created.

ALL this could not be performed but by degrees, and a little at a time. The finances being that part of the body of the ſtate which was moſt diſeaſed, required aſſiſtance firſt: the greatneſs of the evil may be

* "A nation muſt be very powerful," ſays cardinal Richelieu, after M. de Sully, "to pretend to this inheritance, (the poſ-"ſeſſion of the ſovereignty at ſea) the "titles to it being founded more in force "than in reaſon." Teſtament politique de ce cardinal, part. II. chap. ix. § 5, 6. Cardinal d'Oſſat, in ſeveral of his letters, adviſes Henry IV. to put his marine on a new footing.

imagined,

1598. imagined, by an inventory of the ſums which were drawn from the exchequer to bring over the heads and other principal members and cities of the league to the king's party. This inventory has ſomething curious enough; it amounted to more than thirty-two millions of livres, and is as follows *.

To the duke of Lorrain and other perſons comprehended in his treaty, three million ſeven hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand eight hundred and twenty-five livres: To the duke of Maïenne and others comprehended in his treaty, together with two regiments of Swiſs, whom the king took upon himſelf to pay, three million five hundred and eighty thouſand livres: To the duke of Guiſe and others comprehended in his treaty, three hundred and eighty-eight thouſand livres: To the duke of Nemours and others, three hundred and ſeventy-eight thouſand livres: To the duke of Mercœur, for Blavet and other towns of Brittany, four million two hundred ninety-five thouſand three hundred and fifty livres: To the duke d'Elbœuf, for Poitiers, &c. nine hundred and ſeventy thouſand eight hundred and twenty-four livres: To meſſieurs de Villars and the chevalier d'Oiſe, for Rouen and Havre, comprehending likewiſe the indemnifications granted to the duke of Montpenſier, marechal Biron, the chancellor, &c. three million four hundred ſeventy-ſeven thouſand eight hundred livres: To the duke d'Epernon and others, four hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand livres: For the reduction of Marſeilles, four hundred ſix thouſand livres: To the duke of Briſſac, for Paris, &c. one million ſix hundred ninety-five thouſand four hundred livres: To the duke of Joyeuſe, for Toulouſe, &c. one million four hundred and ſeventy thouſand livres: To monſieur de la Chatre, for Orleans, Bourges, &c. eight hundred ninety-eight thouſand nine hundred livres: To meſſieurs de Villeroi and d'Alincourt, for Pontoiſe, &c. four hundred ſeventy-ſix thouſand five hundred and ninety-four livres: To monſieur de Bois-Dauphin and others, ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight thouſand eight hundred livres: To monſieur de Balagny, for Cambray, &c. eight hundred and twenty-eight thouſand nine hundred and thirty livres: To meſſieurs de Vitry and de Medavy, three hundred and eighty thouſand livres: To the ſieurs Vidame d'Amiens, d'Etournelle, marquis de Trenel, Seſſeval, du Pêche, Lamet, &c. and for the cities of Amiens, Abbeville, Peronne, Coucy, Pierrefont, &c. one million two hundred ſixty-one thouſand eight hundred and eighty livres: To the ſieurs de

* Here the old Memoirs have an error, in the calculation, of about one hundred thouſand livres.

Bellan,

Bellan, Quionville, Joffreville, du Pêche, &c. and for Troyes, Nogent, Vitré, Chaumont, Rocroy, Chateau-Porcien, &c. eight hundred thirty thouſand and forty-eight livres: To meſſieurs de Rochefort, and for Vezely, Macon, Mailly, &c. four hundred fifty-ſeven thouſand livres: To meſſieurs de Canillac, d'Achion, Lignerac, Monſan, Fumel, &c. and for the city du Puy, &c. five hundred forty-ſeven thouſand livres: To meſſieurs de Monpezat and de Monteſpan, &c. and for ſeveral cities of Guienne, three hundred and ninety thouſand livers: For Lion, Vienne, Valence, and other cities of Dauphiny, ſix hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand eight hundred livres: To the ſieurs de Daradon, la Pardieu, Bourcanny, Saint-Offange, for Dinan, &c. one hundred and eighty thouſand livres: To the ſieurs de Leviſton, Baudoin, and Beauvillers, one hundred and ſixty thouſand livres. 1598.

I SHOULD terrify my readers were I to ſhew them that this ſum made up but a ſmall part of that which was demanded from the exchequer, both for the French and foreigners, under the title of pay, penſions, loans, arrears, &c. and that the total of all theſe ſums, after making ſome deductions, amounted, by the computation I made, to near three hundred and thirty millions of livres: this calculation I would lay down here, but that I think it will appear more properly when I ſhall treat of the diſcuſſion of all theſe particulars.

HERE was a large field diſplayed for the labours of a ſuperintendant of the finances; but the difficulty was, where to begin; the exorbitancy of the ſtate-debts demanded an increaſe of the taxes; but the general poverty a diminution of the old: and every thing being well conſidered, I even found it for the intereſt of the prince, that the cries of the public miſery ſhould be heard. It is not poſſible to give a juſt idea of the dreadful condition to which the provinces were reduced, eſpecially thoſe of Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, and Guienne; the theatres of long and bloody wars and outrages, by which they were wholly exhauſted. I granted, over the whole kingdom, a remiſſion of the remainder of the ſubſidies of 1596, which were yet to pay *; a proceeding that neceſſity, as well as charity and juſtice, demanded. This gratuity, which gave the people time to breathe again, was the loſs of twenty millions to the king; but it facilitated the payment

* Together with the arrears of preceding years, for which private perſons had given their bonds to the receivers of the taxes; ſome of which bonds, according to le Grain, liv. vii. being ſeven years backwards, were declared null and void.

1598. of the ſubſidies of 1597, which had been otherwiſe morally impoſſible.

After this relief I endeavoured to procure the country people as many more favours as I was able, being ſtrongly perſuaded, that it could not be the ſum of the thirty millions, which was raiſed every year in a kingdom ſo rich and of ſuch extent as France, that could reduce it to the condition I now ſaw it in; and that the ſums made up of extortions and falſe expences, muſt certainly infinitely exceed thoſe which were brought into his majeſty's coffers. I took the pen, and reſolved to make this immenſe calculation. I ſaw, with a horror which gave new force to my zeal, that for theſe thirty millions that were given to his majeſty, there were drawn from the purſes of the ſubjects, I almoſt bluſh to ſay it, one hundred and fifty millions *: the thing appeared to me ſo incredible that I could not believe it, till with great induſtry I convinced myſelf it was true. After this, I was no longer ignorant from whence the calamity of the people proceeded, at a time when, although commerce was interrupted, induſtry ſtopped or perſecuted, the farms neglected and without value, and every other kind of wealth diminiſhed in proportion, they had been obliged to furniſh a ſum ſo much beyond their abilities, which had been forced from them with the utmoſt violence.

I then applied my cares to the authors of this oppreſſion, who were the governors and other officers of the army, as well as the civil magiſtrates and officers of the revenue; who all, even to the meaneſt, abuſed, in an enormous manner, the authority their employments gave them over the people: and I cauſed an arret of council to be drawn up, by which they were forbid, under great penalties, to exact any thing from the people, upon what title ſoever, without a

* This ſum, exorbitant as it is, will not, however, appear exaggerated, if we conſider, that beſides the ordinary expences of levying it, which were at that time exceſſive, the people haſt ſtill a great number of other impoſitions and exactions to bear. "For France would become too rich, "ſays cardinal Richelieu, Teſt. pol. partII. "chap. ix. § 7. and the people be in too "flouriſhing a condition, if the public "money, which other ſtates expend with "œconomy, were not ſquandered with "prodigality here. She loſes more, in my "opinion, than thoſe kingdoms that pre-"tend to rival her lay out in their ordi-"nary diſburſements." Upon this he relates a good ſaying of a Venetian ambaſſador; to wit, that to render France happy, he wiſhed no other, than that ſhe knew as well how to expend the money ſhe ſquandered without reaſon, as his republic did not to ſpend one ſingle farthing without occaſion and the greateſt good huſbandry.

warrant

warrant in form, beyond what they were obliged to on account of their ſhare of the tailles and other ſubſidies ſettled by the king; the treaſurers of France being enjoined to give information of all contrary practices, on pain of being anſwerable for them themſelves. 1598.

THIS arret was a check to the greedineſs of all theſe petty extortioners, but raiſed a furious reſentment in them againſt me; and notwithſtanding there was ſomething ſhameful in expreſſing it, yet many of them made loud complaints of me, as if I had in reality ſtripped them of their lawful poſſeſſions. The duke d'Epernon was the firſt who explained himſelf on this head, and ventured to come to a quarrel with me about it: the mortification he had ſuffered had not leſſened the fierceneſs and inſolence of his temper. The Provençals had often bleſſed the moment when he quitted their province: no people could be more miſerable than his vaſſals, and thoſe that were too near neighbours to his lands; he raiſed every year, at their expence, a revenue of above ſixty thouſand crowns.

THE members of the council, to whom this arret gave as much pain as to the duke d'Epernon, informed him of the day when it was to be paſſed; and he flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to prevent it. Accordingly he came, and took his ſeat in the council*; and addreſſing

* The quarrel which is here ſpoken of happened on Monday the 26th of October, 1598, at the chancellor's, where the council was held. "The duke d'Epernon "having told M. de Roſny that he was "not obliged to wait upon him at his "houſe, valuing his quality at a very high "rate; the latter made anſwer, with an air "of rodomontade, That he was deſcended "from one of the oldeſt families in France. "Yes, Sir, replied the duke d'Epeanon, "if you will allow that there is ſome difference betwixt you and me. Having "mentioned his ſword, and taken occaſion "to raiſe the profeſſion of arms above all "others, M. de Roſny returned, That he "likewiſe had a ſword, and knew how "to uſe it. To which the duke d'Epernon "replied, That he did not doubt that. "The chancellor then interpoſing pacified them: whereupon they began to "talk a little more coolly; when M. de "Roſny, returning the diſcourſe, ſaid to "him, Sir, you have treated me as if I "were ſome petty tax-gatherer. No, replied the duke d'Epernon, you will "find, that I am not come hither to give "you any opprobrious language. I am "not a perſon to be uſed ſo, ſays M. "de Roſny, interrupting him: ſuch treatment I would not bear from any man "alive. I did not intend any affront, ſays "M. d'Epernon. I am glad, returns M. "de Roſny, affecting to take his antagoniſt's laſt words as an apology, that "you did not affront me. I gave nobody "any affront, replied the duke d'Epernon; "and were even that the caſe, I carry "about me what will give ſatisfaction to "perſons of my own rank, and to others "according to their ſtations. It was, "probably, after theſe laſt words, which "were very provoking, that both of them "clapt their hands to the hilts of their "ſwords. The chancellor and the other "counſellors had often interpoſed, and at

1598. himself to me, made a comparison, with great arrogance and contempt, of the manner in which he supported the honour of his name, with that in which I disgraced mine, by the new trade I had taken up. To this impertinence I replied without any equivocation, by declaring to him, that every way I thought myself at least his equal. This plainness threw d'Epernon into a rage, instead of that insulting calmness he had affected at first; and he proceeded to menaces, which I heard with no more patience than the rest. I answered him with great spirit: he replied in the same manner: and, without further explanation, each of us laid his hand on his sword. If the persons who were present had not thrown themselves between us, and forced us to go out of the council at opposite doors, a very uncommon scene would have been acted in the place where this debate happened. Our quarrel being related to the king, who was then at Fontainebleau, his majesty was so well pleased with the zeal which on this occasion I shewed for justice, that he wrote to me that same hour with his own hand, and praising my conduct, offered to be my second against d'Epernon, to whom he said he would speak in such a manner, as to prevent him for the future from giving me any more insults of that kind. D'Epernon

"length parted them." The 8055th volume of MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, from which I take these particulars almost word for word, relates them, with some other similar circumstances, to shew the hasty and proud temper of the duke de Sully: and at the same time the whole of this account is given us in such a manner as is not at all favourable to him. Le Grain has also this fact in his eye in what I am going to quote. But tho' he agrees, that a minister ought, above all things, to have a great regard for moderation, yet he cannot forbear justifying M. de Sully: "How "was it possible, says he, that he should "retrench so many pensions and salaries "of officers who did no service for them, "refuse so great a number of persons that "pressingly claimed and demanded re-"wards, and have a watchful eye over the "many counsels that were given the gran-"dees of the kingdom, which counsels he "often turned to the king's advantage, "and to their great dissatisfaction, without "being invested with a very extensive au-"thority, and shewing at the same time a "lofty supercilious carriage? The king "too would have it so, to the end that "all might be on an equal footing, till "he had discharged his duty towards his "kingdom and enriched it: for which "reason subjects ought not to murmur. "And in as much as the king testified his "approbation of all M. de Sully's ac-"tions, when his majesty declared to "some of the great ones that wanted to "quarrel with him, that he himself would "be his second; we are not at liberty to "canvass such proceedings, nor injure his "majesty's memory after his death, nor "the duke de Sully's honour during his "life, seeing he acted nothing but for the "service of his master.——God grant," adds this writer, after shewing the wisdom and necessity of the king's conduct, and that of his minister, "that this trea-"sure may be preserved with the same "care that it has been acquired." Liv. vii. I thought this remark necessary to be made, as in the sequel of these Memoirs I shall adduce a great many other examples, like the dispute we have just now seen mentioned.

perceiving

perceiving the king was greatly offended with him for this proceeding, asked my pardon in the presence of his majesty, who obliged us to embrace each other. 1598.

Besides those revenues which the princes of the blood, with the king's sister at their head, and the officers of the crown had contrived for themselves, the people were farther incommoded by the manner of their collecting the revenues. There was not one of these persons who was not a pensioner of the king, under the title of their employments, rewards, gratuities, or treaties made with his majesty on their returning to their obedience to him; and, by an effect of the licentiousness of the past times, it was customary for these officers, instead of addressing themselves to the treasurer of the exchequer for the payment of their pensions, to pay themselves out of the produce of the farms upon which they had assignments; some upon the tailles, some on the excise, others upon foreign commodities, the crown lands, five large farms, escheats, tolls of rivers, *comptables de Bourdeaux*, patents of Languedoc, Provence, &c. The king had no other means of paying more considerable debts which he had contracted with foreign princes, namely, the king of England, the count Palatine, the duke of Wirtemberg, the duke of Florence, the Swiss Cantons, the republic of Venice, and the city of Strasbourg. His majesty paid in the same manner those pensions that policy required he should allow foreign princes and communities; for France has always made herself a voluntary debtor to all Europe: from whence it happened, that all these different creditors set up new farms for their profit, in the midst of the king's; they had their commissaries and accountants among those of his majesty's, and who applied themselves with equal industry to pillage the people. Certainly there never was a more dangerous, and at the same time a more shameful abuse, that every one, and particularly foreigners, should be thus suffered to concern themselves with the revenues of the state; and monopolisers of all nations multiply usuries and extortions in the most audacious manner *, and, with impunity, arrogate to themselves part of the royal authority.

Nothing seemed to me more necessary than to strike suddenly at the root of this evil, by a second declaration; in which all the foreign-

* This abuse must have drawn after it some consequences of so ruinous a nature, that we cannot too much bless the memory of him who had the courage to charge himself with the public odium, entirely to extirpate it; instead of accusing him of a haughty behaviour and stern temper, without which it would have been impossible for him to have accomplished it.

ers,

1598. ers, and natives, princes of the blood, and other officers, were forbidden, on pretence of any claim, title, or debt whatever, to levy money upon the farms, and other revenues of the ſtate; and were enjoined to apply to the exchequer only, for the payment of their penſions, arrears, &c. I ſaw, unmoved, the ſtorm which ſuch a declaration could not fail of raiſing againſt me: in effect, the arret was no ſooner publiſhed, than every place reſounded with the clamours of the lords, and chief gatherers of taxes; from whoſe complaints and exclamations, it ſhould ſeem that they had been reduced to beggary, when they were only brought back to the conditions of their original agreement, and had their payments transferred to different funds. The king, who had great ſenſibility in his temper, was moved at theſe complaints, and could not ſuppoſe them to be ſo unreaſonable as they were; he was apprehenſive that my zeal had probably carried me to commit ſome imprudence; he therefore ſent for me, and as ſoon as I approached, "Ah! friend, ſaid he to me, what have you done?"

It was not difficult for me to convince his majeſty, that I had acted upon principles of juſtice and regularity; that it was not fit his finances ſhould have any longer ſo many maſters, nor ſo many different mortgages; that the farms would produce him an income twice as great, as ſoon as their value ſhould be raiſed by being in his hands, and that this profit had not before accrued to the different proprietors, but to their agents and clerks; and laſtly, that whenever this was done, it was not depriving them of what was their own, but taking away profits which they had no right to. The king comprehended the juſtneſs of this proceeding, but he was perplexed about the diſcontent he muſt neceſſarily give to Sir Thomas Edmonds, agent to the queen of England; a certain German, factor to the duke of Wirtemberg; Gondy, farmer to the duke of Florence; and laſtly, the conſtable, his godfather; the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in his court; and his own ſiſter.

I intreated his majeſty to ſend for ſome of them, to whom I might ſpeak in his preſence. The conſtable was but juſt gone out of his apartment: he was called back: "Well, godfather, ſaid the king "to him, what complaint have you againſt Roſny?"—"I complain, "ſays he, that he has put me upon the level with the common people, "by taking from me a poor little aſſignment which I had in Langue-"doc upon a tax, of which nothing ever came to you." I anſwered the conſtable with great civility, that I ſhould be the firſt to acknowledge

ledge myſelf guilty, if it had been my deſign that he ſhould loſe any thing. I aſked him what profit he made of this impoſt, knowing well that he was one of theſe perſons from whom the contractors exacted the higheſt price for their ſervices. Monſieur de Montmorency anſwered my queſtion; and I aſſured him, that he might depend on being paid the whole ſum. "'Tis well, ſaid he; but who will pro-" miſe me that I ſhall be paid exactly as I now am?" "I will, replied " I, and will give you his majeſty for ſecurity, who ſhall never turn " bankrupt, I promiſe you, at leaſt if he ſuffers me to manage his " revenues as I propoſe to do; and I will be counter-ſecurity to him, " becauſe I expect, that if I make him rich, he will be ſo kind to me " that I ſhall never break." 1598.

The conſtable, who was a plain honeſt man, was pleaſed with my anſwer, and ſincerely approved my ſentiments; he even confeſſed to me, that he had let out the impoſt in queſtion for only nine thouſand crowns a year, out of which he was obliged to give two thouſand to the treaſurer. "All this I know, replied I, and I am reſolved to give " you the nine thouſand crowns entire; yet the king ſhall have " eighteen thouſand, and there will ſtill remain four thouſand for me." The conſtable was amazed; he was not willing to own he had been ſo greatly impoſed upon; while the king in the mean time laughed heartily. However, the next day I brought a perſon to his majeſty, who in his preſence took this farm at fifty thouſand crowns, in the name of the ſtates of Languedoc. The king offered to aſſign me, upon this ſum, the four thouſand crowns, which I had only propoſed in jeſt. I refuſed it, and told his majeſty, that the diſorder in the finances, which I was endeavouring to remedy, having moſtly proceeded from the eaſy temper of the deceaſed king, in appropriating his farms to the gratuities he beſtowed on thoſe about him, as well financers as others, they would infallibly fall again into the ſame inconveniency, if it was not made a cuſtom for men of buſineſs, who ſerved his majeſty uſefully, to receive their rewards only from his hands. The king agreed that I was in the right, and I loſt nothing by it, for having procured twelve thouſand crowns to be advanced upon this farm, he ſent Beringhen with a preſent of four thouſand to me.

I satisfied all thoſe perſons who were in the ſame ſituation as the conſtable; and, indeed, what could be more reaſonable, than that his majeſty ſhould himſelf receive his own revenues? As for all the reſt, whoſe intereſt made them deaf to arguments ſo convincing, I gave

1598. myſelf no more trouble about them. By this article, the revenues of the crown had an addition of ſixty thouſand crowns.

This trouble was ſlight, compared with that which I found in laying open the tricks of the traders: the moſt likely means I could think of to accompliſh it, was to procure ſuch a general and exact account of the finances as I have mentioned; but here lay the difficulty: I was not ſatisfied with that which I drew up, as has been obſerved, in the year 1596, for 1597; nor even for the year following, altho' it was much more exact than the others, becauſe I was under a neceſſity of regulating my calculations according to the reports, and by the accounts of the intendants and treaſurers; from all whom, without exception, notwithſtanding the caution I uſed in chuſing them for this purpoſe, I had reaſon to expect artifice and fraud. I therefore went to work again this year: I collected all the commiſſions of tailles ſent to the ſeveral diſtricts, and all the edicts by which money was raiſed throughout the kingdom: to theſe I joined the tariffs made in conſequence of theſe edicts, and the leaſes and under-leaſes granted by the council to the firſt and ſecond farmers: I compared all theſe pieces according to the knowledge which my former work had afforded me in this matter; and at laſt I thought that I had come for once to the bottom of the buſineſs: there were ſome abuſes in the ordinary commiſſions of the tailles; theſe, however, were the leaſt; there were much greater in the extraordinary commiſſions granted before-hand for the enſuing year; but the chief enormities appeared to ariſe from the under-leaſes: the farmers that took them from the council, and the treaſurers of France, whom the farmers employed, fingered twice as much as had been aſſigned them; and as theſe farmer-generals granted under-leaſes of under-leaſes, the ſeries of under-leaſes proceeding without end, produced a multiplication of charges, endleſs likewiſe, and afforded no other advantage than that of maintaining in profuſion thoſe who did nothing to deſerve it; firſt, the gentlemen of the council, then the farmers, and the reſt of the ſubordination, who kept the trade a profound ſecret into which they had been once initiated.

I was tranſported at this diſcovery; and by the authority of the king, to whom I had told it, I ſtopt the produce of the tailles paid upon extraordinary commiſſions, and, without having any regard to them, ſent word to the receivers, that they ſhould account for it as for any other money, and ſhould immediately remit it. I annulled for ever the under-leaſes; and ordered, that for the future every

every part of the revenue ſhould have only one farmer and one receiver. 1598.
Great were the clamours on this occaſion; but the moſt diſcreet amongſt the farmers, knowing that theſe murmurs only ſerved to make them be taken notice of, and finding that by the ſuppreſſion of a great part of the contractors, places were likely to become ſcarce, came in haſte to look for me, and took the ſame farms again upon their own account; with this difference, that their profit came to the king, the value of the farms being doubled *.

In proportion as my work was improved by my experience, I brought my general ſtate of the revenues towards perfection; it then came into my mind to go on no longer by the forms of accounts, ſuch as the receivers had drawn up themſelves, but to ſend them ſome contrived by myſelf; in which I endeavoured to have every thing clear, and drawn up to the minuteſt particular. When they were returned to my hands I examined them over again with the utmoſt accuracy, noting the ſlighteſt inadvertence or omiſſion; ſo that there was ſoon nothing at all left out, even in the leaſt and moſt obſcure parts of the revenue, becauſe every thing was to be juſtified by the writings which I ordered to be brought along with it, and which I compared with the utmoſt attention. Thus I blew up all the mines of the receivers, which were very numerous, ſuch as, pretended differences, bad money, drawbacks, immunities, privileges of office, payments of rent, charge of carriage, fees to judges, and coſts of auditing accounts; all theſe, and more, were very commodiouſly uſed to the advantage of the commiſſioners, becauſe nobody had given himſelf the pain to rate, according to their real value, all thoſe particulars which, being thus ſwelled beyond their bulk, ſwallowed up a great part of the ſum received; and the people of the council, who ought to have examined them, knew the advantage of this jargon. So little care was taken of the accounts of the receivers, that a man often quitted his employment, charged with vaſt ſums of arrears, which afterwards ſunk into oblivion. I put an end

* Tho' we are more and more convinced of the juſtice of this, to wit, that the king ſhould take for his advantage all poſſible ſhare in the profits of his farms and other revenues; yet we find, it ſeems, and that with ſome ground of reaſon, that ſince the duke of Sully's time, there has not been made, in this reſpect, all that progreſs which his views, and the great care he took, had apparently given hopes to expect. We ſhall have occaſion to enter into this matter at ſome greater length, when our author comes to ſpeak of the farming of the *tailles*, and other impoſts, which is the true cauſe of all the difficulties that are to be met with in attaining to the end he propoſed, and which all the miniſters after him have endeavoured to reach at.

1598. to this cuſtom: I obliged thoſe who came into office to enquire after the men that had gone before them, and uſed the only method that could have any effect upon them. As long as any arrears remained, they had no other fund for their ſalaries and allowance. They then knew very well how to hinder theſe little bankruptcies, inſtead of favouring them as they had hitherto done.

Several paymaſters, and particularly thoſe of the chamber of accounts, upon whom aſſignments are moſt frequently granted, had the ingenuity to contrive ways of tiring out thoſe who brought the aſſignments, by frequent delays, till they were content to take part of the money granted them, and to give an acquittance for the whole. I ordered that no payment ſhould be kept back; and that no money ſhould be taken for prompt payment. This prohibition put an end to all the accounts of the repayment of money payable by the precepts of the chamber, and to the multiplicity both of accounts and charges, by which the king's money was ſtolen to an incredible degree. From this time we had a clear inſight into the finances, and confuſion was at an end.

When the general ſtate, of which I have been ſpeaking, with the regulations and different models were drawn up, I went to read them before the council, in the king's abſence. I eaſily perceived that my collegues were offended at my diligence, and at my neglecting to deſire their aſſiſtance in my work. However, they contented themſelves with anſwering me drily, and in a jeſting manner, that my ſecretaries had an eaſy time of it with me: theſe papers were indeed all written with my own hand *. But as ſoon as I had left them, they acknowledged that my labour had been infinitely great and exact; and that it would be in vain for the future to pretend to hide any thing from me. Two days after, when his majeſty was preſent in the council, I read theſe papers again; upon which he aſked them their opinions of my accounts. They allowed them to be very right, and ſaid, that for a ſoldier I was extremely expert in buſineſs. I know not whether it was they who were the authors of a piece of ſlander that was current about that time, namely, that I had employed † Du-Luat to write a book, in

* The preſent duke of Sully preſerves, as a choice curioſity, a great part of theſe manuſcripts, with many other originals of M. de Roſny's, which he takes pleaſure to ſhew to ſuch as viſit him: he looks upon them as one of the principal ornaments of the muſeum which his taſte for the ſciences induces him to augment daily; and theſe are, in fact, ſo many glorious monuments of his illuſtrious family.

† Ange Capel, the ſieur Du-Luat. There is mention made in vol. 8778 des Manu-

which,

which, under pretence of giving a new view of the finances, I railed, without charity or reſerve, at his majeſty's beſt ſervants. The king aſſured me, that all the endeavours of my enemies ſhould never alter his friendſhip for me. In effect, his majeſty, from that moment, behaved to me in ſuch a manner, as to make me look upon him rather as a friend than a maſter; he intereſted himſelf in all my concerns, ſhared in all my joys, and bore a part of every affliction. 1598.

I SHOULD be doubly ungrateful if I concealed the obligations I received from this prince: with regard to the finances, they were not confined to the ſupporting all my proceedings with the utmoſt reſolution (as it happened when the mayor and aldermen of Paris refuſed to communicate their accounts to me, under pretence that they had no connection with the council of the finances) nor in preventing all my deſires, or with the gentleſt goodneſs conſoling me under difficulties, as he generally did, by propoſing himſelf for an example: his knowledge and his advice, eſpecially in relation to the finances, had often been of great uſe to me; and I candidly confeſs, that without it I ſhould have in vain attempted an enterprize ſo difficult as a reformation in them: moſt part of my deſigns were hinted by him *; and I keep, with the greateſt care, whole memorials written, although very long, with his own hand, upon ſubjects which equally employed us both.

AFTER this I ought to own, with the ſame ſincerity, that moſt of thoſe praiſes which were given to the adminiſtration of affairs in the reign of Henry IV. ought with juſtice to revert to him. Others would have ſerved him with equal abilities and as much fidelity as me; for it never happens that good ſubjects abandon their king; it is the king who abandons good ſubjects. The great difficulty will ever be, to meet with a prince, who in a miniſter capable of managing his affairs, ſeeks not for one who will comply with all his inclinations, and ſooth all his paſſions; who uniting great wiſdom to great penetration, calls none

ſcrits de la Bibliot. du Roi, of a book in which he gives many uſeful hints to the members of the council with regard to the finances: this, no doubt, is the book our author means here. Du-Luat is repreſented to us in the Remarks on chap. ix. de la Confeſſion de Sancy, as a quick, ready, and agreeable flatterer, who in a manner bewitched the duke de Sully, his maſter, with a genealogy, in which he derived his pedigree from the houſe of Courtenay. Journal du regne de Henry III. printed in 1720, tom. II. p. 477.

* M. de Perefixe, p. 225. likewiſe aſſures us, that Henry IV. had thoroughly ſtudied the ſubject of the finances.

1598. to thoſe employments but perſons whom he knows to have as much rectitude as capacity; in a word, who being poſſeſſed of great abilities himſelf, has not the weakneſs to envy that advantage in another. This jealouſy of merit in a ſovereign, which ſuppoſes, however, that he is himſelf maſter of ſome degree of it, creates in one ſenſe more diſorders in a ſtate, than the hatred he is known to have of particular vices can do good.

When I quitted Brittany I left there regulations for the finances, differing according to the nature and privileges of that province; and afterwards ſent thither the ſieur de Maupeou, maſter of accounts, as well to enforce the obſervation of them, and raiſe the value of the farms in that province, as to haſten the payment of the money for which I had ſettled a fund. I likewiſe ſent, for the ſame purpoſe, Coeſnard, auditor of accounts, to Poictou, and Bizouz to Champaigne. I appointed Champigny over the toll of the rivers in the diſtrict of Orleans and Touraine. But for this time I have ſaid enough of the finances.

I will now proceed to incidents of another kind, which by their ſingularity rendered this year remarkable. It is yet a queſtion, of what nature that illuſion might be which was ſeen ſo often, and by ſo many perſons, in the foreſt of Fontainebleau: it was a ſpectre *, ſurrounded with a pack of hounds, whoſe cries were heard, and who were ſeen at a diſtance, but vaniſhed when any one approached near to it. A whale was taken on the coaſt of Holland, eighty feet in length †. The Tiber overflowed in ſuch a manner as to throw down

* Perefixe mentions this apparition, and makes it ſpeak with a hoarſe and frightful voice, theſe words, *M'attendez vous*, or *M'attendez vous*, or *Amendez vous*. He aſcribes theſe viſions to the deluſive arts of ſorcerers or evil ſpirits, ibid. part III. See likewiſe Journal de Henry IV. and La Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1599, where it is ſaid, that the king and his court, who laughed at this apparition as a fable, ſaw it one day diſtinctly among the buſhes, in the ſhape of a tall black man; which ſo frightened them, that the beſt was he that could ſhew the lighteſt pair of heels. P. Matthieu aſſures us, tom. II. p. 268, that one day, at Fontainebleau, the duke of Sully, having heard the noiſe of it, came down, imagining it was the ſtamping of the king's horſes, after his return from hunting. Bongars, epiſt. 184. ad Camerar, tells us, with an air of gravity, that this was the ghoſt of an huntſman that had been killed in that foreſt in the time of Francis I.

† See the deſcription of this monſtrous fiſh in the Chronologie Septennaire, p. 17. and the account of this overflowing of the Tiber, in cardinal d'Oſſat's letters, p. 365. "It was greater (ſays he) than "any recorded in hiſtory; ſo that the "whole plain on which ſtands the city of "Rome was under water a pike's height "in the ſtreets and houſes; and that not "one among a hundred could go to hear "maſs on Chriſtmas-day. This inundation did inеſtimable damage," &c.

a great

a great number of houſes, and laid part of the city of Rome under water. A report was ſpread in Europe, that the Jews, thro' hatred of the Chriſtians, had offered the grand ſignior five hundred thouſand ducats to deſtroy the holy ſepulchre at Jeruſalem. 1598.

BUT the moſt intereſting event, and with which this year was cloſed, was the death of Philip II. king of Spain, after ſuffering, for the ſpace of eight or nine months, ſuch agonizing * torments, as a principle of piety only could have enabled him to ſupport with that patience he ſhewed for ſo long a time: however, this heroiſm of his was quite loſt upon the vulgar. When they reflected, that thro' his avarice and ambition he had almoſt drowned the new world with the blood of its miſerable inhabitants, and on his own ſubjects exerciſed equal cruelties, except taking away their lives, they looked upon thoſe infectious ulcers with which his whole body was covered, to be not ſo much a natural accident, as the effect of divine vengeance. He left a will behind him, which, in my opinion, is too curious a piece to be paſſed over in ſilence; it is not certainly known whether he dictated it in his illneſs, and gave it with his own hand to his ſon, or whether it was found after his death, with his other private papers, in the box that he had put into the hands of Chriſtopher de Mora, his favourite; but this circumſtance, of ſmall importance in itſelf, is likewiſe of no conſequence towards proving the authenticity of this piece, which is clear from many others. The copy that fell into my hands was ſent me by the ſame perſon who ſent one to the king; this was Bongars, his majeſty's agent to the proteſtants in Germany, who had it from the landgrave of Heſſe, and that prince from the cities of Venice and Genoa; and it is in every reſpect ſo exactly conformable to thoſe which were ſent into different places, that it removes all doubt of its being forged by ſome of his catholic majeſty's enemies †.

* "For two and twenty days together "there was, ſays Pereſixe, a flux of blood "from all the veſſels of his body; and a "little before his death impoſtumes that "broke in his breaſt, from which there "continually iſſued ſo great a ſwarm of "vermin, that all the care of his attendants could not deſtroy them." Ibid. M. de Thou, liv. cxx. adds to this a dyſentery, tenesmus, dropſy, &c. and he gives us moving a deſcription of the deplorable condition of this prince, as of his patience and religious ſentiments under it. Matthieu ſays, that he had no leſs than ſeven fiſtulas on two fingers of his right hand; and he aſcribes this terrible diſeaſe to the debaucheries of his youth. He died on Sunday, September 13.

† Notwithſtanding what M. de Sully ſays here, the piece which in his Memoirs is intitaled, *Teſtament de Philippe II.* is neither the genuine latter will of that prince, nor even a faithful extract of it; which may eaſily be diſcovered, by com-

Ll

1598. In this piece Philip begins with a candid enumeration of all the faults he had committed, and places at their head his chimerical ſcheme of univerſal monarchy, the abſurdity of which he earneſtly endeavours to make his ſucceſſor ſenſible of, by his example, and by that of Charles V. his father, whoſe inſtructions he adds to his own, altho' he confeſſes he had not profited by them. To this will he joins the memoirs which had been left him by that emperor *, to the end that Philip III. might always keep them together. The emperor Charles V. being in the flower of his age, and of a healthy and vigorous conſtitution, maſter of Spain and Germany, covered with glory and elated with ſucceſs, formed the deſign of ſubduing the Infidels, and reuniting all the powers of Europe, as well as all the religions, to his. After many years ſpent in fruitleſs attempts, he quitted his crown, and with it all his chimerical projects. Philip II. his ſon, ſuffered himſelf to be taken in the ſame ſnare, and ſucceeded ſtill worſe, which he was deſirous his ſucceſſor ſhould know. The difference of religions, laws, and manners among the Europeans; their almoſt equal knowledge of the art of war, the great number of ſtrong cities with which Europe is filled, and which made as many long and painful ſieges neceſſary; the inconſtancy of the ſeveral nations, who are always ready to obey the firſt comer, who offers to aſſiſt them in repelling a domination which it had taken immenſe labours to eſtabliſh; all theſe Philip repreſented as unſurmountable obſtacles to ſo great a deſign.

He acknowledges that he had not been always of the ſame opinion; that the impetuoſity of youth had prevented him from making thoſe prudent reflections at firſt, and that afterwards two great victories, and the diviſions which tore the kingdom of France to pieces, contributed to continue his infatuation, and to make him reject with diſdain all the offers that had been made him for an advantageous peace. And as he thought he had reaſon to fear that his ſon would not make

paring it with the particular and circumſtantial one which M. de Thou gives us, liv. 120. But it might happen that this writing, which was likewiſe called *Inſtruction du Roi d'Eſpagne à ſon fils*, might really have been a ſecret, and have nothing more in common with the will and teſtament of this prince, than its being drawn, as is evident, in the ſame ſpirit, and in conformity to the ſame maxims, without the precaution that is commonly uſed in writings deſigned to be made public. As to the ſubſtance thereof, it is given in the Chronologie Septennaire, in the ſame manner as in theſe Memoirs, only in a different ſtyle and order.

* M. de Thou finds nothing in the laſt will of Philip II. comparable to the wiſdom of the diſpoſitions, and the dignity of expreſſion, ſhewn in that of Charles V.

a better

a better use of his understanding, it was by a declaration of all that a ridiculous ambition had made him unwisely undertake, that he sought to cure him. 1598.

He therefore acknowledges as a fault, his having endeavoured to get himself declared emperor of all the new world; he accuses himself of a design to invade Italy upon frivolous pretences; to conquer the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, a project which in six years had cost him twenty millions in preparations only for a fleet with which he expected to overwhelm this power: this was the fleet called the Invincible Armado, which, however, was reduced to nothing, at one stroke, in 1588, as soon as it set out; to bring the Low Countries into subjection; to overthrow the French monarchy, by taking advantage of the weakness of the last king, and prevailing upon his subjects, especially the ecclesiastics, to revolt; and lastly, to deprive his own uncle Ferdinand, and Maximilian, king of the Romans, his nephew *, of the empire. He observes, that these intrigues cost him above six hundred millions of ducats †; a proof of which, he tells his son, he would find in the accounts which he left in his cabinet, drawn up and written by himself. He blames himself less for his profusion of money, than that of human blood, which he caused to be shed: and indeed the confession he makes, that he had sacrificed twenty millions of men to his lust of dominion, and laid more countries waste, than all those he possessed in Europe, is enough to raise horror in every mind not wholly divested of humanity.

What has been the effect of all this? This is the reflection which he proposes to his son. Providence, as if it had thought itself concerned to prevent such wicked designs from succeeding, caused him to lose Germany, by the jealousy and hatred of his own relations; England, by the winds and storms; Ireland, by the treachery of its inhabitants, whom its great distance secured from his resentment; France, by the instability of the people, and their aversion to a foreign domination ‡,

* "Philip II. was called, The devil of "the south, *Daemonem meridianum*, be- "cause he troubled all Europe, in the "south of which Spain lies." Notes sur la Henriade.

† P. Matthieu says, that the Indies yielded to the king of Spain two hundred and sixty millions of gold in the space of sixty-four years; and that he might have conquered all Turkey with that treasure only which he spent in Flanders. Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 266.

‡ In the genuine letter will of Philip II. is an article with regard to Henry IV. the omission of which in our Memoirs is sufficient to prove, that the piece to which this name is given is supposititious; and that is, That this prince being troubled with strong remorse of conscience for the usurpation of the kingdom of Navarre, recommends to

and

1598. and lastly, by the great qualities of their king. So that the mighty preparations he had made, and the torrents of blood that had been shed, procured him no other advantage than the acquisition of the little kingdom of Portugal to his dominions.

After this, Philip made a more particular application of these instructions to the person and situation of the heir to his throne; and reduced to the following articles the politics from which no king of Spain ought ever to depart, and Philip III. less than any other, on account of his tender age: these articles were, first, To maintain with France the peace which Philip II. himself hoped to have concluded before his death, and this as well in consideration of his own interest and quiet, as out of regard to his people: To keep up a good correspondence with the pope, and to strengthen it by having always a great many cardinals in his interest: To be upon friendly terms with the emperor and his family; nevertheless, not to suffer the pensions to pass through his hands, which his interest required he should continue to the electors, princes, and prelates of Germany, in order to keep them always attached to him by those largesses; at the same time to take care to foment divisions amongst them, which would afford him the means of turning to his advantage those opportunities that time might produce for acquiring the empire: To be more vigilant on the side of Germany, as there is a greater multiplicity of interests in the northern countries than in any other place. Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, were powers from which he thought there was little to be apprehended; the first, not only on account of its distance, but because the policy of the princes its neighbours, as well as its own, being mistaken, made the king of Poland rather the minister than the master of his subjects: the two others, by reason of their distance likewise, joined to their poverty and unskilfulness in war, were as little to be feared. He took care not to say the same with regard to France, England, and Flanders, which he considered as powers very formidable to Spain, and against which he recommended it to his son, to be always upon his guard.

his son what had been before recommended to himself by his father, namely, to cause this point to be carefully examined by the most able lawyers, in order to restore the crown to its rightful owner, if it should come out so, according to equity. Charles V. had said as much to Philip II. and Ferdinand and Isabel to Charles V. ... In this manner to refer the executing of a disposition known to be just, to a successor who, one might be assured, would pay no regard to it, is what M. de Thou calls an impudent trifling with the Deity.

With

With reſpect to England*, his advice was, to neglect nothing to prevent the three crowns which compriſe the Britannic iſles from being placed on the ſame head; an event which this able politician, from a ſpirit of prediction, mentioned as very near; and for that purpoſe not to regret the money which was diſtributed in thoſe iſlands to make partiſans, and to continue filling them with ſpies, but of another ſort from thoſe that were then there, whoſe fidelity Philip II. thought he had reaſon to ſuſpect. To cultivate carefully thoſe diviſions which a diverſity of religions might produce in that ſtate, as well as in France: he conſidered thoſe which the league gave riſe to amongſt us as things now ſtale and uſeleſs, ſince we had a king of Henry's capacity: but to give occaſion for many other civil diſcords in each of thoſe two ſtates, and eſpecially ſuch as might keep them in war againſt each other, or at leaſt in diſtruſt and ſuſpicion, which might be done, by favouring the pretenſions of one upon the other, to which their mutual hatred naturally incited them. To conſider as the greateſt misfortune imaginable, that ſtroke which ſhould join the United Provinces, and thoſe two powers already united amongſt themſelves, in one common intereſt; ſince from thence muſt naturally reſult a power capable, ſays he, of ſubjecting ſea and land. To find means to exclude all the princes of Europe from the navigation of the two Indies, an attempt which could meet with no obſtructions but from thoſe three powers; and leſs from France than the two others, becauſe ſhe had no marine; a new motive for gaining poſſeſſion of the Low Countries, and yet more of England. 1598.

However, amidſt all theſe counſels that Philip gave his ſucceſſor, he never adviſed him to enter into any war, not even with the rebels in the Low Countries, but earneſtly diſſuaded him from it. The conduct he recommended to be obſerved with the Provinces was, to grant a general pardon there; to require nothing of the people but that they ſhould acknowledge the Spaniſh authority; to watch the behaviour of the governors, miniſters, and officers, that were maintained there; not to continue them too long, nor to give them a too abſolute power, becauſe they would be the perſons whom they would have the moſt reaſon to fear, if ever they entertained a deſign of heading the party.

* They alſo make him ſay at the point of death when ſpeaking of England, *Pacem cum Anglo, bellum cum reliquis*, "Peace with the Engliſh, and war with all the reſt of the world."

1598. If, however, Spain could not avoid engaging in a war, Philip was not willing that his ſucceſſor ſhould be deprived of that knowledge which experience had given him in that reſpect. He appriſed him, that if he propoſed not to ſink under it, he muſt not undertake a war but in ſuch favourable opportunities as might, from time to time, preſent themſelves, ſuch as, changes in the government, civil diſſentions, faults or neceſſities of the ſovereigns, &c. This maxim of Philip, that a prince ſhould make himſelf acquainted even with the moſt particular inclinations of the princes his neighbours, is ſo true, and of ſuch vaſt importance, that no change ſhould ever happen in the ſtates about him, but what he ſhould be prepared for, and in readineſs to take advantage of that inſtant. He concluded this article by ſhewing the new king, that he is anſwerable for his actions at the tribunal of a God who judges wars, and, unhappily, not by the ſame rules which warlike princes lay down for themſelves.

After theſe maxims, which regarded only the government abroad, Philip proceeded to thoſe which he thought neceſſary for the government at home. He held it juſt, that a king of Spain, having nations under his command, between whoſe cuſtoms and manners there was as great a difference as diſtance in their realms, ſhould ſtudy to govern each according to their reſpective character, and all with gentleneſs and moderation: That he ſhould be acquainted with the talents and diſpoſitions of his counſellors and ſecretaries, and chuſe them himſelf: That he ſhould likewiſe expedite all his diſpatches, and render himſelf expert in the uſe of cyphers, that he might not expoſe a ſecret of conſequence to be betrayed by a confidant: That he ſhould be careful to ſeek for men of honour and ſufficient abilities to beſtow employments upon: That he ſhould avoid giving any perſon any great cauſe of complaint, eſpecially thoſe of high quality; he obſerved, that the prince, his eldeſt ſon *, had ſuffered by it; and that he ſhould make a juſt diſtinction between the ancient and the new nobility, in order to advance the laſt, as being generally ſuſceptible of pure and diſintereſted ſentiments: That he ſhould leſſen the number of the perſons that were employed in the revenues, adminiſtration of juſtice, and the officers of the houſhold; and recommended the ſame conduct to be obſerved with regard to the eccleſiaſtics; to which he added, that

* Don Carlos, prince of Spain: it was by order of his father that he loſt his life; and it appears that his crime was rather gaining over the affections of the grandees than treating them with contempt.

they,

they, as well as others, ought to contribute to the neceſſities of the ſtate, not only becauſe they could better afford it, on account of their riches, but likewiſe becauſe it became neceſſary for them to do ſo, if they would not forfeit the reſpect that was due to their character, by luxury, ſloth, and impiety, the ordinary fruits of great riches, and the indolence in which they lived; but that he ſhould increaſe the number of merchants, huſbandmen, artiſts, and ſoldiers; by whoſe induſtry, labour, and frugality alone, a ſtate is ſupported againſt the ruin with which it is threatened by the diſſoluteneſs of the other ranks. All principles, which, like theſe, tend to maintain ſubordination and œconomy in a ſtate, againſt corruption and diſorder, merit praiſe from whatever mouth they proceed. 1598.

Philip cloſed his will with the article relating to domeſtic diſpoſitions. He enjoined his ſucceſſor to fulfil the promiſes and other clauſes of the infanta his ſiſter's marriage. He propoſed a match for the young king, in which he had already made ſome advances, and privately regulated all the articles, which he informed him he would find in the hands of Loo. He obſerved, that no king ever loved his father's favourite; yet, notwithſtanding, he would propoſe Chriſtopher de Mora for his confidant, who had been his own. Philip III. choſe rather to prove the truth of the obſervation, than comply with the requeſt, and gave Mora's place to the marquis of Doria. He required, as an inſtance of reſpect due to the memory of a father, that all thoſe perſons to whom he had given employments ſhould be continued in them; but he expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner with regard to this article, as ſhewed he rather wiſhed than hoped for a compliance with it. He recommended to his ſon the doctors Ollius and Vergius, who had attended him in his illneſs. He mentioned Antonio Peres * as a dangerous man, with whom it was neceſſary he ſhould be reconciled; and afterwards not to permit him to ſtay either in France, Flanders, and eſpecially Spain, but in the uſeleſs country of Italy. Philip concludes this piece with a ſhort maxim, To love God, to endeavour to be virtuous, and to profit by the precepts of a father. It

* Antony Peres had been chief miniſter to Philip II. with whom he fell into diſgrace for reaſons which have no manner of relation to the ſubject of theſe Memoirs: he retired to Paris, where he died in 1611. He was a great politician, and a man of very conſiderable parts: the following maxim was one of his, which includes a deal of meaning in three words, namely, *Roma, Conſejo, Pielago*; that is to ſay, To gain over the court of Rome, compoſe the council of proper perſons, and to be maſter at ſea.

1598. muſt be confeſſed, that in this piece there are likewiſe many more ſtrokes of * piety and reſignation to the will of God, who he ſaid had in mercy chaſtiſed him in this life rather than the other.

The firſt of theſe articles which was executed by the king of Spain was that relating to his marriage with the arch-ducheſs of Gratz†: he ſent immediately after the death of his father to demand her in marriage; and in the beginning of the year following ſhe ſet out for Spain, accompanied by her brother, the arch-duke Albert, with whom ſhe landed upon the coaſt of Marſeilles, for the benefit of that air. The duke of Guiſe, who was governor of the province, having notice of it, ſent to let the king know of her arrival, and received orders to give this princeſs a very honourable reception; his majeſty deſtined fifty thouſand crowns to be expended for that purpoſe, and ordered them to be paid at Marſeilles. I was upon the point of ſending thither, to direct how this money was to be diſpoſed of, either La-Font, or another of my domeſtics, who was only a footman of my wife's, a man of low ſtature and a mean figure, but in whom I had diſcovered ſo much capacity, fidelity, and prudence, that I thought I ought to endeavour his eſtabliſhment: but there was no occaſion for it, a perſon I had upon the ſpot was ſufficient: for the arch-ducheſs, notwithſtanding the inſtances that were made her by the duke of Guiſe and the city of Marſeilles, would not enter any of the great cities, to avoid the ceremonial, but ordered tents to be ſet up upon the ſhore, where ſhe reſted and heard maſs; the arch-duke, indeed, was ſo devout as to viſit the churches at Marſeilles, but went to them incognito, and without any train; and after kiſſing the relics, returned without either eating or drinking.

This marriage united the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria by a double tye, the deceaſed king of Spain having already, on the 5th of May the preceding year, married the infanta Iſabella, his daughter, to the arch-duke Albert, who, for that purpoſe, had diveſted himſelf of the cardinal's purple. This princeſs had, in appearance, a very large portion, ſince it was made up of no leſs than the ſeventeen

* "He ordered his coffin to be brought "him, which was made of copper, and "a death's head to be laid upon a beaufet, "with a crown of gold by it;" ſays la Chronologie Septennaire, where, ann. 1598. we may find, together with an account of all that this prince ſaid and did in his laſt illneſs, the hiſtory alſo of his public and private life.

† Margaret of Auſtria, daughter to the arch-duke of Gratz.

provinces

provinces of the Low Countries, Franche-Comté, and Charolois: but the additional clauſes that were inſerted, that this new ſovereign ſhould be excluded from any commerce in the Indies, and not ſuffered to permit in his ſtates the exerciſe of any religion but the roman catholic, without which the donation was made void, reduced it, in effect, to nothing, by the difficulty he would find in obliging the Flemings to accept of ſuch hard conditions. 1599.

The arch-duke, till he could go in perſon to Flanders, to remove all theſe obſtacles, ſent the high admiral * of Arragon thither, in the quality of his lieutenant-general, who performed ſome actions on the frontiers of Germany; and afterwards his couſin, the cardinal André, who iſſued out many edicts, but without effect. The houſe of Auſtria began to think there was danger in delays; therefore the arch-duke went himſelf into the Low Countries, taking with him his bride, on the 5th of September this year; the remainder of which was ſpent in threatening on his ſide, which likewiſe produced nothing; ſo that there was a neceſſity for coming to open force: and this was the beginning of that long and bloody war between Spain and the Flemiſh, the progreſs and event of which I ſhall take notice of each year.

At the ſame time that the marriage of his catholic majeſty was celebrated in Spain, that of the princeſs Catherine with the prince of Bar † was celebrated at Paris. It was upon this eſtabliſhment that the princeſs at length fixed her deſtiny, hitherto ſo uncertain. During the life of queen Catherine it was firſt propoſed to marry her to the duke of Alençon; but Henry III. would not conſent to it, on account of the hatred he bore to his brother. Afterwards, they talked of giving her to Henry III. himſelf: but this the queen-mother oppoſed, through the averſion ſhe had to the family of Navarre. This princeſs, in her turn, refuſed the old duke of Lorrain, becauſe he had children by a former marriage. The king of Spain demanded her, on condition of a ſtrict union between the king of Navarre and him, which the firſt of theſe princes would not hear of. The princeſs was after-

* Conſult the Chronologie Septennaire, both as to theſe military expeditions, and as to all that is here ſaid of the marriage of the king and the infanta of Spain, for the year 1598, 1599. Matthieu, ibid. p. 298, &c.

† Henry, duke of Bar, who became duke of Lorrain, after the death of his father, Charles II. "The king gave his "ſiſter, at her marriage, three hundred "thouſand crowns of gold for her por-"tion," ſays the hiſtorian Matthieu, ib. p. 278.

wards

1599. wards fought by the duke of Savoy; but in circumſtances wherein this marriage might prove prejudicial to the proteſtant religion, and therefore the proteſtants themſelves threw difficulties in the way. She would not have the prince of Condé on account of his poverty; and refuſed the king of Scotland, without giving any good reaſon for it. The prince of Enhalt made likewiſe his advances. And in thoſe tranſports of anger with which ſhe was ſometimes animated againſt the king her brother, ſhe reproached him, that he would have thrown her into the arms of three or four other princes, or, as ſhe called them, gentlemen, for the payment of their ſubſidies. Laſtly, her inclination for the count of Soiſſons made her reject the duke of Montpenſier, who was a ſuitable match for her. At length, the neceſſity of procuring an eſtabliſhment * determined her to accept the prince of Bar.

This deſigned marriage was no ſooner made public, than the eccleſiaſtics in general, and the French biſhops in particular, then aſſembled at Paris, found, in the difference of religion of the two parties, a reaſon for hindering its concluſion, which they did not ſuffer to eſcape them. The firſt meaſure they took was to hinder, at Rome, with all their power, the diſpatching of the diſpenſation, without which, they imagined, it was not poſſible to proceed to the declaration of the marriage. In this reſpect, they could not truſt the care of their intereſts to one more faithful than d'Oſſat, who nevertheleſs was ſent to this court to manage thoſe of the king. But this is not the firſt time, nor will it be the laſt, that this eccleſiaſtic has ſuffered from me, and will again, the reproach of having not only exceeded but betrayed his commiſſion. If I may give credit to the memorial from Rome which has been already mentioned, d'Oſſat, in the name of the whole party of whom he was the inſtrument, neglected nothing to diſſuade the pope from granting the diſpenſation †, which he was particularly

* "Madame" (ſays on the contrary the Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1599.) "ſhewed on her part, all the ſatisfaction "imaginable . . . ſhe uſed to ſay, *Grata ſupervenient quæ non ſperabitur hora.* "For ſhe was a lady that was very well "ſkilled in Latin."

† Cardinal d'Oſſat, in his letters, does not begin to ſpeak of his negotiation for obtaining the diſpenſation in queſtion, till after the duke of Bar had come himſelf to ſolicit it at Rome in the year 1600, when he reſumed again, by order of the king, the making of new inſtances on this head. He tells us, by the bye, the reaſons upon which the pope founded his refuſal of the deſired favour: "His holineſs," ſays he, "having told at Ferrara, M. Luxembourg "and myſelf, when we required the ſaid "diſpenſation, that he neither ought nor "could grant it, by reaſon that one of the "parties did not only not deſire it, but "did not acknowledge him as the paſtor "of the catholic and apoſtolic church,

employed

employed by his majeſty to ſolicit. Theſe perſons gave his holineſs to underſtand, that if he continued firm in his refuſal to grant this favour, it would produce two things equally to be deſired; one, that the princeſs would turn catholic; the other, that ſuch a change would be thought by the proteſtants an effect of the violence uſed to her by the king her brother, for that purpoſe, which would increaſe the diſtruſt they already openly ſhewed of his majeſty, make them conſider him as their enemy and declared perſecutor, and bring on, at length, that inteſtine war which, according to them, was ſo much to be deſired, for the intereſts of the holy father and the true religion. 1599.

The clergy did not ſtop here; they made remonſtrances ſevere enough to merit the title of threats. His majeſty had the complaiſance to liſten to them, and permitted a conference to be held, in which doctor Du-Val on one ſide, and the miniſter Tilenus on the other, endeavouring to ſupport their cauſe, debated with much heat, and, in my opinion, to little purpoſe; though each boaſted afterwards, that he had vanquiſhed his adverſary. I ſpeak as one who was a witneſs

" nor as having any power to grant a diſ-
" penſation; and in like manner, did not
" believe that marriage was a ſacrament,
" nor that it was unlawful even for couſin-
" germans to intermarry. Theſe reaſons
" of the pope, adds he, ſtill continue in
" force." And on every occaſion, indeed, he ſo enforces them by all the theological arguments imaginable, that there is no reader but muſt conclude, that a man, who was ſo thoroughly perſuaded that the pope could not in conſcience conſent to the diſpenſation, inſiſted on it very faintly; and endeavoured to oblige the courts of France and Lorrain, by all poſſible means, to procure previouſly the converſion of the princeſs; without which, according to him, this affair could never be brought to a happy iſſue. However, we may ſee, on the other hand, that M. d'Oſſat executed the king's orders, and was even beforehand with his maſter in that reſpect, with ſo much aſſiduity, fidelity, and zeal, that we muſt, from his letters, be obliged to do him the juſtice to own, that he ſerved his majeſty, even in contradiction to his own real ſentiments, as much as poſſibly he could. A proof of this, which alone preponderates every other conſideration, is, that in ſpite of all theſe obſtacles, he at length obtained, a long time after, it is true, this diſpenſation which he had deſpaired of. I find in all this cardinal's letters a great deal leſs foundation for the ſecond motive that is here aſcribed to him. In order to lay before the world in the groſs, that which will be diſplayed by piecemeal in its own time, my opinion concerning this prelate's ſentiments on all the different ſubjects whereon he is attacked, keeping always to the conjectures that may be drawn from his letters, is this: He loved the king's perſon: he thought there was no good policy that could be independent of religion: he was poſſeſſed, that the intereſts of the latter are no where in ſuch ſafe hands as in thoſe of the pope, the jeſuits, and all ſuch as had maintained it in the days of the league. He did not at all like Spain, much leſs the houſe of Auſtria, or the duke of Savoy; and he had an utter averſion to the calviniſts. See on the ſubject of the diſpenſation, p. 480, 492, 519, 596, 615, 701, 717, 727, 758, 769, &c.

4

of

1599. of the diſpute, for I ſuffered myſelf to be drawn along with the crowd which ran thither, as to a very intereſting ſpectacle. I did not come in till toward the concluſion, when the two diſputants were beginning to ſink under the fatigue. I know not for what reaſon they were deſirous of making me play the part of a judge upon this occaſion; probably becauſe they were informed I had been employed by his majeſty to draw up the articles of marriage between the princeſs Catherine and the prince of Bar. They were beginning to repeat to me all the points of a diſpute, which had already taken up ſeveral hours; but I earneſtly intreated them to ſpare me either this trouble or this honour, telling them, that if two ſuch learned men had not been able to reconcile the canon and decrees of the pope with the holy ſcripture, or to prove that ſuch a taſk was impoſſible, it could not be expected that ſuch an ignorant perſon as I ſhould be equal to it; and this was really my opinion.

This conference not having produced all the effects the clergy expected from it *, and finding likewiſe that they ſucceeded no better at Rome, they declared, that nothing ſhould be capable of prevailing upon them to give their conſent to this marriage. Little regard would have been paid to this; but as there was a neceſſity for getting a biſhop to perform this ceremony, and that all thoſe gentlemen held together, hence aroſe an obſtacle, upon which they founded their laſt hopes.

In this perplexity the king was adviſed to have recourſe to the archbiſhop † of Rouen, from whom, being his natural brother, and obliged to him for the biſhopric, more complaiſance was to be expected; beſides, his majeſty, as well as all France, knew this prelate to be not very ſcrupulous (to ſay no more) in matters of religion. However, upon the firſt propoſition made him by the king, the archbiſhop, like a devout rebel, overwhelmed him with citations, as often ill as well choſen, from the holy fathers, the holy canons, and the holy ſcriptures.

* This conference was held in the preſence of the lady Catherine: "But," ſays the Journal d'Henry IV. "becauſe the "doctors of the Sorbonne made uſe of "ſuch ſubtil and ſcholaſtic terms as the "ſaid lady did not at all underſtand, the "calviniſt miniſters eaſily perſuaded her "to continue in her religion." Perefixe ſays, that the king not being able to accompliſh her converſion, though he made uſe of threatenings, ſaid one day to the duke of Bar, "My good couſin, 'tis your "buſineſs to break her."

† Charles, the natural ſon of Antony of Navarre by mademoiſelle de la Beraudiere de la Guiche, otherwiſe called la Roüet, who was one of the maids of honour to the queen-mother.

The

The king, aſtoniſhed, as may be well imagined, at ſuch uncommon language from a man who generally talked of quite different matters, could hardly hinder himſelf from laughing in his face, aſking him, by what miracle it was that he had become ſo learned and conſcientious? Suppoſing, however, the archbiſhop might be wrought upon by ſerious arguments to comply, he tried their efficacy; but finding him ſtill untractable, he grew angry, and reproached him with his ingratitude. "Since you carry it ſo high," added Henry, reſuming his firſt air of pleaſantry, "I will ſend you a great doctor, your uſual con-"feſſor, who is wonderfully ſkilful in caſes of conſcience." This great doctor and director of conſciences was Roquelaure, an old companion of monſieur de Rouen's, and an actual ſharer in his debauches, by whoſe intreaty he had obtained the archbiſhopric. The prelate underſtood perfectly well the meaning of this little threat; and the embarraſment he appeared to be in was a proof that he was under ſome apprehenſions of thoſe great advantages which an accuſtomed familiarity would give Roquelaure over him, without the addition of thoſe which he derived from that wit which all the court acknowledged to be free, ingenious, and fruitful in the moſt happy ſallies; and the archbiſhop himſelf was not often guilty of carrying too far the reſpect due to the epiſcopal character. 1599.

THE king having quitted monſieur de Rouen, ſent for Roquelaure. "Do you know, Roquelaure," ſaid he to him, "that your archbiſhop "takes upon him to play the prelate and doctor, and would quote the "holy canons to me, which I believe he underſtands as little of as you "or I; however, by his refuſal my ſiſter's marriage is ſtopped: there-"fore pray go to him, and talk to him as you uſed to do, and put him "in mind of paſt times."

"BY the Lord, ſire," replied Roquelaure, "this is not well done of "him; for it is high time, in my opinion, that our ſiſter Kate ſhould "taſte the ſweets of marriage. But pray, ſire, tell me what reaſons this "fine fellow of a biſhop gave you for his refuſal? he ſeldom has much "better to give than myſelf. I will go to him and teach him his duty."

HE did not fail to perform his promiſe. "What is this I hear, "archbiſhop?" ſaid he, as ſoon as he entered his apartment: "they tell "me you have been playing the coxcomb; by the Lord, I will not ſuffer "it; it derogates too much from my honour, ſince every one ſays you "are governed by me. Know you not that at your entreaty I became

1599. " your ſecurity to the king, when I prevailed upon him to give you " the archbiſhopric of Rouen; therefore I deſire you would not make " me out a liar, by continuing thus obſtinately to act like a fool: this " might do between you and I, who are often ſeen quarrelling at dice, " but ſuch diſputes muſt not be thought on when our maſter's ſervice " and his abſolute commands are in queſtion."

" Merciful God!" replied monſieur de Rouen, " what is this you " would have me to do, Roquelaure? What! muſt I make myſelf ridi- " culous, and ſuffer the reproaches of all the other prelates, by an action " which the whole world agrees is unjuſtifiable, and which every one " of the biſhops to whom it has been propoſed by the king has refuſed?" " Hold a little, pray," interrupted Roquelaure: " there is a wide diffe- " rence between them and you; for thoſe men have puzzled their " brains ſo much about Greek and Latin, that they are become fools--- " and you are the king's brother, and obliged to obey all his commands, " without any heſitation: the king did not make you an archbiſhop to " preach to him, and quote the canons, but to do whatever his ſervice " required: if you continue this perverſeneſs and obſtinacy, I will ac- " quaint Jeanneton de Condom, Bernarde l'Eveille, and maſter Julian, " with the whole ſtory: do you underſtand me? don't let me tell you " this a ſecond time: know, that nothing ought to be ſo dear to you as " the king's favour, which, together with my ſolicitations, have done " you more good than all the Greek and Latin of the others: By the " Lord, it is a fine thing to hear you talk of the canons, of which you " know as little, as of High-dutch." Monſieur de Rouen endeavour- ed to perſuade him, that he ought to quit that ludicrous ſtyle, which was agreeable enough when he was in his youth; and hinted ſomething concerning paradiſe to him. "How! paradiſe!" interrupted Roquelaure: " Are you ſuch an aſs to talk of a place where you have never been, " where you know not what is doing, or whether you ſhall be admitted " when you attempt to get in, till another time!" " Yes, yes," ſaid the archbiſhop, " I ſhall be admitted there, I do not doubt of it." " You talk finely," ſaid his companion, preſſing ſtill harder upon him. " By the Lord, I believe paradiſe is as little deſigned for you as the " Louvre for me: but let us lay aſide a little your paradiſe, your " canons, and your conſcience *, and do you now reſolve to marry

* There is ſomething original in the turn of this converſation; but the author might very well, one would think, have ſpared ſome expreſſions which favour a little of libertiniſm.

" the

" the princeſs to the prince of Bar; for if you fail, I ſhall take from 1599.
" you three or four paltry Latin words that you have always in your
" mouth; farther the ſaid deponent knoweth not: and then adieu to
" the croſs and mitre; and, what is worſe, to your fine palace of Gail-
" lon, and revenue of ten thouſand crowns."

Many other things paſſed between theſe two men, which may be gueſſed at by this ſample. Roquelaure would not leave the archbiſhop till he had made him promiſe to marry the princeſs, and accordingly he was the perſon that performed the ceremony *. I received from both parties very magnificent preſents, in return for the pains I had taken; among others, a Spaniſh horſe of great value, which was given me by the duke of Lorrain: I ſent him to his majeſty, who ordered me to keep him.

This was not the only occaſion on which the clergy were againſt the king; they made a more reſolute and likewiſe a more important oppoſition againſt the regiſtering the edict of Nantes, which always appeared to them a difficult morſel to digeſt: as they had for almoſt a year held an aſſembly at Paris on this account, they had had time to prejudice the parliament, and other ſovereign courts, as well as the Sorbonne, againſt this edict. All theſe bodies, as ſoon as it was publiſhed, rebelled, and occaſioned diſorders that may be better imagined than deſcribed. It was the ſubject of all diſcourſe, every one applied himſelf to criticiſe the piece, and to offer different arguments againſt it, all which were far from being juſt, as well as the reaſons the parliament gave for not regiſtering it: but that candor and ſincerity I have propoſed to obſerve here in matters that neareſt concern me, oblige me to confeſs, that they were not abſolutely to blame.

For example, the proteſtants, by one of the articles of the edict, were permitted to call and hold all ſorts of aſſemblies, convocations, &c. when and where they pleaſed, without aſking leave either of his ma-

* " The ceremony was performed one " Sunday morning," ſays the Chronologie Septennaire... " The king came to fetch " the lady Catherine, his ſiſter, when ſhe " was dreſſed; and leading her by the " hand into his cloſet, whither her ſaid " future ſpouſe had come before her, he " ordered M... the archbiſhop of Rouen, " to marry them, &c. and that it was his " pleaſure it ſhould be ſo. This the archbiſhop at firſt refuſed, alledging, that " the uſual ſolemnity ought to have been " obſerved therein. To which the king " very learnedly made anſwer, That his " preſence ſupplied the want of all other " ſolemnity, and that his cloſet was a conſecrated place."

1599. jeſty or the magiſtrates; and likewiſe to admit in them all foreigners whatever, without acquainting any ſuperior tribunal; as alſo on their ſide, to be preſent, without licence, at the aſſemblies which were held amongſt the foreigners. It is very plain, that a point as abſolutely contrary to all the laws of the kingdom, as prejudicial to the authority of the king *, the right of the magiſtracy, and the utility and quiet of the people, could not have been obtained but by ſtratagem; and it was upon this point likewiſe that the enemies of the proteſtants inſiſted chiefly, in the ſeveral remonſtrances they made to the king, each alledging thoſe arguments in which they were moſt intereſted. The parliament remonſtrated, that this article completed the ruin of their authority, which the clergy had already confined to ſuch narrow limits, as well as the king's (for it was pretended, that theſe two authorities were ſo cloſely connected that they could not be ſeparated) that if appeals againſt the irregular exertion of eccleſiaſtical authority ſhould be taken away, they would have only the ſhadow of any power. The clergy and the Sorbonne complained of the ſuperiority this conceſſion would give the proteſtant over the catholic church in France, which had never been poſſeſſed of ſo large a power in its juriſdiction; and this was certainly true. Laſtly, they enumerated all the bad conſequences which this abſolute independence of the French huguenots might produce, either amongſt themſelves, or their aſſociations with all the enemies of France in Europe.

The king had not yet examined the edict with care: all he knew of it was from a ſlight reading, in which he had, doubtleſs, glanced over this clauſe, or probably wholly omitted it. The ſurprize he diſcovered to thoſe who talked to him in that ſtrain, ſhewed he had been deceived; and he promiſed them to conſider it attentively, and give them an anſwer. When they left him, he immediately ſent for

* "This point," ſays le Septennaire, "the marechal de Bouillon had managed "with ſome perſons, who perhaps were "not aware of the danger of it; but the "ſieur Berthier, who was agent for the "clergy, and biſhop of Rieux, diſputed "it ſo warmly with the marechal, in the "preſence of the king, that after hearing "his reaſons, and in regard of the im-"portance of the point itſelf, his majeſty "ordered it to be erazed." Ann. 1599. p. 66. This account of M. Cayet's agrees with that of F. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 280, & ſeq. ſo that the article of the edict of Nantes, which was ſo warmly conteſted, being apparently the eighty-ſecond, is at preſent as diſadvantageous to the calviniſts, as it was formerly favourable to them; ſince it forbids them all cabals, negotiations, intelligences, aſſemblies, councils, leagues, aſſociations, either in or out of the kingdom, aſſeſſments and raiſing of money, &c. without his majeſty's expreſs permiſſion.

me,

me, and shewing me the edict, I concealed from him none of the sentiments I have delivered here: I added, that by too great zeal to make that article advantageous for the protestants, I thought he was doing them a mischief, in that it would give large scope for all the slander that would be invented against all the worthy men of the party, of their intriguing with foreigners against the state, or of suffering themselves to be suborned. Henry, still more confirmed in his opinion, sent me back with orders to prepare myself to support all these motives in the assembly of the protestants, which he would have to be called immediately; while he, in the mean time, went to demand an explanation of the edict from those who had drawn it up. 1599.

Messieurs de Schomberg, de Thou, Calignon, and Jeannin (for the king sent directly for them all four) were greatly disconcerted by the reproaches the king made them of having abused his confidence. Schomberg and de Thou, in the name of them all, replied, that they had been obliged to act in the manner they had done, by the threats of messieurs de Bouillon and de la Tremouille, who declared, in the name of the whole party, that if this article was denied to them, they would break all agreement, and even commence war against the catholics; which seemed to them of the utmost consequence, the peace with Spain labouring at that time under great difficulties. The king contenting himself with this excuse, ordered Berthier, syndic of the clergy, to report it to the assembly, and to add from him, that amongst four persons, to whom he had committed the care of drawing up the edict, there being no protestant but Calignon, he could not persuade himself that the three others would have given the protestant religion such an advantage over the catholic. The answer made by the bishops shewed plainly, that they had not the same opinion of those three gentlemen that his majesty had; they were treated in full assembly as false catholics, who in many articles agreed with the protestants, and had no scruple about the rest. Whilst we condemn this second imputation *

* If a certain private conversation be true, which d'Aubigné makes the president de Thou to hold with the duke de la Tremouille, when he was sent by his majesty to the assembly of the calvinists, the suspicions of the clergy would not be ill founded: "You have too much "judgment," says the president to him, "not to know very well, that considering "the point at which matters now stand, "and the concessions we have already made "you, the demands which you may make "are not at their utmost height . . . . . "M. de Schomberg is a lutheran, and very "far from being a good calvinist; as for "my own part, you shall know the in- "most thought of my heart." Tom. III. lib. v. ch. i. But it is very probable that as

1599. as it deſerves to be, we ſtill allow, that with regard to the firſt, every thing made againſt the writers of the edict; and that their reply to his majeſty did not ſo effectually deſtroy the opinion that might be conceived of it, as the ſilence they obſerved in his preſence gave it ſtrength *.

The duke of Bouillon, however, had certainly thoſe ſentiments they attributed to him. By endeavouring to come at the bottom of the affair, I learnt that he had in reality diſcovered an inſurmountable obſtinacy: but was there no other means to make the others more reaſonable? and then, what could he do by himſelf? If all the proteſtants were like the duke de Bouillon, what could the writers of the edict mean by this blind compliance with their inclinations? was the king and the realm to be betrayed for neceſſity? as nothing could be thought worſe than that by honeſt and ſkilful negotiators, they can hardly be charged with ſuch a notion. For my own part, I always thought Bouillon the ſole favourer of the project contained in that article, as he had been the author of it: he conſidered only himſelf, and diſregarded others. I will now ſhew the ultimate deſign of all his politics.

The duke of Bouillon, in order to terminate in his favour the diſpute for precedency between him and the dukes and peers of France; as well as the marechals that were more ancient than him, formed a deſign to get his ſovereignty of Sedan † declared a fief of the empire. But this prerogative was not to deprive him of all communication with the proteſtant French lords, otherwiſe he would loſe more than he gained. The medium he thought upon to reconcile his intereſt with his ambition, was to have his church of Sedan comprehended in the proteſtant churches of France. This he did by means of the article in queſtion: mean time he would continue to make himſelf be treated as a foreign prince.

Berthier came back to the king, to give him an account of the diſpoſition in which he found the prelates of the aſſembly, together with the reſult of their deliberations; which was to take from the four

d'Aubigné has related this converſation upon the credit of perſons not to be depended on, as alſo ſome other points of his hiſtory, which at that time drew an arret of parliament upon that work.

* M. de Sully's ſincerity in all this is ſo remarkable, that we cannot, in my opinion, ſufficiently admire it in a proteſtant.

† Conſult l'Hiſtoire du duc de Bouillon, which we have quoted ſeveral times already, liv. v.

perſons

1599.

perſons who drew up the edict all cognizance of the affairs of religion; and the diſputed article, and ſome others leſs eſſential, ſhould be mended; which his majeſty likewiſe promiſed.

Nevertheleſs, the aſſembly of the chief proteſtants then at Paris having been ſummoned the day after that in which this agreement betwixt the king and the commiſſaries was made, I received, as uſual, a note inviting me to be there. I had left off going to theſe aſſemblies, ever ſince I perceived that my preſence laid a reſtraint upon three or four of the leading men in it, and was good for nothing but to produce altercations. I deceived them, by preſenting myſelf at this. The duke of Bouillon eaſily comprehended the deſign which had brought me there thus contrary to my uſual cuſtom, and hinted as much with an ironical ſeverity; which I anſwered, by excuſing myſelf on account of the multiplicity of affairs that took up my time, and by feigning not to know the occaſion on which the preſent aſſembly was held. I gave no attention to the ſullen air which the duke de la Tremouille aſſumed, nor the expreſſion he let fall to intimate, that he was not perſuaded of the truth of what I ſaid; but went and ſeated myſelf near meſſieurs de Moüy, de Clermont, and de Sainte-Marie-du-Mont, who informed me of the buſineſs that was to be brought upon the carpet; aſſuring me, that the article which had made ſo much noiſe was diſapproved of by almoſt all the proteſtants; and that none but meſſieurs de Bouillon, de la Tremouille, du Pleſſis, and ſome others of the cabal, inſiſted on it, in order to bring on a civil war. They could not obtain their point, notwithſtanding the tumults they had occaſioned, and the clamours they made in the aſſembly. When it came to the vote it was carried againſt them, the contrary opinion prevailed, and with reaſon, for the beſt arguments were on our ſide *.

* The edict of Nantes was at length verified on Thurſday the 25th of February this ſame year, after many difficulties ſtarted by the clergy, the univerſity, and parliament. It was upon this occaſion that Henry IV. told the biſhops; "You have "exhorted me concerning my duty; let "me now exhort you concerning yours: "let us excite a mutual emulation in each "other, which of us ſhall perform their "parts the beſt. My predeceſſors gave you "good words; but I, with my grey jacket "on, will ſhew you good deeds: though "I am all grizzled without, yet I am all "gold within: I will look into your pa-"pers, and anſwer them as favourably as "I can." The following was the return he made to the parliament, when they came to make him remonſtrances; "You "ſee me in my cloſet, where I come to "ſpeak with you, not in my royal robes, "nor with my ſword and other military "habiliments on, as my predeceſſors "were wont, nor like a prince who "is to receive an ambaſſador, but clad "like the father of a family, in his plain "doublet, to ſpeak familiarly with his "children; what I have to ſay to you is,

They

1599. They likewiſe agreed upon ſome qualifications with regard to two or three other articles, in which the public good did not ſeem to be ſufficiently conſidered. The juſtice and mildneſs of Henry's conduct was acknowledged by every one. After the affair was thus ſettled, he explained his motives to the greater number; and for the reſt, he thought only of hindering them from doing worſe.

He acted with the ſame prudence with reſpect to ſome diſaffected catholics, who being unwilling to appear openly themſelves, brought one Martha Broſſier, a pretended demoniac, in play, who was become the object of the people's curioſity, who are always ſtruck with the marvellous, whether true or falſe. It is indeed ſurprizing, that a matter ſo ridiculous in itſelf, and which was even below the conſideration of the mob, ſhould be talked of for a year and a half, and become an affair of ſtate: one half of the world ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled by every thing that ſeems to be ſupernatural, and others are kept in awe, not by the thing itſelf, but by the motives upon which it is founded. Martha Broſſier met with many protectors among the clergy, even as far as Rome, whither ſhe took care to be carried. The king, without any extraordinary notice, allowed * both the time and means

" to intreat you would regiſter, with the " uſual ſolemnities, the edict which I have " granted to thoſe of the calviniſt religion. " What I have done is for the ſake of " peace, which I have concluded with the " neighbouring powers around me, and " would have the ſame obſerved within " my own dominions." After he had told them the reaſons that induced him to make this edict, he added; " Such as would hin- " der my edict from paſſing, are for war, " which I will to-morrow declare againſt " the proteſtants, but I will not carry it " on, I will ſend them to it. I made the " edict, and would have it obſerved: my " will ought to be a ſufficient reaſon; for " in an obedient ſtate they never aſk their " prince any other. I am king, I ſpeak to " you as ſuch, and I will be obeyed." Peref. ibid. and Journal de Henry IV. ibid. See alſo in M. de Thou, and in le Septennaire, ann. 1599. the ſeveral modifications which were added to the edict of Nantes, and all the conferences held on this occaſion.

* We have a very curious account of all that relates to this pretended demoniac in M. de Thou, at the beginning of book cxxiii. ann. 1599. an abſtract of which is as follows: One James Broffier, a baker at Romorantin in Sologne, taking a diſlike to his own trade, turned conjurer, with a deſign to travel about the country with his three daughters, Martha, Silvina, and Mary; the eldeſt, who is the perſon ſpoken of here, had ſucceeded ſo well, by the inſtructions which her father had given her, to counterfeit a demoniac, that ſhe impoſed upon every body at Orleans and Cleri, except Charles Miron, biſhop of Angers, who found out the impoſture, by putting common water in the place of holy water, and holy in the place of common; by repeating a verſe from Virgil inſtead of the beginning of the exorciſm, and touching her with a key inſtead of his epiſcopal croſier. This did not hinder her from coming to Paris, where ſhe pitched on the church of St. Genevieve for the ſcene on which to ſhew herſelf to the people, who flocked thither in neceſſary

neceſſary to make itſelf known: after which, the whole trick ended in the general contempt of its authors and actreſſes. 1509.

The death of a great many perſons of diſtinction afforded matter for other diſcourſe. The chancellor de Chiverney, Schomberg, and d'Incarville; all three members of the council of finances, dying within a ſhort time of each other, occaſioned a great alteration of affairs: the ſeals were given to Bellievre; the office of comptroller-general, which d'Incarville had poſſeſſed, was, at my ſolicitation, granted to de Vienne; and that of ſuperintendant of the finances was reſtored in my favour. Henry having ſent for me to the garden of the Tuilleries, where he was walking, told me that he was reſolved to entruſt the care of the finances to one man only; and aſſuming a very ſerious manner, made me promiſe to give freely my opinion of that man, when he ſhould name him to me. Having aſſured him that I would, he ſmiled, and tapping my cheek, told me, that I had reaſon to know him well, ſince it was myſelf. His majeſty beſtowed on me likewiſe the poſt of ſurveyor of the highways, for which he ſent me the patents, together with thoſe of ſuperintendant of the fortifications. And Sancy, reſigning himſelf up to his uſual whims *, having thought proper to retire from the council, and to give up the office of overſeer of the works, the king added theſe employments likewiſe to the other favours he had loaded me with. The appointments for the ſuperintendancy were ſettled at the rate of twenty thouſand livres; thoſe of

great numbers. She impoſed upon all the credulous eccleſiaſtics, and upon the capuchins, who began to exerciſe her in good earneſt; and even upon ſome phyſicians whom Henry IV. had ſent to ſee her: though all the reſt depoſed formally againſt her, eſpecially Michael Mareſcot, one of the phyſicians, who publicly convicted her of not underſtanding Greek or Latin, and having no greater capacity than what is common to her ſex; and, in ſhort, of being an impoſtor and arrant cheat. But notwithſtanding all this, the eccleſiaſtics and preachers knew ſo well how to intereſt religion in this affair, and the pretended demoniac played her part ſo well, that the arret of parliament, that enjoined her, as alſo her father, to return home, how wiſe and reaſonable ſoever it was, occaſioned ſtrange murmurings, and almoſt a revolt in Paris: and this gave the king a deal o. uneaſineſs, who ſaw, that what enemies he had remaining of the old league, did appear again on this occaſion. Alexander de la Rochefoucault, lord of Saint-Martin, and count de Randan, even undertook to revive this affair, by cauſing Martha to be ſent to Avignon, and thence to Rome, where ſhe gained ſtill more partiſans. But, unluckily for her, cardinal d'Oſſat was there, who employed himſelf ſo effectually in this affair, that at length Martha and all her family ſaw themſelves utterly abandoned; and they lived and died deſpiſed and quite miſerable. Conſult alſo the other hiſtorians.

* Joſeph Scaliger ſpeaks, as well as our author, of M. de Sancy as a fanatic, and as very ſubject to enthuſiaſtic reveries.

1599. ſurveyor of the highways, and of Paris in particular, were ten thouſand livres.

His majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with this method of fixing the rate of ſalaries, that he was likewiſe deſirous of regulating in the ſame manner the rewards he propoſed to grant me, as well, he ſaid, to prevent me from expecting a gratuity for every conſiderable ſervice I did him, as to ſpare himſelf the trouble of cauſing all the preſents he made me to be regiſtered, ſince without that, I would not receive any from him, however little their value was: he therefore declared to me, that all thoſe rewards and preſents ſhould for the future be comprized in one ſettled gratuity which ſhould be paid me the beginning of every year, in the form of letters patents, regiſtered by the parliament; and aſked me beforehand if I was ſatisfied with the ſum, which was ſixty thouſand livres: adding, that it was his deſire, that with this money I ſhould purchaſe eſtates, which I ſhould be at liberty to diſpoſe of in favour of thoſe of my children who made themſelves moſt worthy of my affection, in order to keep them more firmly attached to me. This goodneſs of the king's merited my moſt grateful acknowledgments. However, this regulation which I have mentioned here was not made till the year 1600, and did not begin to take place till the year 1601.

Mademoiselle de Bourbon * died likewiſe this year: and monſieur d'Eſpinac †, archbiſhop of Lyons, who may be ſaid to have taſted all kinds of fortunes; then madam la Connetable; and after her madam de Beaufort: theſe two laſt deaths made a prodigious noiſe every where, and were attended with a great ſimilarity of very uncommon circumſtances; both were ſeized with a violent diſtemper, that laſted only three or four days; and both, though extremely beautiful, became horribly diſfigured, which, together with ſome other ſymptoms, that at any other time would have been thought natural, or only the effects of poiſon, raiſed a report in the world, that the deaths of theſe two young ladies, as well as their elevation, was the work of the devil, who made them pay for that ſhort felicity he had procured them. And this was certainly believed, not only amongſt the people

* She was daughter to Henry I. the prince of Conde, by his firſt wife, the princeſs of Nevers, marchioneſs de l'Iſle, &c.

† Peter d'Eſpinac: he had been a great partiſan of the league: however, P. Matthieu aſſures, that he had done conſiderable ſervices to Henry IV. againſt Spain, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 308. where he gives an elogium of his virtues. M. de Thou, on the contrary, repreſents him, in book cx. as an inceſtuous and ſimonical perſon.

generally

generally credulous to a high degree of folly, but the courtiers themselves: so prevalent at that time was the infection of trading in the occult sciences, and so great was the hatred and envy to these two ladies, on account of the high rank they enjoyed. 1599.

This is what was related of the constable's * lady, and (as it is said) by the ladies that were then at her house: She was conversing gayly with them in her closet, when one of her women entered in great terror, and told her that a certain person, who called himself a gentleman, and had indeed a good presence, saving that he was quite black, and of a gigantic stature, had just entered her anti-chamber, and desired to speak to her about affairs of great consequence, which he could not communicate to any but her. At every circumstance relating to this extraordinary courier, which the woman was ordered to describe minutely, the lady was seen to turn pale, and was so oppressed with grief, that she could scarce tell her woman to intreat the gentleman, in her name, to defer his visit to another time; to which he replied, in a tone that filled the messenger with horror, that since the lady would not come willingly, he would take the trouble to go and seek her in her closet. She, who was still more afraid of a public than a private audience, resolved at last to go to him, but with all the marks of a deep despair.

The terrible message performed, she returned to her company, bathed in tears, and half dead with dismay; she had only time to speak a few words to take leave of them, particularly of three ladies who were her friends, and to assure them that she should never see them more. That instant she was seized with exquisite pains, and died at the end of three days, inspiring all who saw her with horror at the frightful change of every feature in her face. Of this story the wise thought as they ought to think.

Madam de Beaufort was the weakest of her sex with regard to divination; she made no secret of her consulting with astrologers, and always had a great many of them about her, who never quitted her; and what is most surprizing, although she always, doubtless, paid them well, yet they never foretold her any thing but what was disagree-

* Louisa de Budos, second wife to Henry, Constable de Montmorency, was daughter to James de Budos, viscount de Portes.

1599. able*: one ſaid, that ſhe would never be married but once; another, that ſhe ſhould die young; a third, that ſhe ſhould take care of being with child; and a fourth, that ſhe ſhould be betrayed by one of her friends. Hence proceeded that melancholy which oppreſſed her, and which ſhe could never afterwards get rid of. Gracienne, one of her women, has ſince told me, that ſhe would retire from all company to paſs whole nights in grief, and in weeping on account of theſe predictions.

Being then far advanced in her pregnancy, many perſons will be at no loſs to gueſs the cauſe of this misfortune which attended it. She was already greatly indiſpoſed both in body and mind, when, at the latter end of Lent, ſhe was deſirous of making one of the party with the king at Fontainebleau: ſhe ſtaid there but a few days. The king, who was not willing to incur the cenſure of keeping this lady with him during the Eaſter holidays, intreated him to leave him to ſpend them at Fontainebleau, and to return herſelf to Paris†. Madam de Beaufort received this order with tears, it was ſtill worſe when they came to part; Henry, on his ſide, more paſſionately fond than ever of this lady, who had already brought him two ſons, and a daughter, named Henrietta, did himſelf equal violence. He conducted her halfway to Paris‡; and although they propoſed only an abſence of a few days, yet they dreaded the moment of parting, as if it had been for a much longer time. Thoſe who are inclined to give faith to preſages will lay ſome ſtreſs upon this relation. The two lovers ſeveral times renewed their parting endearments, and in every thing they ſaid to each other at that moment, ſome people have pretended to find proofs of thoſe preſages of an inevitable fate.

Madam de Beaufort ſpoke to the king as if for the laſt time‖; ſhe recommended to him her children, her houſe of Monceaux, and her domeſtics: the king liſtened to her, but, inſtead of comforting her, gave way to a ſympathizing grief. Again they took leave of each other, and a ſecret emotion again drew them to each other's arms. Henry

* The weakneſs of M. de Sully, in believing judicial aſtrology, diſcovers itſelf in a thouſand places in his Memoirs, in ſpite of all his caution.

† According to P. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 316. ſhe came to Paris, in order to have the articles of the purchaſe of Chateauneuf in Perche expedited.

‡ At Melun ſhe lay the day before, whence the king conducted her to the boat in which ſhe embarked to come down to the arſenal.

‖ D'Aubigné ſpeaks in the ſame manner of this parting, tom. liv. v. ch. 3.

would

would not so easily have torn himself from her, if the marechal d'Ornano, Roquelaure, and Frontenac, had not taken him away by force. 1599.
At length they prevailed upon him to return to Fontainebleau; and the last words he said was, to recommend his mistress to the conduct of la Varenne, with orders to provide every thing she wanted, and to conduct her safely to the house of Zamet, to whom he had chosen to confide the care of a person so dear to him.

I was at Paris when the duchess of Beaufort arrived there; and intending to go with my wife a few days after to receive the communion at Rosny, whither I carried the prince and princess of Orange, to whom I was desirous of shewing the new buildings which the king's liberality had enabled me to raise there; I thought I was under a necessity of waiting upon this lady to take my leave of her. She no longer remembered any thing that had passed at Saint-Germain, but gave me a most obliging reception: not daring to explain herself clearly upon that compliance with her projects to which she so ardently wished to bring me, she contented herself with endeavouring to engage me in her interests, by mingling with those civilities which she shewed but to few persons, words that carried a double sense, and hinted to me a boundless grandeur, if I would relax a little of the severity of my counsels to the king with regard to her. I, who was as little moved with the chimera's that filled her head, as with those she thought to inspire me with, pretended not to understand any part of a discourse so intelligible; and answered her in equivocal terms with general protestations of respect, attachment, and devotion; which signify what one will.

At my return home, I desired my wife to pay the same compliment to the duchess: she was received with equal tenderness: madam de Beaufort intreating her to love her, and to be with her as a friend, entered into confidences, that would have seemed the last instance of the most intimate friendship to those that, like madam de Rosny, were ignorant that the duchess, who had no great share of understanding, was not very delicate in the choice of her confidants: it was her highest pleasure, to entertain any person she first saw with her schemes and expectations; and the more those she conversed with were her inferiors, the less restraint she laid on herself; for then she no longer guarded her expressions, and often assumed the airs of a queen.

She

1599. She had as little caution with reſpect to what really happened, as to what ſhe was in expectation would happen; too much ſimplicity on ſuch occaſions gave riſe probably to thoſe reports which were ſpread in the world concerning ſome irregularities in her conduct when ſhe was very young. Theſe cenſures, however, appeared to me to be the mere effect of the malice of her enemies; for it could not be imagined that a woman would carry her imprudence and folly ſo far as to ſay both good and ill of herſelf indifferently; and I never thought I had any reaſon to reproach myſelf with having, for ſix years, confined a woman named la Rouſe, who was one of her ſervants, and her huſband, in the Baſtile, who, after the death of this lady, continued to load her memory with the utmoſt infamy: for although all they ſaid had been true, yet the reſpect that was due to her family, and ſtill more to the tenderneſs the king had for her and the children ſhe brought him, ought to have ſilenced their ſlanders.

Madam de Roſny could not help being ſurprized at the ducheſs's diſcourſe, and was ſtill more ſo, when this lady making an aukward aſſemblage of the civilities which are practiſed between equals, and theſe airs of a queen, told her ſhe might come to her *coucher* and *lever*, whenever ſhe pleaſed; and many other ſpeeches of the ſame kind. My wife, as well as every one elſe, concluded there would be a great change in the ducheſs's fortune, and returned home full of theſe reflections, which ſhe communicated to me. I had not even diſcloſed to my wife what had paſſed between the king and me upon this ſubject, as well as the ſcene at St. Germain: I promiſed her to acquaint her with the true ſtate of things, provided ſhe would not tell the princeſs of Orange what madam de Beaufort had ſaid to her; and we ſet out together for Roſny.

Two days after, which was the Saturday before Eaſter, as I was performing my promiſe to madam de Roſny, and acquainting her with the ducheſs's deſign to get herſelf declared queen, all the practices of her relations and dependents for that purpoſe, the ſtruggles the king had in his own mind, and the reſolution he had at length taken to overcome himſelf, adding ſome reflections upon the calamities which a contrary conduct would bring upon the kingdom, I heard the bell of the firſt gate of the caſtle without the moat ring; and none of my ſervants anſwering, as it was yet ſcarcely day, the bell was rung with more violence, and a voice ſeveral times repeated, *I come from the king.*

Immediately I wakened a footman, and while he went to open the gate, I ſlipped on a night-gown, and ran down ſtairs, greatly alarmed at being ſent to ſo early in the morning. 1599.

The courier ſaid that he had travelled all night to tell me that the king deſired I would come inſtantly to Fontainebleau: his countenance had ſo deep a concern on it that I aſked him if the king was ill? "No," he replied, "but he is in the utmoſt affliction: madam the "ducheſs is dead." The news appeared to me ſo improbable that I made him repeat it ſeveral times; and when convinced that it was true, I felt my mind divided between my grief for the condition to which her death reduced the king, and my joy for the advantage all France would gain by it, which was increaſed by my being fully perſuaded in my own mind, that the king, by this tranſitory ſorrow, would purchaſe a releaſe from a thouſand anxieties, and much more anguiſh of heart than what he now actually ſuffered. I went up again to my wife's chamber full of theſe reflections, "You will neither go to the ducheſs's "*coucher* nor *lever*," ſaid I, "for ſhe is dead." I brought the courier up with me, that while I dreſt, and he breakfaſted, he might inform us of all the circumſtances of this great event, which was ſtill better related in the letter la Varenne had written from Paris to the king, and which his majeſty ſent me by the courier, together with a ſecond from la Varenne, directed to myſelf.

Zamet* had received his gueſt with all the aſſiduity of a courtier who is ſolicitous to pleaſe, and neglected nothing which he thought might contribute to make her paſs the time agreeably. On Maundy-Thurſday madam de Beaufort after dinner, where ſhe had eaten of the greateſt delicacies, and all prepared to her taſte, had an inclination to hear the evening ſervice at St. Anthony the leſs: ſhe was there ſeized with fainting fits, which obliged her to be carried back immediately to Zamet's. As ſoon as ſhe arrived ſhe went into the garden and was immediately attacked with an apoplectic fit, which it was expected would have inſtantly ſtifled her. She recovered a little, through the aſſiſtance they gave her; and ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a no-

* Sebaſtian Zamet, a rich private gentleman, was an Italian and a native of Lucca: but he got himſelf naturalized in 1581, together with his two brothers Horace and John Antony. He deſired the notary who drew up his daughter's contract of marriage, to ſtyle him lord of ſeventeen hundred thouſand crowns. Henry IV. had pitched on his houſe for his meals and parties of pleaſure: this prince beſides loved him becauſe he was a facetious and merry man.

tion

1599. tion that ſhe was poiſoned *, commanded them to carry her from that houſe to madam de Sourdis her aunt, who lived in the cloiſter Saint-Germain.

Scarce had they time to put her in bed when thick ſucceeding convulſions, ſo dreadful as amazed all that were preſent, and in a word all the ſymptoms of approaching death, left Varenne, who had taken up the pen to write the king word of the accident that had happened, nothing elſe to ſay but that the phyſicians all deſpaired of his miſtreſs's life, by the nature of her diſtemper, which required the moſt violent remedies, and the circumſtance of her being far gone with child, which made all applications mortal †. Scarce had he ſent away the letter when madam de Beaufort drawing near her laſt moments, was ſeized with new convulſions which turned her black, and diſfigured her ſo horribly that la Varenne, not doubting but the king, upon the receipt of his letter, would ſet out immediately to ſee his miſtreſs, thought it better to ſend him word in a ſecond billet that ſhe was dead, than to expoſe him to a ſpectacle at once ſo dreadful and afflicting as that of a woman whom he tenderly loved, expiring in agitation, ſtruggles, and agonies, that left hardly any thing of human in her figure.

La Varenne, in the letter he ſent me by the ſame courier, informed me that the ducheſs was not dead, but by what he could judge had not an hour to live ‡; in effect ſhe expired a few moments after, in a general ſubverſion of all the functions of nature capable of inſpiring horror and diſmay. The king, who upon the receipt of la Varenne's firſt letter, had not failed to mount his horſe immediately, received the

* D'Aubigné gives us to underſtand this, when he ſays, that after ſhe had refreſhed herſelf with Zamet, by eating a large citron, or, according to others, a ſallad, "ſhe immediately felt ſuch an in-"flammation in her throat, and ſuch vio-"lent twitchings in her ſtomach, that," &c. But neither de Thou, Baſſompierre, le Septennaire, nor any other hiſtorian, imputes her diſorder to poiſon. Le Grain aſcribes it to the crude and cold juice of the citron. Sauval ſays, that he knew ſome old men who remembered to have ſeen the ducheſs lie in ſtate in the nunnery of Saint-Germain.

† "The phyſician la Riviere, come "in great haſte upon this occaſion," ſays d'Aubigné, "with others of the "king's phyſicians, and entering but three "ſteps into her chamber, when he ſaw "the extraordinary condition ſhe was in, "went away ſaying to his brother phyſi-"cians, This is the hand of God." Tom. III. liv. v. c. 3.

‡ Saturday morning, the convulſions had writhed her mouth to the back of her neck. Her body was opened, in which a dead child was found. See concerning this death, M. de Thou, liv. cxxii. Matthieu, ibid. Le Grain, liv. vii. Le Septennaire, ann. 1599. Mem. de Baſſompierre. De Thou, Matthieu, and Baſſompierre, place her death a day ſooner.

ſecond

second when he was got half way to Paris, and listening to nothing but the excess of his passion, was resolved, notwithstanding all that could be said to him, to give himself the consolation of seeing his mistress* once more, dead as he believed her to be. The same persons that had carried him back the first time to Fontainebleau, prevailed upon him by their arguments and intreaties to go back once more, and it was from this place that he dispatched the courier to me. 1599.

I DID not lose a moment. I breakfasted at Poissy, and dined at Paris. I made use of the archbishop of Glasgow's coach to carry me as far as Essonne, from whence I took post, and at night got to Fontainebleau.

* According to Bassompierre, who speaks of it as being an eye-witness, Henry did not believe that his mistress was yet dead. He says that la Varenne having come to acquaint the marechal d'Ornano and him, who had accompanied the duchess to Paris, that she was just dead, they both took horse in order to bring the melancholy news to the king and keep him from coming to Paris. "We found" says he, "the king on the other side of la "Saussaye, near Vilejuif, coming on post "horses with all expedition. As soon as "he saw the marechal, he suspected that "he came to bring him the news, which "as soon as he heard he made great "lamentation for her. At length they "prevailed with him to go into the abbey "la Saussaye, where they laid him upon "a bed: when at last a coach coming "from Paris, they put him into it, in or-"der to return to Fontainebleau." Mem. de Bassompierre, tom I. p. 69 & seq. Le Grain adds, that he rested away in his coach between the arms of the grand ecuyer or master of the horse.

Without attempting in any respect to justify the excessive fondness Henry IV. had for this woman, justice however obliges us to observe here, that this attachment was no less founded on the good qualities of her heart and mind than the beauty of her person, and that to the antipathy which is commonly borne towards such as are in the same condition, makes people say all the ill of her that we see related in these Memoirs and in the other historians. I will conclude this article with what d'Aubigné says, who is a writer that is naturally more inclined to blame than to commend. "It "is a wonder," says he, "how this wo-"man, whose great beauty had nothing "of the loose turn in it, could have lived "rather like a queen than a mistress for "so many years, and that with so few "enemies. The necessities of state were "the only enemies she had to encounter." He had said before, that she used with great moderation her power over the king: and P. Matthieu adds, to the good qualities which he remarks in this lady, that of having often given very good counsel to Henry IV. ibid. "She would not suffer "any other person near her," says le Grain also, liv. viii. "though the sieur de "Liancourt was a man of great merit and "of a very honourable family: insomuch "that this marriage was dissolved before "it was consummated." Some accounts of that time speak of Nicholas d'Amerval, sieur de Liancourt, as a person of a truly distinguished birth and of a very plentiful fortune; but whose mind, say they, was as badly formed as his body. Mademoiselle d'Estrees married him only to get rid of the tyrannical treatment she received from her father, and because the king promised her that he would hinder the consummation of the marriage, and even dissolve it: which he actually did.

1599. I went immediately to the king, who was walking in a gallery ſunk in an exceſs of grief that made all company inſupportable: he told me that, although he expected the ſight of me would at firſt increaſe his affliction, as in effect it did, yet he was ſenſible that in the condition, to which the loſs he had ſuffered had reduced him, he had ſo much need of conſolation, that he did not heſitate a moment to ſend for me to receive an aſſiſtance I only could give.

With a prince equally ſenſible of what he owed to religious and political duties, I was not at a loſs for reſources from whence to derive arguments to calm his ſorrow. I recalled to his remembrance ſome of thoſe paſſages in the holy ſcriptures, wherein God as a father and maſter requires that confidence and perfect reſignation, the effect of which is to inſpire a chriſtian with a contempt for all ſublunary things; to which I added ſuch as might incite to the acknowledgments and adoration of divine providence, as well in deep misfortunes as unexpected ſucceſs. I made no ſcruple to repreſent to Henry, that the accident which now gave him all this affliction, was among the number of thoſe which he would one day look upon as moſt fortunate. I endeavoured to place him in imagination in that painful, and (if his miſtreſs had lived) unavoidable ſituation, when, on one ſide ſtruggling with the force of a tender and violent paſſion, and on the other with the ſilent convictions of what honour and duty required of him, he would be under an abſolute neceſſity of coming to ſome reſolution, with regard to an engagement, which he could not break without torture, or preſerve without infamy. Heaven, I told him, came to his aſſiſtance by a ſtroke, painful indeed, but which could only open the way to a marriage, upon which depended the tranquility of France, the happineſs of his people, the fate of Europe, and his own good, to whom the bleſſing of a lawful union would always appear too dearly purchaſed, by the deſertion of a woman, who, by a thouſand good qualities, was worthy of his affection.

I easily perceived that this laſt argument, inforced in a manner advantageous to his miſtreſs, made an impreſſion upon Henry's heart, by the ſoothing pleaſure it gave him to hear his choice approved of. He confeſſed to me, that it was ſome relief to him to find me placing his attachment for the duchеſs of Beaufort among the number of thoſe that are formed by a real ſympathy of minds, and not on mere libertiniſm; and that he had been apprehenſive I would have no other-

ways endeavoured to comfort him, than by rendering him ashamed of his passion for her. The first conversation was very long. I do not remember every thing I said to the king. All I know is that, after having first applied those gentle soothings that affliction demands, the continuance of which I opposed by arguments drawn from the necessity all princes and persons in any public character are under, of preserving, even in the most reasonable sorrows, that freedom of mind requisite for affairs of state; Henry had not the weakness of resigning himself up to grief through obstinacy*, or of seeking a cure in insensibility. He listened more to the dictates of his reason than his passion, and already appeared much less afflicted to those persons who entered his chamber. At length every one being careful not to renew his grief, which his daily employments gradually diminished, he found himself in that state in which all wise men ought to be who have had great subjects of affliction that is, neither condemning, nor flattering the cause, nor affecting neither to recall or banish the remembrance of it. 1599.

Joyeuse likewise employed the public attention, having from a soldier and a courtier † become a capuchin, and afterwards from a capuchin become again a soldier and a courtier, he resumed his inclination for the frock, which it was pretended the pope had only during the war granted him a dispensation for quitting; and this time he wore it till his death. The marriage of his daughter ‡, the sole heiress of

* Henry IV. made all the court go into mourning for the death of the duchess of Beaufort. He himself was dressed in black for the first eight days, and afterwards in violet. Mem. de Chiverny.

† Henry de Joyeuse, count de Bouchage, and youngest brother to the duke de Joyeuse, was slain at Coutras. "One "day at four in the morning, as he was "passing through the streets of Paris near "the convent of the capuchins, after he "had spent the night in a debauch, he "imagined that he heard angels sing-"ing the matins in the convent: at which "being much affected, he immediately "turned capuchin under the name of "Frere-Ange. Afterwards he quitted the "frock and carried arms against Henry "IV. at which time the duke de Maine "made him governor of Languedoc, a "duke, peer, and marechal of France. "At last he made his peace with the king: "but one day this prince being with him "on a balcony, under which was a great "number of people assembled together. "Cousin," says Henry IV. to him, "this "multitude seem to me to be very con-"tented and easy at seeing together an "apostate and a renegado. This saying "of the king's made such an impression "on Joyeuse, that he entered again into "his convent, where he died." This anecdote is taken from the notes on the Henriade.

‡ Henrietta Catherine de Joyeuse. There did not survive of this marriage but one daughter, whereby the branch of Bourbon Montpensier became extinct.

the

1599. the family of Joyeuſe, with the duke of Montpenſier, was the laſt action of his public life. The marchioneſs de Belliſle *, after his example, took the habit of a nun, of the order of Saint Bernard.

* Antonietta d'Orleans-de-Longueville was the widow of Charles de Gondy marquis of Belliſle, and eldeſt ſon of the marechal de Retz. Mezeray informs us, that the reaſon of her turning was the mortification ſhe had received by not being able to revenge the death of her huſband; a ſoldier whom ſhe had employed for this purpoſe having been taken and hanged, for ſhe could not obtain his pardon of the king. The marquis de Belliſle had been killed in 1596 at Mount-Saint-Michel, by a gentleman of Bretagne, called Kermartin. L'Etoile ſpeaks of her as a woman who was much admired by all the court, on account of her beauty and underſtanding, and as an eminent example of devotion and penitence in her convent.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

3 1158 00678 55
RA
UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACIL
D 000 001 020